

EARLY AND  
LATE LATIN  
CONTINUITY OR CHANGE?

EDITED BY

J. N. ADAMS AND  
NIGEL VINCENT



## EARLY AND LATE LATIN

This book addresses the question of whether there are continuities in Latin spanning the period from the early Republic through to the Romance languages. It is often maintained that various usages admitted by early comedy were rejected later by the literary language but continued in speech, to resurface centuries later in the written record (and in Romance). Are certain similarities between early and late Latin all that they seem, or might they be superficial, reflecting different phenomena at different periods? Most of the chapters, on numerous syntactic and other topics and using different methodologies, have a long chronological range. All attempt to identify patterns of change that might undermine any theory of submerged continuity. The patterns found are summarised in a concluding chapter. The volume addresses classicists with an interest in any of the different periods of Latin and Romance linguists.

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*Continuity or Change?*

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JAMES ADAMS AND NIGEL VINCENT

with the assistance of VALERIE KNIGHT



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Our guiding idea was to explore the traditional view that there are connections between early and late Latin which, so to speak, go underground during the classical period; hence the term ‘submerged’ Latin which occurs in a number of the chapters that follow.” — Preface |

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## *Preface*

The chapters in this volume derive for the most part from papers given at a workshop held at The University of Manchester on 12–13 May 2014 with the title ‘Early Latin and late Latin/Romance: continuity and innovation’. Our guiding idea was to explore the traditional view that there are connections between early and late Latin which, so to speak, go underground during the classical period; hence the term ‘submerged’ Latin which occurs in a number of the chapters that follow. While some of our contributors stay with that brief, exploring the hypothesis as it applies across a range of different words and constructions, others broaden the discussion to deal with more general issues of change within the history of Latin, and the nature of the textual evidence on which our accounts of those changes are based.

In the event some of those who spoke at the workshop were not able to contribute written versions for inclusion here. At the same time the volume also contains some chapters that were commissioned after the event. All our contributors however were present at the workshop and participated in the discussion on that occasion. We are grateful to them for their commitment and enthusiasm, and for their constructive responses to our comments and suggestions about their chapters.

The costs of the workshop were partly covered by a grant from The University of Manchester’s Mont Follick fund, and we are grateful to the Head of School, Jeremy Gregory, for authorising this award.

Many people helped us in the preparation of the workshop, including our colleagues David Langslow, who was integral to the planning and hosting of the event, and Polly Low, who maintained the webpages. Especial thanks go to Valerie Knight, who provided invaluable administrative support before and during the event and who has done outstanding work in compiling the indexes and lists of abbreviations herein. We are grateful too to Michael Sharp at CUP for his advice and guidance in the preparation of the volume, to Helen Flitton of Out of House Publishing for her attentive overseeing of the publication process and to Jane Robson for the copy-editing.

JNA and NV

## *Abbreviations*

Authors and texts cited and abbreviations will for the most part be found in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* 'Aids to the reader I: Authors and works'. A special case concerns the text variously referred to in the literature as *Itinerarium Egeriae* (*Itin. Eger.*) or *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (*Peregr. Aeth.*) where we have followed the preferences of our contributors as to which is used in the separate chapters.

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> (Paris)
AN	Anglo Norman
Bauer and Aland	Bauer, W., <i>Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur</i> , 6th edn edited by K. Aland (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988).
Cat	Catalan
<i>CGL</i>	Goetz, G. <i>et al.</i> , eds, <i>Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum</i> , 7 vols. (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1888–1923).
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin: Reimer / De Gruyter, 1862–).
CL	Classical Latin
Dauph	Dauphinois
<i>DMLBS</i>	Ashdowne, R., Howlett, D. and Latham, R. E., <i>Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1975–2013).
DuC	Du Cange, C. D. F., <i>Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis</i> , 10 vols. (Niort: L. Favre, 1883–7).
EL	Early Latin
<i>FEW</i>	Bloch, O. and Wartburg, von, W., <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française</i> , 5th edn (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968).
Fr	French

FRH	Cornell, T. J., ed., <i>The Fragments of the Roman Historians</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
GL	Keil, H., <i>Grammatici Latini</i> , 8 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1855–80).
It	Italian
Lampe	Lampe, G. W. H., <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).
LEI	Pfister, M., <i>Lessico Etimologico Italiano</i> (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1979).
LL	Late Latin
LSJ	Liddell, H. G. and Scott, R., <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9th edn revised and augmented by Sir H. Stuart Jones, with a revised Supplement (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
Misc. Ag.	<i>Miscellanea Agostiniana: Testi e studi pubblicati a cura dell'Ordine Eremitano di S. Agostino nel XV centenario dalla morte del Santo Dottore</i> . 1, <i>Sancti Augustini sermones post Maurinos reperti</i> / studio ac diligentia D. Germani Morin (Rome, 1930).
ML	Medieval Latin
Occ	Occitan
OF	Old French
OIt	Old Italian
OLD	Glare, P., <i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968–82).
OOcc	Old Occitan
O. Wādi Fawākhir	Guéraud, O., 'Ostraca grecs et latins de l'Wādi Fawākhir', <i>Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> 41 (1942), 141–96.
OPg	Old Portuguese
P. Mich.	<i>Michigan Papyri</i> (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1931–).
Patrologia Latina	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , vol. 38, <i>Opera omnia Augustini Hipponensis</i> , vol. 5, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1865).
Pg	Portuguese
REW	Meyer-Lübke, W., <i>Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> , 3rd edn, 2 vols. (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1935).
Rom	Romanian
Sermones Lambot	<i>Aurelii Augustini opera</i> . Ps. 11, 1, <i>Sancti Aurelii Augustini Sermones de Vetere Testamento: id est sermones I-L secundum ordinem vulgatum insertis etiam novem sermonibus</i> /

	<i>post Maurinos repertis</i> recensuit Cyrillus Lambot (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 41) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1961).
Sic	Sicilian
Sp	Spanish
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> (Leipzig: Teubner; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1900–)
TPSulp	Tabulae Sulpicianae
Vet. Lat.	Vetus Latina
VL	Vulgar Latin

## *Supplementary abbreviations*

Compiled by Valerie Knight

This supplementary list of abbreviations has been compiled as an aid for those readers who may be unfamiliar with the very many abbreviations found within the volume not covered by the *OLD* (pp. ix–xx) and *LSJ* (pp. xvi–xxxviii). For these, in the first instance, the *TLL* (*Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur*, 5th edn, Leipzig, 1990) has been followed. One exception is the abbreviation for Gregory of Tours (Greg. Tur.) *Historia Francorum*: *Hist. Franc.* The *TLL* has *Franc.*, ‘historiae, sc. historia Francorum’: some contributors favoured *Franc.*, others *Hist.*, others *HF* and others *Hist. Franc.* All have been standardised to *Hist. Franc.* Another exception is the abbreviation for Palladius of Helenopolis, Pall. This has been standardised to Pall. to avoid confusion with Pallad., Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus. For abbreviations not found in the *OLD*, *LSJ* or *TLL*, the ‘Abbreviations List’ of the *OCD* (*Oxford Classical Dictionary*, S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth and E. Eidinow, eds, 4th edn, Oxford, 2012) has been consulted. For the abbreviations of the Christian Greek texts, G. W. H. Lampe (*A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961) has been used (Stelios Panayotakis, Ch. 9). For other abbreviations, contributors have provided me with appropriate details. I am extremely grateful for the help and expertise of the editors and contributors in compiling this list. I would particularly like to thank Robert Maltby for his assistance.

Adémar de Chabannes

<i>Chron.</i>	<i>Chronique</i>
Alex. Trall.	Alexander Trallianus
Ambr.	Ambrose
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Virg.</i>	<i>De uirginibus</i>
Amm.	Ammianus Marcellinus
Anthim.	Anthimus
Ant. Mon. <i>Hom.</i>	Antiochus Monachus, <i>Pandecta scripturae sacrae</i> , PG (ed. Migne) 89

Apic.	Apicius
<i>Apophth. patr.</i>	<i>Apophthegmata patrum</i> (J.-C. Guy, <i>Les apophthegmes des pères: collection systématique, chapitres I–IX</i> , 1993, Paris; <i>Les apophthegmes des pères: collection systématique, chapitres X–XVI</i> , 2003, Paris)
<i>App. Anth.</i>	Anthologiae Graecae Appendix, <i>Epigrammata demonstrativa</i> , E. Cougny, ed., <i>Epigrammatum anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et appendice nova</i> , vol. 3, Paris, 1890
<i>Epigr. dem.</i>	
ps. Apul.	ps. Apuleius
<i>Herb.</i>	<i>Herbarium (De medicaminibus herbarum)</i>
Arnob. iun.	Arnobius iunior, <i>Liber ad Gregoriam in palatio constitutam</i>
<i>Ad Greg.</i>	
Arnob. Nat.	Arnobius of Sicca, <i>Aduersus nationes</i>
Aug.	Augustine
<i>Anim.</i>	<i>De anima et eius origine</i>
<i>C. acad.</i>	<i>Contra academicos</i>
<i>Cathech. rud.</i>	<i>De catechizandis rudibus</i>
<i>C. Iul.</i>	<i>Contra Iulianum</i>
<i>C. Iul. op. imperf.</i>	<i>Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum</i>
<i>Civ.</i>	<i>De ciuitate dei</i>
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>Confessiones</i>
<i>Cons. euang.</i>	<i>De consensu euangelistarum</i>
<i>Doctr. Christ.</i>	<i>De doctrina Christiana</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>In epist. Ioh.</i>	<i>In epistulam Iohannis ad Parthos tractatus</i>
<i>In euang. Ioh.</i>	<i>In Iohannis euangelium tractatus</i>
<i>In Psalm.</i>	<i>In Psalmos enarrationes</i>
<i>Lib. arb.</i>	<i>De libero arbitrio</i>
<i>Loc. hept.</i>	<i>Locutiones in heptateuchum</i>
<i>Op. monach.</i>	<i>De opere monachorum</i>
<i>Quaest. hept.</i>	<i>Quaestiones in heptateuchum</i>
<i>Serm.</i>	<i>Sermones</i>
<i>Trin.</i>	<i>De trinitate</i>
ps. Aur. Vict.	ps. Aurelius Victor
<i>Epit.</i>	<i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i>
Auson.	Ausonius
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>A. Xanthipp.</i>	<i>Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae</i> (M. R. James, <i>Apocrypha anecdota</i> , Cambridge, 1893)



Barnab.	<i>Epistulae Barnabae Pauli socio perperam ascriptae uersio Latina</i>
Caes. Arel.	Caesarius of Arles
<i>Serm.</i>	<i>Sermones</i>
Cass. Fel.	Cassius Felix
Cassiod.	Cassiodorus
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historia ecclesiastica tripartita</i>
<i>In Psalm.</i>	<i>Expositio Psalmorum</i>
<i>Var.</i>	<i>Variae</i>
CC	<i>Corpus Christianorum, series Latina</i> , Turnhout, 1954–
Chrys.	Ioannes Chrysostomus
<i>In Heb. Hom.</i>	<i>Homiliae in epistulam ad Hebraeos</i> , PG (ed. Migne) 63
<i>Stag.</i>	<i>Adhortationes ad Stagyrium a daemone uexatum</i> , PG (ed. Migne) 47
<i>Vid.</i>	<i>Ad uiduam iuniorem</i> (G. H. Ettlinger and B. Grillet, eds, <i>Jean Chrysostome: à une jeune veuve, sur le mariage unique</i> , Sources chrétiennes 138, Paris, 1968)
Claud. Don. Aen.	Tiberius Claudius Donatus, <i>Interpretationes Vergilianae</i>
Cledon.	Cledonius
Cod. Veron.	Codex Veronensis
<i>Coll. Celt.</i>	<i>Colloquium Celtis</i> (see Dickey 2015a)
<i>Coll. Harl.</i>	<i>Colloquium Harleianum</i> (see Dickey 2015a)
<i>Coll. Leid.-Steph.</i>	<i>Colloquium Leidense–Stephani</i> (see Dickey 2012b)
<i>Coll. Mon.-Eins.</i>	<i>Colloquia Monacensia–Einsidlensia</i> (see Dickey 2012b)
<i>Coll. Mont.</i>	<i>Colloquium Montepessulanum</i> (see Dickey 2015a)
<i>Coll. Steph.</i>	<i>Colloquium Stephani</i> (see Dickey 2012b)
<i>Comp. Luc.</i>	<i>Compositiones Lucenses</i> (H. Hedfors, <i>Compositiones ad tingenda musiua</i> , Uppsala, 1932)
Consent.	Consentius
Coripp.	Flavius Cresconius Corippus
<i>Ioh.</i>	<i>Flauii Cresconii Corippi Iohannidos seu De bellis Libycis libri VII</i>
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>

Cypr.	Cyprian
<i>Didasc. apost.</i>	<i>Didascaliae apostolorum</i>
Diom.	Diomedes
Diosc.	Dioscorides
Don.	Donatus, <i>Ars minor</i> (GL 4.355–366); <i>Ars maior</i> (GL 4.367–402)
Dosith.	Dositheus
Dracontius	
<i>Orest.</i>	<i>Orestis tragoedia (immo epyllion)</i>
<i>Epigr. Bob.</i>	<i>Epigrammata Bobiensia</i>
Eugraph.	Eugraphius
Eus. Al. <i>Serm.</i>	Eusebius Alexandrinus, <i>Sermones</i> , PG (ed. Migne) 86
Euseb. Verc.	Eusebius episcopus Vercellensis
<i>Trin.</i>	<i>De trinitate</i>
Eus. H. E.	Eusebius Caesariensis, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> (G. Bardy, ed., <i>Eusèbe de Césarée: Histoire ecclésiastique</i> , 3 vols., Sources chrétiennes 31, 41, 55, Paris, 1952–58)
Faust. Rei.	Faustus Reiensis
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Firm.	Iulius Firmicus Maternus
<i>Err.</i>	<i>De errore profanarum religionum</i>
<i>Math.</i>	<i>Mathesis</i>
Fortun.	Consultus Fortunatianus
Gal.	Galen
<i>Gloss. Reich.</i>	<i>Reichenau Glosses</i> (H.-W. Klein, <i>Die Reichenauer Glossen 1: Einleitung, Text, vollständiger Index und Konkordanzen</i> , Munich, 1968)
Greg. M.	Gregory the Great
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Registrum epistularum</i>
<i>In euang.</i>	<i>In euangelia homiliae</i>
Greg. Tur.	Gregory of Tours
<i>Glor. conf.</i>	<i>In gloria confessorum</i>
<i>Glor. mart.</i>	<i>In gloria martyrum</i>
<i>Hist. Franc.</i>	<i>Historia Francorum</i>
<i>Vit. patr.</i>	<i>De uita patrum</i>
Herm.	<i>Pastoris Hermae uersiones Latinae</i>
Hier.	Jerome
<i>Adv. Rufin.</i>	<i>Aduersus Rufinum</i>

<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>In Eph.</i>	<i>Commentarii in epistulam Pauli ad Ephesios</i>
<i>In Ier.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Ieremiam prophetam</i>
<i>In Matth.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Matthaeum</i>
<i>In Mich.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Michaeam prophetam</i>
<i>Nom. hebr.</i>	<i>Hebraica nomina</i>
<i>V. Hilar.</i>	<i>Vita Hilarionis</i>
<i>V. Malchi</i>	<i>Vita Malchi</i>
<i>V. Pauli</i>	<i>Vita Pauli Thebaei</i>
<i>Hist. Apoll.</i>	<i>Historia Apollonii regis Tyri</i>
<i>Hist. Aug.</i>	<i>Historia Augusta</i>
<i>Hom. Clem.</i>	<i>Homiliae Clementinae</i> (J. Irmscher, F. Paschke, and B. Rehm, <i>Die Pseudoklementinen I. Homilien</i> , 2nd edn, Berlin, 1969)
Jordanes	
<i>Get.</i>	<i>De origine actibusque Getarum</i>
<i>Rom.</i>	<i>De summa temporum uel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum</i>
<i>Itin. Anton. Plac.</i>	<i>Itinerarium Antonini Placentini</i>
<i>Itin. Eger.</i>	<i>Itinerarium Egeriae</i> (= <i>Peregr. Aeth.</i> , <i>Peregrinatio Aetheriae</i> )
Lact.	Lactantius
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Diuinae institutiones</i>
LASLA	Database of the Laboratoire d'Analyse Statistique des Langues Anciennes ( <a href="http://www.cipl.ulg.ac.be/Lasla">www.cipl.ulg.ac.be/Lasla</a> )
<i>Lib. Feud.</i>	<i>Liber feudorum maior</i> (F. M. Rosell, ed., <i>Liber feudorum maior: cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragon</i> , 2 vols., Barcelona, 1945–47)
<i>Lib. pontif.</i>	<i>Liber pontificalis</i> (T. Mommsen, ed., <i>MGH, Gestorum pontificum Romanorum</i> , vol. 1, <i>libri pontificalis pars prior</i> , Berlin, 1898)
Livius Andronicus	
<i>trag.</i>	<i>tragoediarum fragmenta</i>
Lucif.	Lucifer episcopus Caralitanus
<i>Athan.</i>	<i>De Athanasio</i>
Marcellus	
<i>Med.</i>	<i>De medicamentis</i>
Mart. Cap.	Martianus Capella

Mar. Victorin.	Marius Victorinus
<i>Rhet.</i>	<i>Explanaciones in Ciceronis rhetoricam</i> (A. Ippolito, ed., <i>Marii Victorini explanaciones in Ciceronis rhetoricam</i> , Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 132, Turnhout, 2006)
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> , available online at: <a href="http://www.dmgh.de/">http://www.dmgh.de/</a>
<i>M. Polyc.</i>	<i>Martyrium Polycarpi</i> (H. Musurillo, ed., <i>The Acts of the Christian Martyrs</i> , Oxford, 1972)
<i>Mulomed. Chir.</i>	<i>Mulomedicina Chironis</i>
NT	New Testament
Obseq.	Iulius Obsequens
Optat.	Optatus
<i>ORF</i>	H. Malcovati, <i>Oratorum Romanorum fragmenta liberae rei publicae</i> , 2nd edn., Turin, 1955; 4th edn., Turin, 1976
Oribas.	Oribasius Latinus
<i>Eup.</i>	<i>Euporiston</i>
<i>Syn.</i>	<i>Synopsis ad Eustathium</i>
Oros.	Orosius
OT	Old Testament
Pall.	Palladius of Helenopolis
<i>Hist. mon.</i>	<i>Palladii episcopi Helenopolitani, historiae monachorum siue Lausiaca Latine uersae</i> (Latin: <i>PL</i> , ed. Migne, 74.243–382)
<i>H. Laus.</i>	<i>Historia Lausiaca</i> (Greek: G. J. M. Bartelink, <i>Palladio: la storia Lausiaca</i> , Verona, 1974)
Pallad.	Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus
<i>Op. agr.</i>	<i>Opus agriculturae</i>
<i>Vet. med.</i>	<i>De ueterinaria medicina</i>
<i>Paneg.</i>	<i>XII Panegyrici Latini</i>
Paschas.	Paschasius Dumiensis
<i>Verba patr.</i>	<i>Verba patrum</i> ( <i>Apothegmata patrum</i> , Freire)
<i>Pass. Claud. Ast.</i>	<i>Acta Claudii, Asterii aliorumque</i> (R. Knopf, G. Krüger, G. Ruhbach, <i>Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten</i> , 4th edn, Tübingen, 1965)
<i>Pass. Theclae</i>	<i>Acta Pauli et Theclae Latine uersa</i> (O. von Gebhardt, <i>Passio S. Theclae virginis: Die lateinische Übersetzungen der Acta Pauli et Theclae</i> , Leipzig, 1902) (Latin translation/version of

	the Greek <i>Acts of Paul and Thecla: Acta Pauli et Theclae</i> (R. A. Lipsius, <i>Acta apostolorum apocrypha</i> , vol. 1, Leipzig, 1891)
Patric.	St Patrick
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>Confessio</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistula ad milites Corotici</i>
Pelagon.	Pelagonius
<i>Peregr. Aeth.</i>	<i>Peregrinatio Aetheriae</i> (= <i>Itin. Eger.</i> , <i>Itinerarium Egeriae</i> )
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> (J.-P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca</i> , Paris, 1857–)
<i>Philogelos</i>	<i>Philogelos siue facetiae</i> (L. A. Thierfelder, <i>Philogelos der Lachfreund</i> , Munich, 1968)
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> (J.-P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina</i> , Paris, 1844–)
Porph.	Porphyrion
Prisc.	Priscianus Caesarensis
ps. Prob.	ps. Probus
Prud.	Prudentius
<i>Perist.</i>	<i>Liber peristephanon</i>
PSI	<i>Papiri greci e latini</i> ( <i>Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto</i> , Florence, 1912–)
<i>Querol.</i>	<i>Querolus siue Aulularia</i>
<i>Regula Mag.</i>	<i>Regula magistri</i>
Rufin.	Rufinus
<i>Clement.</i>	<i>Clementis Romani quae feruntur recognitiones Latine uersae</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Eusebii historia ecclesiastica translata et continuata</i>
<i>Schol. Cic. Bob.</i>	<i>Scholia in Ciceronis orationes Bobiensia</i>
Sept.	Septuagint
Serv. <i>In Art. Don.</i>	<i>Seruius in Donati artem maiorem</i>
Sextus Amarcus	
<i>Serm.</i>	<i>Sermones</i> (M. Manitius, ed., <i>Sexti Amaricii Galli Piostrati sermonum libri IV</i> , Leipzig, 1888)
Socr. <i>H. E.</i>	Socrates Scholasticus, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> (P. Maraval and P. Périchon, eds, <i>Socrate de Constantinople: Histoire ecclésiastique</i> , 7 vols., Paris, 2004–7)

Sulp. Sev.	Sulpicius Severus
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogi</i>
<i>Mart.</i>	<i>Vita Sancti Martini</i>
Symmachus	
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Tert.	Tertullian
<i>Adv. Hermog.</i>	<i>Aduersus Hermogenem</i>
<i>Adv. Marc.</i>	<i>Aduersus Marcionem</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologeticum</i>
<i>Cult. fem.</i>	<i>De cultu feminarum</i>
<i>Nat.</i>	<i>Ad nationes</i>
<i>Patient.</i>	<i>De patientia</i>
<i>Vxor.</i>	<i>Ad uxorem</i>
ps. Tert.	ps. Tertullian
<i>Haer.</i>	<i>Aduersus omnes haereses</i>
Theod.	Theodosius
<i>De situ</i>	<i>De situ terrae sanctae</i>
Veg.	Vegetius
<i>Mulom.</i>	<i>P. Vegeti Renati digestorum artis mulomedicinae libri</i>
Victorin. Poetov.	Victorinus episcopus Poetouionensis
<i>In apoc.</i>	<i>Commentarius in apocalypsin</i>
Vict. Vit.	Victor Vitensis
Vincent. Ler.	Vincentius presbyter Lerinensis
<i>Visig.</i>	<i>Leges Visigothorum</i>
<i>Vitae patr.</i>	<i>Vitae patrum</i>
<i>Vita Radeg.</i>	<i>Vita Sanctae Radegundis</i> (B. Krusch, ed., <i>De vita sanctae Radegundis libri II</i> , MGH, <i>Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</i> 2, Hannover, 1888)
Vulg.	Vulgate

## CHAPTER I

# *Continuity and change from Latin to Romance*

*Nigel Vincent*

### **1. The periods of Latin**

Anyone whose concern is with patterns of continuity and change, in other words with history, whether of states and societies or of literature and language, is faced with a paradox: it is hard, if not impossible, to study the topic without narrowing the focus to a given timespan or period, but at the same time defining a period and assigning boundaries inevitably involves a good measure of arbitrariness. Time does not come pre-divided into periods or units, and hence, as Hunter (2008: 14) observes, ‘periodisation and the rise of scholarship can ... hardly be separated’. Perhaps inevitably, the point of departure in such divisions tends to be chronological, but again in the words of Hunter (2008: 15), ‘the vocabulary of periodisation turns out (unsurprisingly) to have as much to do with description as with chronology’. At least, however, political, social and literary developments and change can be linked to specific and datable occurrences, individuals and works, and these have served as natural breakpoints in the unravelling of chronology. Thus, in the field of history scholars have long operated with period labels conveniently tailored to major events, so that historians of Britain may study the ‘long eighteenth century’, beginning with the Glorious Revolution in 1688 and ending with the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. Or again world history may be narrated within the confines of the ‘short twentieth century’ running from the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 to the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Literary and cultural historians may also make use of chronological divisions but in addition have recourse to labels such as the Enlightenment or Romanticism which connect periods of time with particular artistic practices or currents of thought. In Italy the names of the centuries come with capital letters – Duecento, Trecento, Quattrocento and so on – and are indicative as much, if not more, of cultural trends as they are of the passage of time. This division has been carried over into the study of the history

of the Italian language. Thus, Migliorini's classic *Storia della lingua italiana* (1962) uses these same period divisions as chapter headings, but only once the Italian language has, so to speak, got going. Before that, his narrative opens with three chapters titled respectively 'La latinità italiana in età imperiale', 'Tra il latino e l'italiano (476–960)' and 'I primordi (960–1225)' before moving on to the Duecento. Strikingly, he then steps aside from purely chronological labels to devote a whole chapter to Dante before resuming with the Trecento and subsequent centuries. The Italian case is germane to the issues addressed by the contributors to the present volume in a number of respects. First, the blend of chronological and cultural labels for periods is to be found in distinctions such as early and late Latin when contrasted with classical and vulgar Latin. Second, we encounter pseudo-precise datings linked either to a specific event – AD 476 as the culmination of the Visigothic conquest of Italy and the fall of the Roman Empire in the West – or to the first texts agreed to be in the language, namely the so-called *Placiti cassinesi* datable to the years AD 960–3. This last raises in turn a third problem, that of beginnings and transitions in the history of a language.

For many languages, for example French and English, the traditional periodisations imply a linear diachronic sequence from Old through Middle to Modern, albeit with some argument about where to draw the boundaries and whether sub-categories such as Early Modern and the like need to be recognised. Typically, these periods are linked both to changes within the internal systems of the language in question and to external socio-historical developments. Indeed, these sub-divisions have often become so well established that the languages are treated as separate entities with their own grammars and dictionaries, university courses and even academic chairs and learned societies.

Of necessity, the start of the first of any such chronological stages is determined by the date of the earliest attestations, but also by an *a priori* decision that a change of name is warranted. This in itself is a decision taken sometimes by scholars and sometimes by the communities themselves. There is no intrinsic reason why, rather than speak of Italian, we should not speak of Modern Latin just as we speak of Modern Greek. Thus, Pulgram (2001: 353), in describing his own breakdown of the history of Latin and Romance writes: 'My S(poken)L(atin) ... encompasses collectively all non-W(ritten)L speeches, beginning with the earliest Latin records and concluding with the modern Romance dialects (if one regards, as surely one may, Romance as Modern Latin)'.<sup>1</sup> In the case of French, for

<sup>1</sup> On the question of names and history, see Wright (2013) and references there.



instance, the first document to bear that name is conventionally taken to be the *Serments de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg Oaths), which were publicly proclaimed in the presence of the opposing armies on 14 February 842 *in teudisca lingua* by the French king Charles the Bald and *in romana lingua* by Louis II of Bavaria. However, as Buridant (2000: 23) observes, this text was scarcely representative of the everyday language at that time since both versions bear ‘une empreinte latine incontestable’. Buridant goes on to distinguish the oldest French, from this text until approximately 1130, and what he calls ‘classical’ Old French extending from the latter date until the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The difficulty of establishing the boundary between Latin and early Romance is even clearer in the late eighth-/early ninth-century text known as the *Indovinello veronese* ‘Veronese riddle’ and reproduced here in (1):

- (1) Se pareba boves, alba pratalia araba,  
et albo versorio teneba, et negro semen seminaba.  
‘It (the hand) seemed like oxen, it ploughed white fields  
and held a white plough and sowed black seed.’

This riddle is included in the volume edited by Dionisotti and Grayson (1965) under the title *Early Italian Texts*. However, as they acknowledge, it is dubious whether it is really to be accounted a genuinely Italian text, being better seen, in their words, as one written in ‘a Latin strongly influenced by and permeated with the vernacular’.

Things look rather different in the case of the aforementioned *Placiti*, one of which is reproduced in (2):

- (2) Ille autem, tenens in manum predicta abbreviatura, et cum alia manu tangens eam, et testificando dixit: *Sao ko kelle terre, per kelle fini que ki contene, trenta anni le possette parte sancti Benedicti.*  
‘He then, holding in his hand the aforementioned document, and with the other hand touching it, and bearing witness said: ‘I know that these lands, within the bounds that are herein contained, the party of St Benedict has owned them for thirty years.’

In this text, there is an apparently sharp juxtaposition between the Latin of the court record and the transcription of the vernacular inserted as the verbatim statement of the witness and designed to be heard and understood by all those in attendance whatever their level of education. However, closer inspection reveals not only Latinisms in the vernacular such as *parte sancti Benedicti* but, so to speak, vernacularisms in the Latin. Thus, beside the regular use of the present participle in *tenens* and *tangens*,

we have *testificando dixit* where the function of the gerund is more similar to the so-called *gerundio* in modern Italian. Contrast, for example, the frequent biblical usage in which two verbs of saying or replying are combined as *responderunt illi dicentes* (Mark 8.28) and *loquebatur per tres menses disputans et suadens* (Acts 19.8) and where, as expected, the verb accompanying the finite form is in the present participle and not the gerund.<sup>2</sup> The contributions to the present volume investigate numerous examples of this kind in which either a Latin usage seems to depart from classical norms and prefigure an attested Romance pattern or conversely a Romance usage appears to hark back to a much earlier stage of Latin.

What we have called the periodisation paradox is particularly in evidence when the subject matter is language since by common consent the processes and mechanisms of linguistic change are gradual and ever-present. This is one of the arguments given against over-reliance on labels such as ‘late Latin’ in Adams (2011: 257). There may be specific events such as the birth of a major literary figure or the discovery of newer and earlier texts, but the datings remain to some degree arbitrary and subject to change as reputations rise or fall and new discoveries are made: one only has to think of the toing and froing over the admissibility of the Praenestine fibula as the earliest attestation of Latin or the waxing and waning of Dante’s reputation over the centuries. By contrast, at the everyday level language change is ongoing and inexorable. This interaction – and possibly conflict – between the passing of time and the norms of society and culture is to be seen in the labels traditionally used to identify different varieties of Latin. These fall, as we have said, into two broad categories, which we may call chronological (early, archaic, late and the like) and socio-cultural (classical, silver, vulgar). Although the proliferation of and interactions between such labels is characteristic of modern scholarship, distinctions of this kind are already to be found in the ancient world in, for example, the contrast between *sermo urbanus* and *sermo rusticus*, the reflections on archaism by writers like Aulus Gellius and the concept of *latinitas* (Chahoud 2007, Burton 2009). Since different scholars and scholarly traditions draw on different terms or, and even more confusingly, use the same term but mean different things by it, we will begin by reviewing some of the common usages and distinctions.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For more discussion of this kind of interaction between the vernacular and Latin in a medieval text, see Vincent (2007).

<sup>3</sup> In what follows we will stick in the main to the English terms but the same issues arise in most other languages: *latino tardo* and *latin tardif* beside ‘late Latin’ or *Frühlatein* and *prisca latinitas*

Rather than begin at the beginning, let us start with the one that all those who have studied Latin at any stage in their lives will have encountered, namely classical Latin (CL).<sup>4</sup> As the name suggests, this is in essence a concept based on register and style as much as on linguistic structure or, in another terminology, it is a *diastatic* (based on social class and education) and *diaphasic* (based on register and context) concept rather than a diachronic or diatopic one. The idea of a fixed and standardised language with a codified grammar began to ‘crystallise’, to use Rosén’s (1999) felicitous term, even in Cicero’s lifetime. Probably already by the time of Quintilian (Neumann 1977, Untermann 1977), Cicero, and subsequently Caesar, had come to be enshrined as the leading models of classical usage. These norms have also had their influence on modern editors, who have on occasion chosen to emend the transmitted text in order to ensure conformity with the prescriptive rule. Pinkster (1969), for example, considers the effect of this over-obedience to inherited norms in respect of the grammar of co-ordination while Adams (2013: 752–61) assesses its consequences in the domain of indirect questions.

As a point of reference for the later scholarly and grammar writing tradition, CL is therefore as much to do with the rhetorical organisation of the sentence and period and the choice of vocabulary as it is with grammar or (morpho-)syntax narrowly defined. It has also been susceptible to quite wide differences in the chronological bounds that scholars have put on it. For the purposes of their historical overview, Baldi and Cuzzolin (2009–11) restrict CL to the time from 90 BC to the death of Augustus in AD 14, a lead which is followed by Pinkster (2015). By contrast, Weiss (2009: 23–4), while retaining approximately the same starting point, allows the term to encompass texts down to the third and fourth centuries AD, a usage which is adopted, with acknowledgement to Weiss, by de Vaan (2008: 14). Baldi and Cuzzolin then use the label *silver Latin* for the period from AD 14 to 200, the latter date for them constituting the start of the late Latin era which runs until approx 600. In fact the end of the sixth/beginning of the seventh century represents for most authorities the close of the late Latin period. Contributors to the present volume when they use the term late Latin follow the same chronological sequence as Weiss, which is also that represented in classic works such as Löfstedt (1959).

beside ‘early Latin’ and so forth. Fuller discussions are to be found in the relevant chapters in part III of Clackson (2011b).

<sup>4</sup> Here and throughout we will eschew initial capitals for labels like ‘classical’ and ‘late’ except when quoting directly from a particular scholar. We will however from time to time use capitalised abbreviations such as CL and LL.

When it comes to the period labelled as ‘late’, within its broad timespan Weiss proposes a breakdown into three distinct phases, namely:

- 
- i) third–fourth centuries
  - ii) fifth–sixth centuries
  - iii) sixth–seventh centuries (which he labels ‘Merovingian’)
- 

This chronological sub-classification also encapsulates three issues which have a socio-cultural dimension, and which are relevant to the themes addressed in the following chapters.

The first, and perhaps the largest in terms of the literature that has been devoted to it, concerns the status, if any, to be attributed to the concept of vulgar Latin (VL). In origin, as the expression itself suggests, it designated a variety defined in social or educational terms, but in modern usage it is often written about as if it were a distinct language from CL, with its own handbooks and textbooks, perhaps most notably Herman (1967) and Väänänen (1981). The scholarly link to late Latin is to be seen in the existence of the *Comité International pour l’Étude du Latin Vulgaire et Tardif*, which organises a regular conference series and proceedings (see most recently Molinelli *et al.* 2014). From there it is but a short step to seeing VL as the successor to CL as in the most recent proposal for a periodisation of Latin, that of Adamik (2015), who distinguishes and names the following stages:

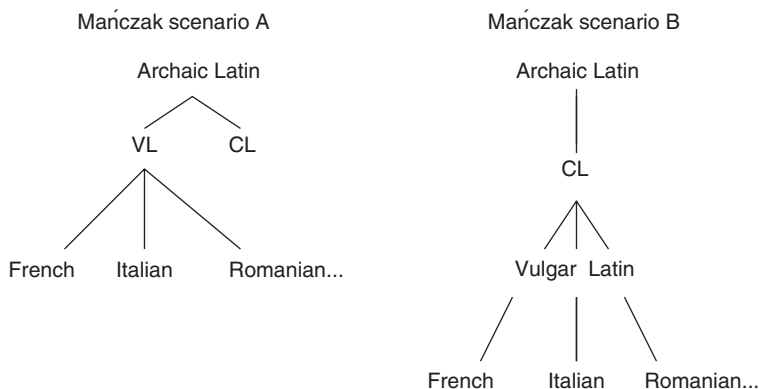
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Archaic Latin	ca 700–ca 325
Old Latin	ca 325–ca 120 BC
Classical Latin	ca 120 BC–ca AD 250
Vulgar Latin	ca 250–ca 600
Transitional Latin	ca 600–ca 850

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This account is consistent with the view expressed in a pair of papers, as trenchant as they are brief, by the Polish romanist Witold Mańczak (2003, 2006), which in turn restate the position argued in more detail in Mańczak (1977). It reproduces the sequence of stages set out in Mańczak’s diagram B below and sees VL as, so to speak, a way-station on the route from CL to Romance.

An alternative and more widely attested view conceives of VL as existing parallel to CL and representing that (often hidden) colloquial usage out of which the daughter languages are generally taken to develop, as in Mańczak’s diagram A, which he describes as the orthodoxy amongst Romance historical linguists, and in which VL is treated as a sister



language to CL and as the true ancestor of Romance. The fallacy in both these models, and which such diagrams risk perpetuating, lies in the reification of the labels CL and VL as separate languages, whether in a sister or a mother–daughter relation. Given this danger the wiser course of action seems to be to avoid the concept of VL and to argue instead for a more complex and internally structured vision of the single language Latin.

A second issue, which we can locate within the first of Weiss's late phases, concerns the status of the Bible, the problem of Christian Latin more generally and the issue of what has been called 'translationese'. As Burton (2011) notes, most of the published discussions of Christian Latin have focused, perhaps not surprisingly, on lexical matters, but there are also syntactic structures which have been suggested to be particularly influenced by their use in the context of the translation of biblical texts, and thus raise the question of whether they are in fact ever used more widely than that. One such is discussed by Galdi in this volume.

The third area of potential contention comes at the end of this period and concerns the transition to the next stage, an issue which is dealt with in the literature in two guises: on the one hand the beginning of the Romance languages and the other the place and nature of medieval Latin. Thus, Herman (1998: 22) sets out 'une chronologie sans discontinuité, mais néanmoins articulée en deux phases distinctes', the first of which covers the period from the first to the sixth centuries AD, and which represents a reconfiguring of the norms of spoken Latin due to the cumulative effect of changes at all levels of linguistic structure. Crucially, these changes – loss of vowel length, dropping of final consonants, reduction of the case system and the like – are evidenced in all the Romance languages and testify to developments within what is still demonstrably Latin. By

contrast, in Herman's second phase, from the sixth to the end of the eighth century, changes which begin to distinguish the Romance languages from each other – diphthongisations, complete as opposed to partial loss of the case system, development of a variety of verbal periphrases – begin to take effect, and lead him to conclude that it is at the end of this second period that we are entitled to speak of Romance rather than of Latin, and hence the epithet 'transitional' in the final phase of Adamik's sub-division mentioned above.

In chronological terms this is very close to the conclusion reached by Banniard (2013) who, building on his own work as reported in Banniard (1992) and elsewhere and on a very similar line of thought which originates with Wright (1982), proposes a four-stage model as follows:

STAGE 0	Classical spoken Latin	second century BC–second century AD
STAGE 1	Late spoken Latin 1	third–fifth centuries
STAGE 2	Late spoken Latin 2	sixth–seventh centuries
STAGE 3	Proto-Romance	eighth–ninth centuries

As the table indicates, Banniard insists in particular on the concept of spoken language and hence on the differences of register that must have existed then as now in any language which is spread over a broad social, educational and geographical range. The importation of the term 'Proto-Romance' here is, however, not helpful since the label 'proto-' is standardly associated with linguistic systems that have been hypothesised on the basis of the techniques of comparative reconstruction. These methods have, it is true, recently been espoused anew in the context of work on the *Dictionnaire Étymologique Roman*, on the merits of which see the exchange between Varvaro (2011) and Buchi and Schweickard (2011). However, Banniard's work, with its solid basis in textual analysis and interpretation, is not in that vein, and it would have been better to avoid a term that might suggest it does.

If, as we have seen, the apparently social label 'vulgar' is often defined chronologically, by contrast the term 'medieval', which would seem to be self-evidently chronological, is usually also defined in social-educational terms, labelling a language that was taught in monasteries and universities rather than one transmitted within the family (cf. the discussion in Löfstedt 1959: ch. 4, and Norberg 1943). That said, it does also have temporal bounds, though fairly extensive ones. As Dinkova-Bruun (2011) reminds us, the term medieval has been construed to run from as early as the fifth to as late as the fifteenth century. What concerns us here is

the early part of that period as the Romance languages are beginning to emerge and when there is evidence to be found in the surviving texts of developments that prefigure the structures of the modern languages. At the same time, the material in these texts is not always easy to interpret because they represent a three-way confluence of inherited classical rules, new norms introduced in formularies and kindred medieval text types and the occasional intrusion of patterns from the spoken language (see Adams, 2016, for discussion and exemplification).

Let us now turn our attention back to the pre-classical period. Of necessity this period begins with the earliest attestations in the seventh century BC. The debates concern therefore the endpoint, variously put at 120 BC (Adamik), 90 BC (Baldi and Cuzzolin, and Pinkster) and 50 BC (Weiss), and the existence of possible internal sub-divisions within the period. There are also a number of different terms deployed: Early, Archaic and Old.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes they seem to be deployed as quasi-synonyms, so that for example De Melo (2007) titles his book *The Early Latin Verb System*, adding the sub-title *Archaic Forms in Plautus, Terence and Beyond*. The period distinction he recognises throughout that volume is one between Classical Latin and Archaic (with an initial capital) Latin, the latter being defined as continuing ‘roughly until 100 BC’ (pp. 1–2). In this he seems to be following the lead of Charles Bennett in his seminal *Syntax of Early Latin* (1910), who uses the label ‘Early’ in the title but comments in his preface: “‘Early Latin’ is necessarily a somewhat vague term ... A definite date is really impossible, since archaic Latin does not terminate abruptly, but continues even down to imperial times. For practical purposes I have chosen 100 BC as the later limit of the archaic period.’ He locates his own contribution in a tradition of research written in Latin where the most commonly recurring term is *priscus*, as in Holtze’s *Syntaxis priscorum scriptorum latinorum usque ad Terentium* (1861) with its self-defined endpoint, or Bell’s *De locativi in prisca latinitate vi et usu* (1889) which however extends the terminus by nearly a century to 75 BC, as does Rosén (1981) in her study of the verbal noun. Anthologies of texts show a similar oscillation around the transition from the second to the first century BC. Warmington (1935–40) calls his collection *Remains of Old Latin* and sets an end date of 79 BC, while Ernout (1947) uses the term ‘archaic’ and includes material down

<sup>5</sup> The term Old Latin is of course also used in English as a translation of *Vetus Latina*, but this is not relevant to the present discussion since no claims of periodisation are intended in this usage. In the present volume we have eschewed this usage and have retained *Vetus Latina* throughout (and have also avoided abbreviating the latter to VL for obvious reasons!).

to the early years of the first century BC. More recent scholarship has tended instead to make a distinction between the pre-literary phase (ending in 240 BC), which is dubbed by Weiss Very Old Latin, and the earliest literary texts, which Weiss calls Old Latin and others call Early Latin. Within the former period, German scholarship in particular distinguishes *Altfrühlatein* (700–500 BC) from *Neufrühlatein* (450–240 BC) – for a brief survey and references see Hartmann (2005).

## 2. Continuity or change?

Once we have fixed the bounds of early and late Latin, the central question, and the one around which the workshop from which this volume derives was organised and which our speakers were invited to address, is: what degree of continuity is there between these two periods and to what extent does such continuity fail to appear in the classical language? To even pose the question in these terms is, of course, to take the term ‘classical’ in its diastatic meaning. On a chronological interpretation, the question would make no more sense than to ask if we can connect Old English and Modern English without going through Middle English. However, from a socio-cultural perspective it is entirely possible that everyday usage of the pre-classical period might have been prescriptively excluded from classical writings only to resurface at a later period when such constraints were relaxed. In other words, the colloquial spoken language, which is the primary vehicle of language change, might have gone underground or, in the term used by many of our authors, become ‘submerged’ in the period roughly from the first century BC to the second or third centuries AD. Note in particular that ‘submerged’ on this interpretation does not mean simply hidden from historical view, as for example in Adams (2013: 856–62). We can expect in general that changes at whatever level of linguistic structure will only surface in the inevitably conservative written language some decades or more after they have become common in the spoken language. However, in this narrower sense, ‘submerged’ involves a significant diachronic discontinuity in the historical record. The focus of research then becomes to seek to spot in pre-classical usage instances of structures that are more widely attested again in the post-classical era and/or constitute the foundations of structures that are continued in one or more Romance languages.

This line of argument is due originally to Marx (1909), who adduces a range of examples from lexis, morphology, phonology and syntax in which there are, or appear to be, precursors of late Latin and modern Romance in



early texts. Within the lexicon he cites examples such as *demagis* in Lucilius (527), which appears to prefigure Spanish *demas* ‘the rest’, *fabulari* in Titinius (104) beside Portuguese *falar* and Italian *favellare* ‘speak, chatter’, and the use of the diminutive *auricula* by Plautus (*As.* 668, *Poen.* 375) as the word for ‘ear’, an etymon which is required to explain such Romance forms as French *oreille* or Italian *orecchio*. Here the semantic links seem straightforward; in other instances a degree of interpretation is required, as when he adduces Terence, *Eu.* 558 *quid sibi hic vestitus quaerit* ‘what does this outfit want/seek to say’ as a precursor of Spanish *querer* ‘want’ rather than in its classical sense ‘seek’. The lexical side of this argument is developed by Mannheimer (1975) in a doctoral thesis whose title very closely parallels that of Marx’s original article. She subdivides work that falls under the heading ‘Altlatein’ into: comedy, tragedy, prose and poetry, with Lucilius within this last category being singled out for special attention. Within ‘Spätlatein’ she groups what she calls ‘Archaisten’ (Fronto, Gellius and Apuleius), other non-Christian writers, Christian writers, technical writers (‘Fachschriftsteller’) and poets. By contrast everything that would more usually be called ‘classical’ falls into a period labelled simply ‘Zwischenzeit’! All these cases and many more in the lexical domain are analysed in detail in the chapter here by Pezzini, who argues that very few if any will bear the force that has been ascribed to them.

Within syntax, Marx cites in particular the uses to be found in early writers of *quod* plus a finite clause as the complement of a verb of saying or believing instead of the expected accusative and infinitive. As he notes, it is unlikely (‘wenig glaublich’) that these early literary uses correspond to the later, more popular instances of this construction and its ultimate prevalence in Romance. Rather there is a gradual rise over time both in the number of attestations of the construction and the range of authors in whose work it is to be found, as detailed in the comprehensive survey by Cuzzolin (1994). This construction is therefore an example of continuity from the early period rather than submersion, as also argued in Adams (2011). Marx is by no means the only scholar to have discussed particular forms or patterns from the perspective of a possible submerged Latin. Rosén (2000), for example, claims to see the beginnings of the Romance suppletive paradigms of the ‘go’ verb in such Plautine instances as *Cur.* 621 *ambula in ius* with its response *non eo*, though her arguments are challenged in the detailed study of this verb by Adams (2013: 792–820). This example serves to underscore an important methodological principle, namely that, in order to demonstrate a clear case of submerged Latin, it is not sufficient simply to point to an apparently similar early use of the

form or construction in question. It is also necessary to show that the structure and meaning are parallel across the two epochs. If, as Adams argues, *ambula in ius* really means ‘walk to court’ rather than ‘be transported’ and if in the same texts we also find the imperative *i*, then neither of these conditions are met, and the argument does not go through. A similar insistence on the need to look closely at possible semantic differences between superficially similar pairs is to be seen in the challenge to the notion of submerged Latin in Baños (1996).

Another line of argument, particularly espoused by Italian scholars such as Devoto and Pisani, is to see links generated by contact between early Latin and the other Italic languages and then to connect these in turn with post-classical developments. Thus, Maria Luisa Porzio Gernia in a number of studies over the years (see now her collected papers in Porzio Gernia 2013) has this as the driving force behind the early breakdown of nominal morphology, which was then obscured by the imposition of classical norms.

Many of the other examples that have been discussed in the literature under this heading are the subject of closer focus in the chapters that follow, including prepositions vs. case marking (Adams and De Melo), possessive pronouns (Mari), the periphrastic perfects and passives (Haverling, Danckaert), analytic vs. synthetic expression of comparison (Bauer, Maltby), the periphrastic causative (Vincent) and the use of infinitives with motion verbs (Adams and Vincent). In his chapter, by contrast, Clackson investigates the submerged Latin hypothesis with respect to a single text, while Chahoud and Panayotakis bring into focus two constructions which have not hitherto received close diachronic attention. Finally, the chapters by Hilla Halla-aho and by Philomen Probert and Eleanor Dickey move beyond the domain of morphosyntax to consider sentence structure and its interaction with discourse organisation and text type.

Before concluding it is worth reminding ourselves of two potential false trails when comparing Romance outcomes with Latin origins. The first concerns learned borrowings, which could occur at the level of syntax as well as in the more familiar domain of lexis. A case in point is the rise of the vernacular accusative and infinitive (ACI) as in:

- (3) a) Aristote di appartenir aux beaux le droit de commander (Montaigne, sixteenth cent.)  
       ‘Aristotle says that the right to command belongs to the beautiful’
- b) dirà quello essere un bellissimo diamante (Galileo, *Dialogo* 1632)  
       ‘(who) will say that that is a most beautiful diamond’
- c) Lo jogador ... afermà lo mul esser seu (Catalan, fifteenth cent., cit. Moll 1952: 377)  
       ‘the player declared that the mule was his’

This construction is cited in the classic study by Blatt (1957) – from whom example (3a) is taken – as a clear instance of Latin influence on the written standard languages of Europe, which comes into play following the return to the normative standards of classical Latin in the humanist era. By the same token this construction remains a part of high register written language and falls out of use again with the emergence of new prose styles in the post-Renaissance era. A number of other instances which demonstrate similar diachronic profiles are documented in Pountain (2011).

While in the case of the AcI there is clearly a Latin precedent but no continuity, the converse obtains in another type of circumstance, namely that in which the ingredients are Latin but where there is no precedent for their mode of combination. This is to be seen in the compound gerund: French *ayant fait* ‘having done’, Portuguese *tendo discutido* ‘having discussed’, Italian *essendo uscito* ‘having gone out’. There is no role for a form such as this in Latin since the past participle by itself already fulfils the corresponding function. As Menoni (1982) demonstrates in detail, such forms rather come into existence in the context of vernacular translations of Latin texts. Thus, for example, Virgil’s *sic ore effata recepit/ad sese* (*Aen.* 2.524) is rendered as *ed avendo così parlato ricevette Priamo a sé* in the first Italian translation by Ciampolo di Meo in the early fourteenth century. Similarly in Bencini’s *volgarizzamento* of Valerius Maximus, we find *essendo prese due serpi nella sua casa, l’uno maschio, l’altra femmina* for the original *anguibus domi suae mare ac femina deprehensis* (4.6.1). The genesis of these compounds in such a specialised literary context in turn explains the association with high and formal registers of language which they retain to this day in clear contrast with the simple gerunds, which occur with a range of different functions across all levels of spoken and written language.

In conclusion, then, it should be clear that behind the apparent neatness of our traditional labels lies a series of issues of considerable subtlety and complexity. At the same time, the richness, variety and longevity of the Latin textual inheritance allows us the opportunity to investigate these questions in a degree of detail that is not easily paralleled in the history of other languages. The chapters contained in this volume bear witness to the continued fruitfulness of such research.

*Comic lexicon: searching for ‘submerged’  
Latin from Plautus to Erasmus*

*Giuseppe Pezzini*

### 1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to assess the lexical evidence from the early Latin comic corpus that may support the ‘karstic’ theory, according to which a stream of Latin flowed from Plautus’ time to the late empire, but was ‘submerged’ in the classical period under the pressure of language standardisation and the literary filter (see [Adams 2013](#): 8, 23–5, 862–4). I will present the results of a fresh analysis of all lemmata found in Plautus and Terence, focusing in particular on those words that are almost or altogether non-existent in classical Latin (CL), but appear in late Latin (LL), medieval Latin (ML) and/or Romance.<sup>1</sup> I will show how most of these words might derive from revival, recoinage or reborrowing (normally from Greek), and do not necessarily imply continuity in usage from Plautus and Terence’s times. However, there is a small group of words which look as if they had always been in use since early Latin (EL), despite their absence or rarity in CL: this is the Latin which one might call ‘submerged Latin’, which I will be searching for in this chapter.

An important premise is required: my analysis concerns only lemmata, i.e. individual words that in a dictionary would be straightforwardly classified as separate entries. I have thus not considered chains of words and phrases (e.g. *in proximo*, *mirum est*, *etiam diu*), nor have I taken into account variants, phonological (e.g. *discipulina*, *opificina*, *calide*) or morphological (e.g. *postriduo*, *singularius*, *quadrupedus*). I have also excluded compounds (e.g. *interuias*, *postprincipium*, *cumprimis*,

<sup>1</sup> For a previous survey of the lexical continuities between early and late Latin see in particular [Mannheimer 1975](#) (in particular 110–33). Mannheimer’s work includes also evidence from early tragedy, epic, prose texts and Lucilius, and details in a useful alphabetic list the occurrences of early formations in late authors (153–76). However, it lacks systematicity and comprehensiveness, is mainly based on the late literary corpus and does not consider the factors at the centre of the present analysis (frequency of the word in LL, type of text, presence of Romance reflexes, derivational morphology) and their related classes (revivals, recoinages, etc.).

*multimodis, necullus*), readings that are textually problematic (e.g. *transbitere*, conjectured at *Mil.* 997; the crux *uitilena* at *Mos.* 213), non-Latin lexicon (e.g. the Punic in the *Poenulus*, the non-Latinised Greek of *Ps.* 483–8, the Prenestine *conia* at *Truc.* 691) and proper names (e.g. *Chremes*, *Menedemus*, *Iuppiter*, etc.). Finally, I have generally not taken into account semantic variation (e.g. for the word *auricula* I have not distinguished between the senses ‘small ear’, ‘outer ear’, ‘ear lobe’ or simply ‘ear’; on the semantics of this word see Adams 1995: 544 with n. 322, 550–1).

In Plautus and Terence one finds about 7,100 different Latin lemmata, classifying all participles as verbal forms and not as adjectives, and considering adverbs as independent lemmata. Table 1 displays nine different groups with which each lemma may be associated, on the basis of its subsequent occurrence in classical Latin (first century BC–second century AD), late Latin (third century–sixth century), medieval Latin (sixth century–sixteenth century) and Romance.

## 2. Standard, comic or archaic Latin

As one might expect, the vast majority of the comic lexicon consists of ‘standard Latin’ words, well attested also in classical Latin (group 1, *ca* 4,858 instances): I consider a word ‘standard Latin’ if (A) at least 10/20 instances of it may be found in texts written in the period from the first century BC to the second century AD, and if (B) the word is evenly attested across different authors, literary genres, types of text and time period, i.e. if it does not have any strong and clear register or style connotation. Within this class one may distinguish a group of words (class 1b) that are well attested in classical Latin but have a distribution which is of particular interest; for instance they are avoided or favoured by a/some particular author(s). Two examples are *nebula*, found in Livy, but not in Cicero and Caesar, *incusare* and *praecedere*, strictly avoided by Cicero, but used by Caesar and common in Livy, Quintilian and Tacitus.

Another large group (group 2, *ca* 482 instances) includes words that occur in Plautus and/or Terence, but elsewhere only in other early comic texts (e.g. Caecilius Statius, Turpilius), with the exception of grammatical texts and *glossae* (e.g. *auditare*, found only in Plautus and Festus). The vast majority of these words are Plautine only, often *hapax legomena* (*ca* 370 instances). Common patterns within this group are the humorous neologism (group 2b, e.g. *dentifrangibulus*, *quodsemelarrripides*, *cicimalindrum*, *ferritribax*, *perenniseruus*, *tedigniloquides*, *turpilucricupidus*) and the Greek loan (2c, e.g. *myropolium*, *thallasicus*, *bombax*, *euscheme*). However, the most common

Table 1. *Plautus and Terence's lemmata*

Group	Description	Tokens ( <i>ca</i> )	Notes
<b>1</b>	<b>Standard Latin words</b>	<b>4858</b>	<b>A. characterised by at least 10/20 instances in CL</b> <b>B. evenly attested across different authors, literary genres, types of text and time period</b>
1a	Normal distribution in classical Latin (CL)	4356	e.g. <i>dare, lupus, in, bonus, ut</i> , etc.
1b	Peculiar distribution in CL (but not apparent stylisation)	502	e.g. in Cicero, but not in Livy, Caesar, and Quintilian, or vice versa
<b>2</b>	<b>Only comic words</b>	<b>482</b>	<b>Includes <i>ca</i> 370 <i>Hapax Plautina</i></b>
2a	Derivational formations (mainly affixal)	307	esp. prefixed or suffixed forms, such as diminutives, intensified verbs and adjectives
2b	Humorous neologisms	87	
2c	Greek borrowings	35	
2d	Others	53	
<b>3</b>	<b>Words not attested in late Latin, medieval Latin and Romance</b>	<b>285</b>	
3a	Only early Latin (EL)	37	
3b	EL and rare in CL	248	
<b>4</b>	<b>Comic and late Latin (LL) words (not in CL)</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>(<i>ca</i> 20 are also found in other early writers)</b>
4a	Rare in LL and only in literary texts	151	
4b	Well attested in LL	13	>10/20 occurrences
4c	In LL non-literary or informal texts	12	e.g. inscriptions, medical treatises, etc.
4d	With reflexes in early Romance	13	lemmatised in etymological dictionaries of Romance (FEW, REW, LEI)

(continued)

Table 1. (*cont.*)

Group	Description	Tokens ( <i>ca</i> )	Notes
<b>5</b>	<b>Comic and Romance words (not in CL and LL)</b>	<b>37</b>	
5a	Not attested in early Romance	29	
5b	Attested in early Romance	8	learned borrowings, 'Latinisms'
<b>6</b>	<b>Comic and medieval Latin (ML) words (not in CL, LL, Romance)</b>	<b>137</b>	
6a	Rare in ML and only in literary texts	127	
6b	Well attested in ML and/or in non-literary or informal texts	10	
<b>7</b>	<b>Comic and late Latin words, in CL only in archaising writers</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>e.g. Gellius, Fronto, Apuleius</b>
7a	Rare in LL and only in literary texts	94	
7b	Well attested in LL	8	
7c	In LL non-literary or informal texts	3	
7d	With reflexes in early Romance	6 (+1)	(+ <i>cordolium</i> reconstructed in LL)
<b>8</b>	<b>Comic and late Latin words, rarely attested in CL</b>	<b>637</b>	<b>&lt;10/20 occurrences</b>
8a	Rare in LL and only in literary texts	282	
8b	Well attested in LL	170	
8c	In LL non-literary or informal texts	65	
8d	With reflexes in early Romance	119 (+1)	(+ <i>manicula</i> reconstructed in LL)
<b>9</b>	<b>Comic and late Latin words, in CL only in specific text types</b>	<b>359</b>	<b>e.g. found only or mainly in technical treatises, poetry, informal register (e.g. Cicero's letters, satirists, Petronius)</b>
9a	Without reflexes in early Romance and/or with derivational morphology	237	
9b	Non-derivational forms, with reflexes in early Romance	122	

type within the group of Plautine *hapax legomena* is the derivational formation (2a, *ca* 307 instances), i.e. a word formation realised by addition of a prefix or a suffix to a pre-existing word (e.g. *adformidare* < *ad* + *formidare*; *cistellatrix* < *cistella* + *-trix*; *lutitare* < *lutare* + *-itare*, etc.).

Group 3 consists of comic words that are not attested (3a, *ca* 37 instances) or are hardly ever attested (3b, *ca* 248 instances) in CL, but that in both cases are non-existent in LL, ML or Romance, except for glossaries or grammatical texts. For group 3a cf. e.g. *dulcifer* (attested only in Plautus and Ennius), *triobolum* (only in Plautus and Cato), *cautim* (only in Terence and Accius). For group 3b cf. e.g. *adposcere* (attested only in Terence and Horace), *exsignare* (only in Plautus and Livy), *multigener* (only in Plautus and Pliny), the archaism *interdare* (only in Plautus and Lucretius), *persancte* (as adverb only in Terence and Suetonius), *pollentia* (only in Plautus and Livy).

None of the classes of words listed so far (classes 1–3, *ca* 80 per cent of the total comic lexicon) can be considered submerged Latin and thus they fall outside the scope of my search.

### 3. Comic and late Latin

The first group of lemmata that deserves a close examination is that of comic words which are non-existent in CL, but are attested in LL (group 4, *ca* 189 instances). In some of these cases (*ca* 20 instances) the word is also attested in other early writers. This is an interesting group and one which may support the ‘karstic’ theory of a stream of Latin flowing from EL through to LL but apparently disappearing in CL. Is this class of words to be taken as a whole as submerged Latin? Had all words of this group been continuously current in speech since Plautus and Terence’s times, despite their complete absence from CL sources?

In order to deal with this question, one needs first to rule out the opposite possibility; that is to say, the absence of a word from CL written sources might indicate that this word was in fact not in use in CL speech, and thus that its re-appearance in LL sources does not reflect a circulation in speech that can be traced back to Plautus and Terence. There are at least two possible scenarios that may explain the re-appearance of an obsolete word in LL sources.

#### 3.1. Literary revival

The first scenario is literary revival: the occurrence of the word in late sources is artificial, due to literary imitation by late authors of the language



of Plautus and Terence. Three important factors that may point to literary revival are:

1. 'unproductiveness': the word lacks reflexes in early Romance (= it is not found in etymological dictionaries of Romance, such as FEW, REW, and LEI);
2. 'low frequency': the word is rarely attested (< 10/20 instances, across a limited number of authors);
3. 'literariness': the word is attested only in literary texts.

These three factors are useful for establishing whether a word was current in LL speech and thus whether it is appropriate to speculate that it had been continuously in use since the time of Plautus. A word that is characterised by all the three factors is likely to be an (isolated) case of literary revival.

An examination shows that the majority of words in group 4 (151 instances) do not have reflexes in early Romance (factor 1), are rarely attested in LL (factor 2) and only in literary texts (factor 3). Moreover, most of these words are not attested or hardly ever attested in ML; the few exceptions are all derivational formations (e.g. *aduersatrix*, *stercoreus*), sometimes used in a different meaning (e.g. *donabilis*, which in Plautus means 'worthy to receive' but in ML means 'that can be given'), and thus are most likely medieval recoinages (see below 3.2) and/or learned borrowings. A particular case within this group is *techna*, which is a modern reborrowing from Greek (first attested in Romance languages in the seventeenth century).

Because of the ambiguity between literary revivals and recoinages (see below 3.3), it is difficult to investigate literary revival in LL, which authors are fond of it and in what contexts and with what purposes literary revival occurs. Literary revival is a topic that deserves a much fuller examination; nevertheless I would here make some observations, which will need to be verified by systematic research. Among the late authors who appear to have been fond of 'comic' revivals there are many Christian apologists, such as Tertullian, Jerome, Ambrose, Arnobius, Augustine and Sidonius Apollinaris, as well as poets, such as in particular Ausonius, and the exponents of the pagan antiquarianism of the late empire, such as Macrobius and Symmachus (on comic words in Christian texts see [Plater and White 1926: 4.47–8](#), [Burton 2000: 105–9, 130–3](#), [Burton 2007: 35–62](#); cf. also [Gray 2015: 34–6](#)).

There are different types of literary revival. A first type is the affected archaism: a late author picks an obsolete word from the comic corpus and inserts it in his work to show off his erudition and/or to add an archaising ring

to his text. A plausible archaism is the Plautine *sutela* ‘stratagem’, elsewhere found only in two pretentious passages of Symmachus (*Epist.* 5.54, 6.74) and in a poem of the English writer Aldhelm (*De Virginitate* 963). A variant of this type is the archaic colloquialism: a word is used in a late text in order to simulate the speech of ancient Latin speakers. An example of this use seems to be the interjection *mehercle*, which outside comedy is found in Macrobius’ *Saturnalia* in a letter purportedly written by Virgil (1.24.10 *de Aenea quidem meo, si mehercle iam dignum auribus haberem tuis*; cf. also 3.12.1).

Related to archaism is the literary allusion: the late author alludes to a comic author by quoting one or several of his words, lines or phrases. One can identify a literary allusion either because the late writer explicitly mentions the name of the comic author (cf. e.g. Auson. 405.3, p. 478 Souchay, *hi igitur, ut Plautus ait, interim erunt antelogium fabularum, gar-ruli et deceptores*, 350.2, p. 372 Souchay, *neque ciccum suum Plautus offerret*), or because he (covertly) quotes (cf. Ambr. *Virg.* 3.3 *et tu in mysterio, Dei uirgo ‘gemitus, screatus, tussis, risus abstine’* [= Ter. *Hau.* 373]), or alludes to a comic passage (cf. e.g. Auson. 415.20, p. 503 Souchay, *promusque quam condus magis* [cf. Pl. *Ps.* 608 *condus promus sum, procurator peni*]).

A third type is the Greek calque: a comic word is revived because it provides a better rendering or an exact match for the original Greek word found in the original text which the Latin text is based on or derived from (for these phenomena see [Burton 2000](#): 105–9, 130–3). A good example is the word *stultiloquus*, used by Plautus (*Per.* 514), but virtually non-existent in classical Latin; it re-emerges in late Latin (cf. e.g. Hier. *In Eph.* 3.4 p. 553), presumably as a rendering of Greek *μωρολόγος* (cf. also *falsiloquus*, *multiloquium*, *stultiloquium*, all common in LL, and see [Burton 2000](#): 131 with n. 6 on compounds in *-loqu-* rendering Greek compounds in *-λογ-*). Revivals of this type are normally derivational formations, and often could also be construed as recoinages, independent from the comic uses. A clear case of recoinage is for instance the noun *congemminatio*, which Cassiodorus explicitly identifies as a calque of the Greek *anadiplosis* (*In Psalm.* 23.11) and which also occurs in the *conlationes* of the Greek bilingual Cassianus (21.32.4).

Another type of revival is what one may call ‘literary colloquialism’: a comic word is intentionally chosen because of its low register connotation, which derives however not from the word being current in late everyday speech, but rather from its association with a literary genre (Latin comedy) traditionally considered as representing the low and realistic. An example of literary colloquialism might be Augustine’s use of *palpatio* (*In Psalm.* 85.7, *Serm.* 169.15.18), a Plautine word that occurs in two sermonic addresses to his fellow Christians (cf. also [Burton 2007](#): 46 on *clanculum*!

-o, 53 on *decrepitus*; I have included these two words within group 8 as they are attested in CL; see below 5.2). A variant of this type is the evocative comic word: as shown by Burton for Augustine (2007: 35–62), the intentional use of Plautine or Terentian terms might go along with the incorporation of traditionally comic motifs, with the aim of interpreting (Christian) narratives and situations as (new) instantiations of the comic genre, thereby creating an ‘alternative comedy’ for the Christian mindset. An example of an evocative comic word is *ludificator*, a noun attested only in Plautus and Augustine, and by the latter applied to demons afflicting the souls of men (*Civ.* 10.11 p. 421.3D); as discussed by Burton (2007: 59–60), in Christian usage the activity of demons is often described as *ludificari* (‘to mock’), which is itself an act so closely associated with (Roman) comedy that in one case Augustine transforms a quotation of Terence by adding a reference to this act (*Conf.* 1.9.14 *quas ibi miseriae expertus sum et ludificationes*; cf. Ter. *Ad.* 687 *quam ibi miseriam vidi!*).

Finally, at times one should leave open the possibility of unconscious literary revival. Words which were obsolete or unusual in LL speech might have been learned and memorised by readers of Plautus and Terence, both (but especially the latter) school texts in late antiquity (cf. Hier. *Adv. Rufin.* 1.16.26–31), and subsequently been used in their work without any conscious stylising intent. An example of this type may be the adjective *tardiusculus*, found once in Plautus (*Cist.* 380) and Terence (*Hau.* 515) and nowhere else in Latin, with the exception of Augustine (a keen reader of Terence, cf. Burton 2007: 39–40); Augustine uses it seven times, and in none of these passages can one detect a clear intent to sound archaic or colloquial.

### 3.2. *Recoinage*

A second scenario that may explain the recurrence of a comic word in late Latin, without implying continuity in use since early Latin, is recoinage: the word occurring in Plautus and/or Terence went out of use in classical Latin but was independently recoinced in late Latin; the early and late occurrences are not related. A key factor that may point to recoinage concerns the morphological shape of the word. I call this factor ‘derivational morphology’.

4. ‘derivational morphology’: the word is realised by the addition of a prefix or a suffix to a pre-existing word or stem.

As mentioned above (section 2), by the term ‘derivational morphology’ I refer to a particular type of word formation, consisting in the addition

of an affix, prefix or suffix, to another word or stem (e.g. *adformidare* < *ad* + *formidare*, *infirmare* < *infirmus* + *-are*); these prefixes and suffixes (such as *de-* *in-* *ad-*, *-tio*, *-osus*, *-ito*, *-are*, etc.) are meaningful to any Latin speaker since they are productive in other Latin words (cf. e.g. the Plautine *adformidare*, with a prefix found in standard Latin verbs such as *adhaerere*, *adhibere*, *adigere*, *adimere*, etc.). Derivational forms do not necessarily have to be current in speech when they occur in writing; any Latin writer could create a new one, which, although potentially unfamiliar, would still be intelligible. As seen above (section 2, group 2a), Plautus is a great coiner of derivational formations, most of which remained *hapax legomena* in the history of the Latin language. It is the familiar unfamiliarity of these derivational neologisms that makes them humorous, and explains Plautus' fondness for them.

Moreover, derivational forms can be coined independently by different users, at different historical periods. An example from English is the form *immediacy*, a formation characterised by the productive suffix *-acy*, which is found for the first time in Shakespeare, another author very fond of neologisms. After Shakespeare, the word is hardly ever attested until the late eighteenth century, where it appears again (with a technical sense) in a translation of a German geographical treatise by the English clergyman Patrick Murdoch. It is clear that Patrick Murdoch did not intend to quote or allude to Shakespeare when he used the word *immediacy*, and that the word was not then current in speech; Murdoch re coined *immediacy* as a calque of German *Unmittelbarkeit* by analogy with other English words in *-acy*. Similarly, the word *immediacy* re-appears as a philosophical technicism in nineteenth-century texts, where it is clearly a new recoinage, independent from both Shakespeare and Murdoch. Consequently, the occurrence of the same derivational formation in two different authors could be coincidental, without implying any continuity, as long as the word-formation process relied upon by the authors is productive at both stages of the language (on this see below section 7). In some cases the later author could indeed be taking that formation from the earlier one, but not necessarily so. It is possible that Housman was influenced by Shakespeare in using the obsolete verb 'to friend' in his *Shropshire Lad* (75. 69 *here are salves to friend you*; cf. Shakespeare *Troilus and Cressida* 1.2.74 *Well the Gods are above, time must friend or end*; *Henry V* 4.5.16 *Disorder that hath spoyl'd us, friend us now*); but users of Facebook are certainly not quoting Shakespeare or Housman when they say that they have *friend*ed a hottie nor should this be taken as a proof that the verb had been current in English from Shakespeare to Facebook. This 'Facebook' slang term is

clearly a contemporary recoinage, although its morphology makes it 'potentially current' and thus intelligible.

Therefore, to come back to submerged Latin, any comic and late Latin word that is characterised by factor 4 (derivational morphology) is potentially a recoinage; 170 out of the 189 words of group 4 (cf. Table 1) are derivational formations, which might easily be construed as recoinages (e.g. *aratiuncula*, *ballistarium*, *magnidicus*, *peculiosus*). Interestingly, out of these 170 lemmata, 140 are forms that may also be considered as literary revivals, as they are characterised by factors 1, 2 and 3 (see above 3.1). The frequency of words that are both derivational formations and probable literary revivals is not surprising; it is reasonable to imagine that late authors wanted to be understood by their readers, and lost words picked from archaic writers were at risk of being incomprehensible unless they were derivational formations, intelligible to any Latin speaker.

### 3.3. *Revival or recoinage?*

It is difficult to establish which of the two processes (revival or recoinage) lies behind the re-appearance of a comic word in LL. Nevertheless, whether they are literary revivals, late recoinages or some sort of combination of both, words that are characterised by all the four factors discussed above (unproductiveness in early Romance, low frequency, literariness and derivational morphology) cannot be easily taken as specimens of submerged Latin.

To sum up, out of the 189 instances of comic and late Latin words that are non-existent in classical Latin (group 4), 151 are probable revivals (characterised by unproductiveness in early Romance, low frequency and literariness), 170 are possible recoinages (characterised by derivational morphology) and 140 can be construed as both, as they are characterised by all the four factors.

There are only 11 rare literary words, without reflexes in early Romance that are not also derivational formations: *batioca*, *citharistria*, *condus*, *gerae*, *harpagare*, *mastigia*, *mehercle*, *scutra*, *struix*, *sutela*, *techna*. Some of these words are clear revivals, as suggested by both their meaning and the context where they occur (*condus*, *mehercle*, *harpagare*, *sutela*; on *condus*, *mehercle* and *sutela* see above 3.1); *techna*, *mastigia* and *citharistria* are direct Greek borrowings (underlined in the above list) and thus not very significant (cf. section 7); only *batioca*, *gerae*, *scutra*, and *struix* deserve closer examination and could possibly be construed as cases of submerged Latin. *Batioca* (Pl. *St.* 694; cf. Gk. βατιάκη) and *scutra* (Pl. *Per.*

88, Caecil. 68b, Cato *Agr.* 157) are technical terms, referring to two kinds of vessel or dish; *batioca* occurs in Arnobius (*Nat.* 2.23 *batioca scopae scyphus*) whereas *scutra* in the Vulgate (*Reg.* 3.40, 3.45) and in *Pauli Sententiae* (3.6.37). The archaic *struix* 'heap' is attested only in Livius Andronicus (*Trag.* 37 R.), Plautus (*Men.* 102) and some *glossae* (e.g. Festus p. 310 L. *struices antike dicebant extructiones omnium rerum*); it re-appears in the Vulgate (*Ezek.* 24 *conpone quoque struices ossuum*) and in Jerome's commentaries on this passage. The word *gerrae* 'nonsense', common in Plautus as an interjection (e.g. *As.* 600), is found in Ausonius (335 p. 334 Souchay *haec friuola gerris Siculis uaniora*), apparently in the same sense (distinct from *gerra* < γέρρον 'hurdle').

Other potentially interesting groups are those of words that do not have reflexes in early Romance but are well attested in LL (4b) or are attested in non-literary or sub-standard texts (4c), such as inscriptions, papyri or medical treatises; cf. e.g. *litigium* (> 50 instances in LL), *multiloquium* (> 150 instances in LL), *deambulatio* (found in Pelagonius, Marcellus *Med.*), *porcinarius* 'pork-butcher' (found in a Christian inscription (Diehl 690) dated to the sixth century). However, most of these words are derivational formations, especially nouns and adjectives containing the element *-loqu-* (on which see above 3.1), and could thus be easily construed as recoinages. Moreover, all the non-derivational words in these two groups are Greek loans (*chrysus*, *lopas*, *myropola*, *pithecium*, *trapezita*), which could well have been reborrowed from Greek at some time after Plautus and Terence.

### 3.4. Potentially submerged Latin

Words that have reflexes in early Romance (group 4d) deserve a special mention as they were presumably current in LL speech and might potentially be cases of submerged Latin. Most of them are derivational formations: *agnellus* (Pl. *As.* 667, >50 instances in LL; cf. OF, AN *agnel*, It. *agnello*, Cat. *anyell*), *carcerarius* (Pl. *Capt.* 129, conjectured at *CIL* 3.10493k, 6.1057.7.4, found in *Vitae Patr.* 10.108, *Lex Visig.* 7.4.3, etc.; cf. OF, AN *chart(ri)er*, Occ. *carcerier*, Sp. *carcelero*), *edentare* (Pl. *Rud.* 662, Macr. *Sat.* 7.3.10 (probably as a revival); cf. AN *edenté*, It. *sdentare*), *excurare* (Pl. *Cas.* 726, Ps. 1253, Vincent. *Ler.* 23.30.13, Faust. *Rei. epist.* 6. p. 196.2; cf. OF, AN *escurer*, Occ., Cat., Sp. *escurar*), *internecare* (Pl. *Am.* 189, >10 instances in LL; cf. e.g. the Italian dialectal *tarnegär*, *tarnegá*, *stene(r)gar*), *lunula* (Pl. *Epid.* 640, >10 instances in LL; cf. OIt. *lulla*), *minacia* (Pl. *Mil.* 374, *Rud.* 795, *Truc.* 948, *Itala Hab.* 3.12, Acts 4.29, Tert. *Adv. Marc.* 4.39,

Arnob. iun. *Ad Greg.* 18 p. 420.9; cf. AN *manace*, It. *minaccia*, Cat., Occ. *menassa*), *raptio* (Ter. *Ad.* 356, Eogr. *Ter. Ad.* 355, Arnob. *Nat.* 5.37, Auson. 420 p. 557 (Souhay) *praef.*; cf. OPg. *rouçom*), *scutarius* (Pl. *Epid.* 37, common in LL; cf. OF, AN *escuier*, *esquier*, It. *scudaio*, Occ. *escudier*), *uitellus* (Pl. *As.* 667, Obseq. 52; cf. OF, AN *vedel*, *veel*, Occ. *vedeu*, It. *vitello*). These derivational formations cannot be considered as clear specimens of submerged Latin since it is possible that they were independently coined in LL; nevertheless, they are interesting as it cannot be ruled out that they had been current in speech since Plautus and Terence's times.

There are only three words within group 4 that cannot be easily construed as literary revivals and/or recoinages (i.e. they are not characterised by any of the factors 1–4). These words are: *boia*, *ciccum*, *sandalium*. This is a small but significant group and contains the best candidates within group 4 for submerged Latin.

*Boia* ('sort of collar for criminals') is a term of uncertain etymology, attested twice in Plautus, at *As.* 549 in a list of restraining tools (*numellas, pedicas, boias*), and at *Capt.* 888 in word play with *Boius* (*Boius est, boiam terit*). With the exception of a gloss of Festus (p. 35 M. *boiae, id est genus uinculorum, tam lignae quam ferreae dicuntur*), the word is not attested in CL sources, but re-emerges in Jerome, in two passages in which it is associated with *sermone uulgari* (*In Ier.* 27, 2 p. 1031 κλοιούς, *qui hebraice appellantur 'mutoth' et sermone uulgari 'boias' uocant*; *Nom. hebr.* p. 28.20 κλοιόν, *torquem uidelicet damnatorum, quam uulgo boiam uocant*). The term also occurs in Isidore's glosses (*Orig.* 5.27.12 *boia est torques damnatorum, quasi iugum in boue ex genere uinculorum est*), in the *Liber Pontificalis* (p. 178 Mommsen *tollentes eum de ecclesia miserunt boiam in collo eius*), in the *Prosa de uirginitate* of the English monk Aldhelm (33 *boias in collo et compedes in cruribus nectunt*) and in a poem of the *Hymnodia Hispanica* (94.21 *colla grauaturn pondere boiarum, | compede pede*); it is well attested in medieval Latin (cf. DMLBS, *DuC* s.v.) and is widely reflected in Romance (cf. OF *buie*, OOcc. *bōia* 'chain, fetter, shackle', and see FEW, REW s.v. *boja*) although in some varieties it has acquired the new meaning of 'hangman, executioner' (cf. It. *boia*, Wallonian *boie*). One may infer from this evidence that *boia* had been current in Latin speech from Plautus to the late empire, but was submerged in classical times, probably because of its 'slang' character.

The word *ciccum* is more problematic; it occurs twice in Plautus (*Rud.* 580 *eluas tu an exunguare, ciccum non interduim*, frg. inc. 2 *ciccum non interduo*) as the cliché for a worthless object, in what looks like an archaic proverbial expression (note the archaic subjunctive *interduim*). According



to Varro (*L.* 7.91) and Festus (p. 42 M.) *ciccum* meant, at least in earlier Latin (*dicebant*), a thin membrane inside a fruit, such as the one surrounding the grains in a pomegranate. The word is non-existent elsewhere in the history of Latin, apart from a passage in Ausonius (350.2 p. 372 Souchay), where *ciccum* is used in an explicit allusion to Plautus (see above 3.1), and may thus be taken as an isolated literary revival. Modern Italian has the word *chicco* ‘grain, bean’, which some believe to be related to Latin *ciccum* (cf. e.g. *REW* s.v. *ciccum*) or to the adjective *bechico* (< βηχικός ‘of cough’), although both its phonology and meaning are probably better explained by a derivation from Greek κίκκος. The reason why I still consider *ciccum* to be a possible case of submerged Latin is the existence in Italian of the words *cica* (‘worthless thing’, also botanical ‘membrane surrounding the grains in a pomegranate’) whose meaning and phonology may point to a derivation from Lat. *ciccum* (cf. also It. *cicca*, ‘stub, butt’, also ‘worthless thing’, which however probably derives from Fr. *chique* ‘piece of tobacco’); this would suggest that the word *ciccum* was current in speech at the time of Ausonius, and that it had been in currency since Plautus. It is worth mentioning also French *chiche* (‘meagre’), and Spanish *chico* (‘small’), which some scholars relate to *ciccum* (cf. *Littre* 1883 s.v. *chiche*), although others prefer to associate them with a prototypical root *tšitš-*, expressing smallness (cf. *FEW* 23.374).

Finally, the Greek loan *sandalium* (< σανδάλιον), besides its attestations in Terence (*Eu.* 1028) and Turpilius (31 and 147 Ribbeck; cf. also Pl. *Trin.* 251 *sandaligerulae*, Plin. *Nat.* 3.85 *sandaliotim*), is only found in LL; cf. e.g. in Augustine (*C. Iul.* 3.5.11 *capita sandaliis muliercularum commitigentur*, clearly echoing Ter. *Eu.* 1028) and the Vulgate (Mark 6.9, Judith 10.3, 16.11); it is well attested in medieval Latin and well reflected in Romance (cf. e.g. It. *sandalol-a*, Neapolitan *sánnale*), with a phonology (lack of post-liquid *-i-*, stress on the first syllable) which may suggest a popular borrowing (<\**sandālon*). It may well have been in use since Terence, despite its absence from CL sources, but it is not impossible that it was reborrowed in LL; however, the fact that it was a common term in a language to which Latin users were continuously exposed made it ‘potentially current’ throughout the history of Latinity.

#### 4. Comic and Romance and/or medieval Latin

The next two groups of comic lexicon consist of words that are not attested in CL nor in LL, but have parallels in the Romance languages



(37 instances, group 5) or are found in ML (*ca* 137 instances, group 6). Very few words of these groups could be taken as submerged Latin.

First, the majority of words of group 5 (29 instances) do not have reflexes in the early (as opposed to the modern) stages of Romance, i.e. they are not attested in etymological dictionaries of Romance (see above [section 3.1](#)) and have not been noted by scholars in the earlier texts: they are first attested in the late Middle Ages or early Modern period. Moreover, most of these are derivational formations (e.g. *adiutabilis*, *castigabilis*, *dictatrix*, *impuritia*, *inuendibilis*, *ludificabilis*, *mercatorius*, *huriaticus*, *obsequiosus*, *parenticida*, *placitare*, *plicatrix*, *polentarius*, *praemonstrator*, *primulus*, *sepelibilis*, *sepiola*, *sperabilis*, *sputator*, *uelitatio*) or Greek loans (e.g. *conchita*, *monotropus*, *ophthalmia*, *tragicomoedia*). They are evident learned borrowings imported in post-antiquity from ancient Latin (or Greek). There are however at least eight words whose Romance forms might directly be derived from Latin since they are attested in early Romance. Five of these words are derivational formations (factor 4) and should probably be construed as deriving from late antique or early medieval recoinages or reborrowings from Latin; these are *calceolarius* (Pl. *Aul.* 508; cf. It. *calzolaio*), *faeceus* (Pl. *Trin.* 299; cf. It. *feccia*, Sicilian *fetsta*), *insatietas* (Pl. *Aul.* 485; cf. OF *insacieté* (most likely a learned borrowing)), *tonsitare* (Pl. *Bac.* 1126; cf. OF *berto(u)der/bertauder*, see FEW 13.31), *uersoria* (Pl. *Mer.* 875, *Trin.* 1026; cf. Galician *vasoira*, Pg. *vassoura* and see REW s.v. *versorium*). We are left with the words *mantellum*, *pandiculari* and *tarmes*, which seem to be the best specimens of submerged Latin within this group.

*Mantellum* 'cloak' is a word, perhaps of foreign origin, used by Plautus (*Capt.* 520 and the spurious 521), but non-existent before early Romance (cf. OF, AN, Occ. *mantel*, It. *mantello*, Sp. *mantillo*) and ML. The foreignness of the word may also suggest a late reborrowing, although it is possible that it had in fact been in continuous, 'underground' use from Plautus to early Romance. Similarly, the verb *pandiculari* 'to grimace', of uncertain etymology, is only attested in Plautus (*Men.* 833) and glosses; I have not found any instances of the word in ML, but the verb was presumably current in late Latin as shown by some reflexes in Italian dialects (Abruzzese *pandēkkīyá*; cf. also Aretino *spandecerare*, Gallurese *pandīčiná*, Teramese *panņęčētī*). Finally, the word *tarmes* ('woodworm') is also found in Plautus (*Mos.* 825) but elsewhere in Latin only in two glosses of Isidore (*Orig.* 12.5.12, 12.5.15 in the masculine form *tarmus*); it is however well attested in early Romance (cf. It. *tarma*, Dauph. *darna*, OOcc. *arta* (see FEW s.v. *tarmes*)) and occasionally occurring in ML (cf. e.g. Sextus Amarcus *Serm.* 3.1.44); this rare word had presumably been current in Latin speech since

Plautus, although it was never properly codified in writing, as also indicated by its morphological variety (*tarmes*, *tarmus*, *termes*, \**tarma*).

As far as group 6 is concerned (comic and ML words), all the words in this group lack reflexes in early Romance (factor 1) and this makes them problematic, as it is likely they were not current in common speech in LL; moreover, many are rarely attested in ML (factor 2) and only in literary texts (factor 3), and thus should be construed with all likelihood as medieval learned revivals. Several of them are attested only in late medieval/early modern literary texts, especially Erasmus and Lawrence of Brindisi (ca 45 instances): these are literary revivals, made by keen readers and imitators of Plautus, and could well be considered as belonging to group 2 (only comic words). Cf. e.g. *ulmitriba*, found once in a letter to Erasmus in a context alluding to Plautus (*Ep.* 1814 *ne ex Erasmo repente nobis fieres ulmitriba ille Plautinus*) and also *plagipatida*, *prodeambulare*, *interoscitare*, *mendiculus*, *pancratice*. Some words are occasionally found in high medieval Latin texts (twelfth–fourteenth century) but they look no less like revivals of comic usages: a clear example is the adjective *spurcificus*, found in the glossary of Osbern of Gloucester (a real inventory of Plautine *hapax legomena*) and then used by Walter of Wimborne, who liked picking up obscure words from Osbern's glossary for use in his poems (cf. [White 2002](#): 141). Other words are attested in early medieval texts but are no more relevant: they are characterised by a very low frequency (< 10 instances), often only a single occurrence (e.g. *coniectrix*, *intertrahere*, *funginus*, *translegere*), and in many cases they are derivational formations (e.g. *monitrix*, *assentatrix*, *nundinalis*).

If one excludes words that are most likely literary revivals, the list of words of group 6 is significantly reduced to only ten tokens; five of these words are derivational formations and thus they might simply be medieval recoinages (*amatio*, *edictio*, *incogitantia*, *sectarius*, *utibilis*); some words are Greek loans (*comarchus*, *morum*, *sacciperium*, *spinter*). This leaves us with a single word *screare* 'clear one's throat, spit noisily'. This verb is found once in Plautus and does not occur in CL, although its compound *excreare* and derivatives are attested, especially in technical texts such as Pliny (*Nat.* 20.27.1, 20.46.4, etc.) and Celsus (2.7.16, 2.7.35, etc.). *Screare* is not found in LL either, except in grammatical texts (cf. e.g. Caesellius ap. Cassiod. *GL* 7.203.22 *item exscreo cum s screare significat, sine s creare*). In Ambrose there is one case of the derivational noun (*screatus*) but only in an allusion to Terence (see above 3.1). However, in ML the verb is occasionally attested (about ten instances + some derivatives) especially in Peter Damian (eleventh century), where I believe it is unlikely to be a Plautine

revival. I have not been able to find any direct Romance reflex; vulgar Italian has the verb *scraciare* and Sicilian has *scraccari* ('to spit'), but it is not likely that these forms are directly related to Latin *screare/screatus* (for an etymology of Sic. *scraccari* see [Varvaro 2014: 946–8](#)).

## 5. Comic and late Latin, rarely or specifically attested in CL

The next groups of comic lemmata (groups 7, 8 and 9) consist of words which do occur in CL, but are not well attested, either because they are found only in archaising authors (group 7), or because they are characterised by a very low frequency (<10/20 instances) (group 8) or because they are found only in a specific variety of texts and registers (group 9). Although these words do occur in CL, they still deserve examination, as they seem to betray a degree of 'submergedness' (to coin my own derivational formation!): their rare or specific occurrences in CL might thus be like 'fissures' in the ground, through which one could get a glimpse of the stream of Latin flowing submerged, especially in the case of words only found in archaising authors, which is the first group that I will consider.

### 5.1. Comic and late words in CL archaising authors

Group 7 includes lemmata that are found in comic authors and in LL, but in CL are attested only in archaising writers, such as Apuleius, Gellius and Fronto (group 7, *ca* 112 instances). Cf. e.g. *aquilinus*, *contruncare* (in Plautus and Apuleius), *concessare*, *delenificus* (in Plautus and Fronto), *adaeque*, *breniculus* (in Plautus, Fronto and Apuleius).

This class of words is potentially interesting: although it is likely that these archaising authors were using these words in imitation of Plautus and Terence, the fact that they also occur in LL may be significant. Just as we did for group 4 (cf. section 3), we first need to rule out the possibility that the occurrence of these words in LL is due to literary revival (which is the most likely cause explaining their occurrence in second-century archaising writers) and/or recoinage (cf. [section 3.2](#)). As discussed above ([sections 3.1](#) and [3.2](#)), important factors to consider are the persistence of the word in early Romance (factor 1), the frequency in LL (factor 2), the type of text where it is found (factor 3) and the morphological shape of the word (factor 4).

The vast majority of words in this group (*ca* 94 instances) do not have reflexes in early Romance and occur in a limited array of literary texts (factors 1, 2 and 3); these words can generally be construed as literary revivals.

Several are Greek loans (e.g. *arrabo*, *baxea*, *sycophanta*), others look like mere archaisms (e.g. *induuiaie*, *medioximus*, *quippini*). An interesting word might be the onomatopoeic verb *blatire* ('to babble'), which, however, in LL is found only once in Tertullian *De Pallio*, one of the late texts that most abounds in comic revivals. Moreover, most of the words of group 7 are derivational formations (factor 4), which could be construed as recoinages (*ca* 100 instances). Some of these words have parallels in modern Romance (e.g. *morigerus*, *confabulari*, *applaudere*), which however cannot be taken as direct reflexes of submerged Latin as they are not attested in early Romance; they are most likely to be modern Latinisms and thus fall outside the scope of my analysis.

There are some derivational formations that deserve a mention as they have reflexes in early Romance. These are: *aliorsum* (Plautus, Terence, Cato, Gellius, Apuleius, Florus; > 50 instances in LL; cf. OF, AN *aliors*, *aillors*, OOcc. *alhor(s)*), *coquinus* (Plautus, Apuleius, common in LL; cf. OF, AN *cu(i)sin(e)*, It. *cucina*, Occ. *cozina*, Cat. *cuyna*, Sp. *cocina*), *merenda* (Plautus, Afranius, Fronto, Ennius, Isidore.; cf. OF *marende*, Rom. *merinde*, It., Occ., Pg. *merenda*), *puluisculus* (Plautus, Apuleius, >10 instances in LL; cf. It. *polvischio*), *uaciuus* (Plautus, Gellius, Fulgentius, *Regula Mag.*; cf. e.g. OF *vuisif*, Bergamasque *vazif* and see REW *ad loc.*). To this group one should add an exceptional case of a comic word found only in an archaising writer, which is not attested in any LL source but has reflexes in early Romance, thus suggesting that it was in fact in usage in late Latin speech: *cordolium* (Plautus, Apuleius; cf. OOcc. *cordolh*, OF *cordueil*, It. *cordoglio*, Sp. *cordojo*).

Only one word in group 7 is not a derivational formation and cannot be easily construed as a literary revival. This is *cauilla*, which appears as a good specimen of a submerged Latin term within this group. *Cauilla* ('jesting, banter'; cf. also CL *cauillatio*, *cauillator*, *cauillatrix*, *cauillor*) is found once in Plautus (*Aul.* 638), and in CL only in Apuleius (*Met.* 1.7, 2.19) in the masculine form, with the addition of the occasional *glossae* (e.g. Paul. *Fest.* p. 46); the word re-emerges in LL, in both the masculine (e.g. Prud. *Perist.* 2.318, Ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 9.19, 23.6) and feminine form (e.g. Mart. Cap. 4.423), sometimes with the sense 'cavil' (cf. Aug. *c. Iul. op. imperf.* 3.50 *sed ne forte simpliciorum auribus tali cauillo coneris illudere*). It is possible that the word had been continuously in use from Plautus, and was still current in LL speech, as apparently suggested by some (somewhat problematic) early Romance reflexes (cf. Dauph. *chabelho*, OF *chaeles*, OOcc. *caëla* and see FEW s.v. *cavillae*, with bibliography).

5.2. *Comic and late words, rarely attested in CL*

The next group (group 8 *ca* 637 instances) includes comic and Latin lemmata that are found in LL but are rarely attested in CL (< 10/20 instances), often only in specific text types (especially technical works). Cf. e.g. *lapidarius*, attested only in Petronius and inscriptions; *dator*, attested only in Virgil and Silius Italicus; *dentire*, attested only in Celsus and Pliny; *attondere*, attested in Celsus, Pliny and Scribonius Largus, but also in Virgil and Lucan; *exenterare*, attested in Pliny, but also in Petronius and in an inscription from Pompei.

As for the other groups, also in group 8 there are many words (*ca* 282 instances) that are characterised by the three factors discussed in [section 3.1](#) (unproductiveness in early Romance, low frequency, literariness); these are probably mere literary revivals (cf. e.g. *clanculum*, discussed by [Burton 2007](#): 46, *blandiloquus*, *assentantiuncula*, *furcifer*, etc.). Some words do not have reflexes in early Romance but are very frequent in LL (*cantilena*, *crepundia*, *cudere*, *decrepitis*, *euge*, *gynaeceum*, *larua*, *machaera*, *peplum*, *perpes*, *prosapia*, *putere*, *stacta*, *sudus*, *supparus*, *symbolus*) or are attested in non-literary texts (*causea*, *lemniscus*, *magudaris*, *mucus*, *pipulus*). Most of these are Greek borrowings (underlined in the above lists) or can be easily construed as revivals or archaisms (e.g. *prosapia*, *perpes*); others are more interesting (in particular *cantilena*, *larua*, *mucus*, *pipulus*).

Moreover, the vast majority of words of this group are derivational formations, which, as expected (cf. 3.2), in many cases are also possible literary revivals. Some derivational formations are common in LL (*dator*, *homuncio*, *participare*, *paucillus*, *satagere*, *scortari*, *tintinnabulum*, *uersipellis*, *uirago*) or are attested (also) in non-literary or low-register texts (e.g. *lapidarius* in inscriptions, *attondere* in the Vulgate and Vegetius' *Digesta artis mulomedicinae*, *dentire* and *rubidus* in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, *exenterare* in Apicius and the Latin version of Philumenus' medical treatise); however, none of these has reflexes in early Romance and all could be easily construed as recoinages.

Some derivational formations deserve special attention as they have reflexes in early Romance and are listed in etymological dictionaries of Romance (e.g. REW, FEW, LEI). These deserve to be listed in full (below) as they were probably current in speech in LL. In this group I also include *manicula*, an exceptional case of a comic word rarely attested in CL (Varro, Vitruvius), which is not attested in any LL source but has reflexes in early Romance (cf. OIt. *manecchia*, OF. *manille*), thus suggesting that it was current in LL speech.

- (*technical texts*) *apicula*, *bracchialis*, *deliquere*, *desquamare* [*also Apul.*], *factura*, [*also Gel.*] *figularis*, *inauris*, *loreus*, *rotula*, *saburrare*, *trimodium*
- (*low register texts*), *baiulare* [*Pl., Phaed., CIL, Quint. reported speech*], *carbonarius* [*CIL*], *collibertus* [*CIL, Petr.*], *condecet* [*CIL, also Apul.*], *conscindere* [*Cic. Ep., Ps.-Sal., Var. Men.*], *suauitudo* [*Rhet. Her., also Gel.*], *suffringere* [*Cic. S. Rosc.*]
- (*poetry*) *admordere* [*Virg., Prop., Sil.*]
- (*mixed/other*) *adtemperare*, *amatrix*, *anellus*, *anitcula*, *aqualis*, *ascensio*, *audientia*, *bubula*, *cantio*, *cautela*, *cellarius*, *cistella*, *collaris*, *consuere*, *coquinare*, *corculum*, *crustulum*, *deuellere*, *dilapidare*, *distractio*, *ductare*, *eradicare*, *escarius*, *exporrigere*, *fabulari*, *facula*, *famelicus*, *flabellum*, *fodicare*, *gerulus*, *impuratus*, *intricare*, *litterarius*, *lupinus*, *manicula* [*reconstructed in LL*], *mensula*, *minutulus*, *morticinus*, *mucidus*, *nutricare*, *oculatus*, *palliolum*, *pappare*, *perlongus*, *pinnula*, *piscarius*, *porcinus*, *sartor*, *scirpeus*, *seminium*, *sobrinus*, *spurare*, *sputare*, *statarius*, *submonere*, *suffulcire*, *suspectare* [*>10 instances in CL but almost all in Tacitus*], *torulus*, *uiduitas*, *uisitare*, *uolaticus*.

Some of these words seem good candidates for submerged Latin; cf. in particular *fabulari* (very common in Plautus, also found in Terence, Titinius, Afranius, <20 in CL, frequently attested in LL; cf. OIt. *favel-lare*, Sp. *hablar*, Pg. *fallar*), *coquinare* (Plautus, Varro *Men.*, Vulg., Itala; cf. It. *cucinare*, Fr. *cuisiner*), *pappare* (Plautus, Persius, Isidore; cf. OF *paper*, Rom. *păpă*, It. *pappare*); however, the majority of words of the above list can be easily construed as recoinages (e.g. *amatrix*, *litterarius*, *oculatus*, *piscarius*, *porcinus*, etc.), and thus cannot be considered as certain cases of submerged Latin.

Words that are not derivational formations and have reflexes in early Romance represent a small number within group 8. These are listed here below.

- (*technical texts*) *basilicus*, *rumex*, *subtus*, *upupa*
- (*low registers*), *apage* [*Plautus, Terence, Afranius, Cic. Ep., Apuleius*], *collyra* [*Plautus, BIFAO*], *muttire* [*Plautus, Ennius, Terence, Petronius, Persius*], *pantices* [*Plautus, Nov., App. Virg., Priap.*], *ringi*,
- (*mixed/other*), *assula*, *auscultare* [*>20 but mainly in second century AD archaising texts*], *baiulus*, *ballaena*, [*>10 but mainly in Pliny*], *battuere*, *blitum*, *bolus*, *caperrare*, *colaphus*, *colostra*, *conger*, *eiulare*, *foetere*, *gannire*, *gluttire*, *labium*, *latrina*, *marsupium*,

nassa, palparei, pedica, pessulus, prologus, pulmentum, sambuca, situla, strenna, tinnire, trama, transenna, uerueux

Several lemmata in the above list are Greek loans (underlined) and could have been reborrowed in LL. I exclude *colaphus* from this group as it is not attested in mainstream Greek and was most likely picked up by Latin at the stage of the Roman encounter with Sicilian Greeks (on this word see [Adams 2003](#): 351 n. 100, [2007](#): 439, [Clackson 2011](#): 252–3). *Colaphus* and all the other, non-Greek words in the above list are certainly good candidates for submerged Latin, especially those that have reflexes in early Romance. Some good examples are *palparei* (cf. It. *palpare*), found in Plautus, Terence, the authors of the *Togata*, Cicero's letters, Juvenal, and also common in late Latin and with reflexes in Romance, most likely a 'colloquialism' (cf. [Krostenko 2001](#), [Adams 1977](#): 82); *pessulus*, very rare in CL (only in Var. *Men.* 577 and six times in Apuleius' *Met.*) but attested in LL, and significantly in the Vindolanda Tablets (597b *pestlus*; cf. [Adams 2013](#): 97) and Marcellus Empiricus' *De Medicamentis* (17.48); *strenna* (cf. It. *strenna*), found in Suetonius (*Aug.* 57.1, *Tib.* 34.2, *Cal.* 42) and in a few inscriptions (*CIL* 15.6265, 6.10234.13, 6.33885) and common in late writers (e.g. *Aug. Sermones* 198.2, *Caes. Arel. Sermones* 192.3): Vindolanda tablets and inscriptions are the sort of texts which point to just the submerged Latin I have been searching for. For *subtus* see the commentary on *Cato Agr.* 157.3 in [Adams \(2016\)](#): 5.8.

### 5.3. Comic and LL words, stylistically marked in CL

The last group (group 9, *ca* 359 instances) consists of words that are found in both comic texts and LL, but in CL are attested only or mainly in specific texts, such as poetry, technical works, 'colloquial' or low-register texts (e.g. Cicero's letters, the satirists, Petronius, etc.). These are probably 'stylistically' marked words, associated with or admitted only in a particular register (poetic, 'colloquial', technical). An example of a technical word is *lumbricus*, of a low-register or 'colloquial' word *garrire*, of a mixed-register word *ponderosus*.

Just as for the previous groups, also group 9 includes many words that involve one or all of the factors mentioned above (unproductiveness in Romance, low frequency, literariness, derivational morphology). These lemmata are to be excluded from the list of submerged Latin (*ca* 237 instances) as revivals and/or recoinages. Since this group (9) cannot fully be associated with the notion of submerged Latin I will focus only on



lemmata that do not involve factors 1 and 4, i.e. which have reflexes in early Romance and are not derivational formations. These are listed below (122 tokens).

Only or mainly in technical texts (e.g. Pliny *Nat.*, Columella, Celsus, Vitruvius, etc.):

**anguilla**, **atramentum**, balanus, bubulus, **bulbus**, cadus, **capparis**, **caprificus**, **cerussa**, cinnamus, **corbita**, coriandrum, **cribrum**, crudus, **cuculus**, **cunila**, **eruum**, **fermentum**, **festuca**, frigere, **furfur**, **furnus**, glaber, **hallec**, **hara**, hemina, **hirudo**, **limax**, **lumbicus**, macerare, **manubrium**, **melinum**, molere, **nucleus**, **pala**, **pergula**, **perna**, pinsere, **pirum**, **platea**, **polenta**, **pollen**, **polypus**, **posca**, **pulex**, quadrimus, **rastri**, **resina**, sarire, scaber, **scirpus**, **seria**, sinapis, **testa**, **tuber**, **urtica** (56)

Only or mainly in technical texts and poetry:

**aranae/-um** barathrum, cantharus, **colubra**, **corbis**, **corolla**, **crabro**, **cucuma**, fauilla, fel, **fiscina**, fricare, **iuncus**, **laurus**, **lima**, **lolium**, **lumbus**, luridus, **massa**, **merula**, mukena, myrtus, pallidus, **papauer**, **pascuum**, **pertica**, picus, planta, **praesepe**, **restis**, **robigo**, **scomber**, **stipula**, **sumen**, **turtur**, **ueru** (37)

Only or mainly in technical texts and low registers:

acidus, **beta**, **cimex**, **floccus**, **fungus**, **hircus**, **lacinia**, **laridum**, lingere, **mansio**, **patina**, prurire (12)

Only or mainly in technical texts, low registers and poetry:

canus, cassus, **costa**, crassus, **culcita**, discum, elleborum, lippus, olere, pannus, sibilare, veternus (12)

Only or mainly in low registers (Cicero's letters, Catullus, Petronius, etc.):

bellus, caluus, garrire (3)

Only or mainly in poetry:

coruscus, **uitta** (2)

Some of the words in the above list are Greek loans (underlined) and may not be significant; the others seem to be good specimens of 'quasi-submerged Latin'. However, the vast majority of words are only or mainly found in technical texts (117), with some of them also appearing in poetry and 'colloquial' registers. Moreover, most of these words (in bold) are specific nouns that do not pass the 'synonymic test' (for this methodological concept see [Hine 2005](#): 229, and cf. De [Melo 2010](#): 86, [Gaertner and Hausburg 2013](#): 43, 55), that is, they do not have a clear synonym in mainstream Latin. The fact that these words are restricted



to technical texts is probably not related to some stylistic filter, but to the rarity of occasions in which these could be used outside technical texts. In Latin, as in English, there was only one word for things such as 'eel', 'cuckoo', 'sieve', 'poppy', 'hoes', 'pigsty', 'pear', 'lead carbonate' (*cerussa*), etc.: these are not attested in mainstream prose authors such as Cicero, Livy, Tacitus, etc. simply because these authors were not often talking about these things. I will come back to this point in the final section. Only five words seem to have a solely poetic or 'colloquial' connotation and are not attested in technical texts: *bellus*, *caluus*, *coruscus*, *garrive*, *uitta*. These words are certainly interesting but the concept of submerged Latin could hardly be applied to them, given their frequency in CL. For instance, *bellus* is an adjective which is widespread in Latin although it is especially common in Plautus, Cicero's letters, Catullus, Petronius, Martial (on the complex semantics of this adjective see [Krostenko 2001: 51–9, 111–14](#)).

## 6. Summing up

It is now time to retrace the steps I have taken so far. The aim of this chapter is to consider the linguistic history of all lemmata found in Plautus and Terence, searching for words not attested or hardly attested in classical Latin sources, but attested (or reconstructed) in late Latin. The vast majority of comic lemmata (69 per cent) are standard Latin words, current from second century BC Latin to the end of the classical era (group 1). Many words (11 per cent) used by Plautus and Terence apparently did not reach LL, as they are not attested beyond the comic corpus, EL, or CL (groups 2 and 3). These groups are not relevant to our search for submerged Latin. The remaining comic lemmata are interesting and may provide specimens of 'submerged' or 'quasi-submerged' Latin. I have identified six groups, on the basis of the occurrence of the word in CL and LL. I have analysed words which are not attested in CL, but are attested in both comic and LL (group 4); comic words which are not directly attested in LL, but which occur in Romance (group 5) or in ML (group 6), and were possibly current in LL; words which in CL are only used by archaising writers (group 7); words which are very rarely attested in CL (group 8); and words which in CL are attested only in specific text types (group 9), such as technical works, poetry, and 'colloquial' registers. The total number of words in these groups is *ca* 1,110 words for submerged Latin (groups 4–8) and *ca* 360 for quasi-submerged Latin (group 9), which in absolute terms would

be a significant proportion (*ca* 20 per cent of the total number of comic lemmata).

However, close analysis has shown that most of these words cannot be easily considered as specimens of karstic or submerged Latin, as it is highly unlikely that they had been continuously in use from EL to LL. I have referred to four factors or variables that are useful in assessing the likelihood of continuity from EL and 'submersion' in CL: (1) unproductivity in early Romance, (2) low frequency, (3) literariness and (4) derivational morphology, i.e. whether the word has an obvious morphological structure such that it could have been re coined at a different period. A fifth factor that has emerged in the course of our discussion and may be added to this list is 'foreignness', that is to say, whether the word is an original Latin word or is borrowed from another language (5).

5. 'foreignness': the word is borrowed from another language (esp. Greek).

As we have seen, loans from other languages (especially Greek) are not necessarily relevant, as they could have been re borrowed in late Latin and not be related to comic usage. One can distinguish five classes of words on the basis of the above factors (excluding words of group 9).

- A. Words lacking reflexes in early Romance, which are rarely attested in LL and/or ML (or not attested in the case of group 5), and only in literary texts (factors 1, 2 and 3 and often also 4 or 5): **683 words (groups 4–8)**
- B. Derivational words or Greek loans lacking reflexes in early Romance, but which are common in LL and/or ML, or are (also) attested in non-literary sources (factors 1 and 4 or 5, but not 2 and/or 3): **266 words (groups 4–8)**
- C. Non-derivational, non-loan words lacking reflexes in early Romance, but which are common in LL and/or attested in non-literary sources (factors 1 and 2, or 1 and 3, but not 4 and 5): **14 words (groups 4–8)**
- D. Derivational words or Greek loans with reflexes in early Romance (factor 4 or 5, but not 1): **112 words (groups 4–8)**
- E. Non-derivational, non-loan words with reflexes in early Romance (not factors 1, 4 and 5): **37 words (groups 4–8) + 122 words (group 9)**

Words of class A were probably not current in LL and are to be considered literary revivals or occasional recoinages. As we have observed, most of these possible literary revivals are also derivational formations, a fact probably explained by the 'potential currency' of such words (cf. 3.2). Such items (which form a high proportion) cannot be considered

as submerged Latin and do not provide evidence for the 'karstic' theory. Words of class B are more interesting, since they are well attested in late Latin or are found in non-literary texts. Despite the lack of reflexes in early Romance, they might have been current in LL and been in use since the time of Plautus, although their derivational morphology or foreign origin significantly reduces this possibility. Words of class C could be construed as instances of submerged Latin, as they are non-derivational, non-loan words well attested in LL or found in non-literary texts. However, the fact that they do not have reflexes in early Romance may be taken to imply that they were revivals rather than words current since Plautus. Words in class D (112 tokens = 1.6 per cent) have reflexes in early Romance and were certainly current in LL speech, thus potentially suggesting a continuity in usage since Plautus. However, the derivational morphology or foreign origin of words of this class makes it possible that they were recoinced or reborrowed independently from Plautus and Terence and prevents us from considering them as clear cases of submerged Latin. Finally, words in class E (37 tokens = 0.5 per cent), i.e. non-derivational, non-loan formations with reflexes in early Romance, are the best candidates for submerged Latin; they cannot be easily considered as revivals or recoinages and had probably been current in Latin since Plautus and Terence's times, going 'underground' in classical Latin. The complete list of lemmata for classes A–E is found in the Appendix. In the next and final section of the chapter I will focus only on words class E that are never or rarely attested in CL (groups 4–8), that is to say, on those items which are the best specimens of submerged Latin (37 words).

## 7. Conclusions: submerged Latin

As shown above, the amount of comic Latin that certainly went underground in CL and re-emerged in late antiquity or later is extremely small (37 words = 0.5 per cent), and only a tiny fraction of it (6 words) is not attested at all in CL. The complete list is found here below, only including words that have reflexes in early Romance and excluding words that are clear derivational formations or Greek loans (class E).

### *Class E*

Group 4 (Comic, no CL, LL)

**boia**, *ciccum*

Group 5 (Comic, no CL/LL, early Romance)

*mantellum*, *pandiculari*, *tarmes*

Group 6 (Comic, no CL/LL, Medieval)  
screare (?)

Group 7 (Comic, CL archaising, LL)  
cauilla

Group 8 (Comic, rare CL [<10], LL)

(*technical texts*) **rumex**, subtus, **upupa**, (*low registers*) muttire, **pan-tices**, **ringi** (*mixed*), **assula**, auscultare, **baiulus**, battuere, **caperrare**, colaphus (*early borrowing*), **colostra**, eiulare, foetere, **gannire**, **glut-tire**, labium, **latrina**, **nassa**, palpare/i, **pedica**, **pessulus**, **pulmen-tum**, **situla**, **strena**, **tinnire**, **trama**, **transenna**, **ueruex**

Most of the lemmata listed above are solely Plautine words (30); only five are also found in Terence (*muttire*, *auscultare*, *colaphus*, *labium*, *pessulus*), and only two in Terence but not Plautus (*ringi*, *gannire*). This distribution is probably to be related to the stylistic nature of Plautine diction, linguistically all-inclusive, rather than to a difference of register between Plautus and Terence. Indeed, the large majority of the words listed above do not have clear synonyms in classical Latin (in bold in the list); as already mentioned (above 5.3), one is led to wonder whether the label ‘submerged Latin’ is really appropriate for words of this type, whose absence or rarity in CL may simply be due to the rarity of contexts (in extant written sources) in which they were likely to appear. It is probable that these words, which are attested in LL and/or early Romance, were in use continuously from Plautus to the late empire and beyond, especially given the fact that there are not specific synonyms for most of them. Clearly not all Latin words that were current in Latin speech have been recorded in classical written sources (on this see [Herman 1991](#): 34, [Stefenelli 2011](#): 571–5, [Adams 2013](#): 777–9), and some words unrecorded in CL do occur in the comic corpus, thanks especially to Plautus’ linguistic inclusiveness. However, words of this type are extremely rare in Plautus and a drop in the ocean in Terence. Lexical evidence from Plautus and Terence does not support the ‘karstic’ theory of a large stream of Latin ‘forced’ to go submerged in CL as a result of a literary filter and linguistic standardisation. If the notion of submerged Latin, with its strong sociolinguistic implications, can be accepted in any way (which I doubt), it must also be applied to the Latin spoken at the time of Plautus and Terence that was not included in their work.

A final, short coda: in this chapter I have generally taken no account of semantics, which certainly would need to be investigated by anyone

aiming to write the full history of the comic lexicon. For instance, the word *pedica* has in Plautus (*Poen.* 514) the specific sense of ‘shackle, ankle fetter’, which elsewhere is attested only in Apuleius (*Fl.* 17.7) and then in LL (e.g. *Paneg.* 8.7.1, Auson. 302.54 p. 236 (Souchay)); the word is however (rarely) attested in CL and only in the transferred sense of ‘trap, snare’. In the chapter this distinction has not been considered; there may be similar cases of Plautine words used in non-classical but late senses, which would need to be analysed. Conversely, the word *strena*, which has been identified as an interesting case of submerged Latin (see above 5.2) has in Plautus only the original meaning of ‘auspicious sign’, and not yet the specific sense of ‘(festive) gift’, which is standard in later Latin and Romance. Similarly, the noun *uersoria* in Plautus means ‘rope’ whereas its Romance reflexes mean ‘broom’; I find it improbable that the Plautine instance of this word is related to its late attestation. It would also be interesting to classify the different types of affixes which figure in the derivational words discussed above, and assess their semantics and productivity in LL, in order to identify with more precision which words are likely to be recoinages and which ones not. Derivational words that in LL do not display the sense conveyed by the semantics of their affix are likely to be inherited rather than recoinced, as are words containing affixes that are unproductive in LL. But these and other similar issues would need to be confronted in other work(s), which (I hope) will be aided by the results and data presented in this chapter, in my search for submerged Latin.

## Appendix

Underlined: direct Greek borrowings; *in italics*: derivational formations.

A)

Comic words lacking reflexes in early Romance, which are rarely attested in LL and/or ML (or not attested in the case of group 5), and only in literary texts (= characterised by the first three factors (1,2,3), and often also factor 4 or 5)

### 683 words (groups 4–8)

#### Group 4a (151)

*abitio*, *abnutare*, *acceptor*, *aduersatrix*, *albitudo*, *aliatus*, *amabilitas*, *ambestrix*, *ampliuscule*, *antelogium*, *aratiuncula*, *armariolum*, *batioca*, *beluatus*, *blanditer*, *cadauerosus*, *caelipotens*, *centumplex*, *circumtendo*, *citharistria*, *clurinus*, *collatiuus*, *colubrinus*, *commodule*, *commodulum*,

*compercere, compotrix, concomitari, concurare, condocere, condus, confore, congeminatio, committigare, conseruitum, contonare, conuasare, cordate, crurifragius, cumatile, cupienter, damnificus, despoliator, diffunditare, discordabilis, donabilis, ductitare, elinguere, emissicius, excidio, excruciables, exorator, extortor, falsidicus, frustratus, gerrae, gnaruris, grandiculus, hamatilis, harpagare, imbricus, incerte, inclamitare, incogitabilis, inconciliare, indomabilis, immisericorditer, insensio, integratio, interprimere, interturbare, ludificator, luxare, madefactare, magnidicus, mantiscinari, mastigia, mehercle, modialis, multibibus, nepotulus, neutrobi, nidamentum, oblocutor, obrodere, obtueri, occasiuncula, opimitas, oppingere, palpatio, palpator, partitudo, pauxillatim, pauxillum, peculiosus, pedatus, perquisitor, perreptare, persuastrix, perterrefacere, plectilis, plorabundus, podagrosus, pollucere, pollucibiliter, praeenarrare, praepedimentum, praestigiatrix, praeterducere, procellere, proieticius, promptare, prostibilis, prostibulum, pugillatorius, pugnaculum, quantillus, radiosus, recaluus, recessim, renuntius, responsor, risio, saeuitudo, sagittatus, sarcinatus, sclerosus, screatus, scutra, sorditudo, sospitalis, spinturnicium, stercoreus, struix, stultiloquus, subaquilus, subblandiri, subtristis, suppalpari, subrepticus, sutela, tardiusculus, techna, tegillum, uiripotens, unanimans, uanidicus, uenustulus, ueruina, uiaticatus, uoluptabilis*

#### Group 5a (29)

*adiutabilis, castigabilis, conchita, dictatrix, egero, fugitor, impuritia, inuendibilis, lucifer, ludificabilis, mercatorius, monotropus, muraticus, obsequiosus, ophthalmia, parasitatio, parenticida, placitare, plicatrix, polentarius, praemonstrator, primulus, sepelibilis, sepiola, sperabilis, sputator, strategus, tragicomoedia, uelitatio*

#### Group 6a (127)

*accipitrina, admigrare, argenteolus, assentatrix, athletice, auctarium, bellulus, bliteus, catapultarius, catillare, clamitatio, coaccedere, collapsere, concalere, concenturiare, conclamitare, coniectrix, conquiniscere, conspicillum, contabefacere, contortor, crocotula, crusculum, danista, datarius, defrustrare, deluctari, denasare, deruncinare, dulcifer, ebriolus, ecastor, ellam, ensiculus, etiamdum, exascere, expalpare, expositicius, extexere, falsimonia, famigeratio, ficula, flammarius, formicinus, frustillatim, funginus, gerro, herbeus, illectus, illocabilis, impendiosus, incipessere, infimatis, integrascere, interoscitare, interstringere, intertrahere, istorsum, ioculus, legirupa, locitare, macritudo, malacissare,*

*melculum, mendiculus, merobibus, monitrix, morologus, multipotens, myropolium, noctuinus, nuguendus, nundinalis, obsaturare, occillare, oenopolium, offerumenta, ostreatus, pancratice, parasitaster, parasitor, paratragoedare, pauciloquium, percruciare, perfabricare, perfortiter, pergraecari, perlepide, perliberalis, perlonginquus, perniger, peropus, perparce, phy, pistrilla, plagipatida, portisculus, postilena, poterium, prodeambulare, proportare, pytissare, rallus, rapacida, screator, scrofpascus, soricinus, spurcificus, subcustos, sublestus, subolere, succingulum, suffurari, sycophantia, sycophantor, transcendere, translegere, trifur, trifurcifer, tuatim, tympanotriba, ulmitriba, uastities, uenatura, uentulus, uillum, uirgator*

## Group 7a (94)

*adlubescere, admoliri, aequiparabilis, amasius, ambulacrum, apprime, aquilinus, arrabo, atticissare, baxea, blatire, breuiculus, caesariatus, censio, comoedice, complusculus, compotire, concessare, concipilare, condigne, consiliscere, contruncare, cuppedenarius, deblaterare, denificus, dicaculus, difflare, dispudet, efflictim, elegeum, examussim, fartim, fictura, gestitare, guttatim, hilaritudo, hira, illucere, impliciscor, induuiae, ingeniatus, labascere, lactare, lenonius, libentia, manifestarius, medioximus, mendicabulum, mortualia, musice, mustulentus, occedere, occentare, oculus, oggannire, oggerere, opiparus, opprobare, partire, patrissare, pauxillulus, penitus, percupire, perfossor, perpulcher, persentiscere, pisculentum, praesegmen, praesentarius, proeliaris, promptarium, propudiosus, prosperpere, publicitus, quaesitio, quippini, reuidere, ridicularia, scitamenta, scitulus, seueritudo, sorbilare, subseruire, suffarcinatus, summates, suppingere, sycophanta, turbella, unoculus, utiquam, uxorcula, uelitor, uincibilis, uolup*

## Group 8a (282)

*abligurrire, abortire, accusatrix, adgrauescere, aduigilare, aegrimonia, alearius, amatorie, applaudere, argutari, aspellere, assentatiuncula, assimile, bardus, bilibris, bilinguis, bismarius, blandiloquus, boare, calamister, calamistratus, calcitrare, calefactare, cantitare, cantrix, castigator, celox, cerritus, cibatus, cicatricosus, circumcursare, circumductio, circumuincire, cistula, clanculum, clienta, cloacina, collibuit, collinere, columnatus, commercari, compte, concubinatus, condormiscere, conducticius, conduplicatio, consudare, consuefacere, contabescere, contemptrix, conuerrere, crepidula, crumina, curatura, dapsilis, datare, deasciare,*

*dedolare, defaenerare, delassare, delingere, denarrare, depecisci, derente, despicari, deuerberare, dextrorsum, diecula, diffringere, digitulus, diminuerere, dissignator, ductim, dulciculus, eburatus, edissertare, effligere, erratio, exanclare, exaugere, excantare, excetra, exoptabilis, exoticus, explementum, extentare, extricare, ferentarius, fidicina, flagitator, flagrantia, fluctuosus, frunisci, fulguritus, fulmenta, funambulus, funditare, furax, furcifer, ganeo, gramia, hariolari, hippodromos, histrionius, horridulus, illepipe, illepidus, illex, immodestia, impetrabilis, impiare, impluere, impluuium, impos, incanus, incenatus, inceptio, incitae, inclementer, incogitare, incubitare, indagator, indicatio, indiligenter, infector, infortunatus, ingratiis, instrenuus, intercus, intertrimentum, interuellerere, interuiscere, inuergere, itio, iurator, lanaris, laniena, lineatus, linteus, loripes, ludius, lusitare, macescere, maiusculus, maleuolens, manipulatim, mastruca, materiarius, matula, meliusculus, menstrualis, metreta, miluinus, molliculus, monstratio, mulierosus, nauiter, negitare, nictare, nuperus, nutricatus, obreptare, obsonare, obticescere, occinere, ohe, oppignerare, ostentator, pallula, palpus, papae, parasiticus, passerculus, patritus, pauperare, pax, peculiare, pello, perbonus, percontator, perductor, perendie, perfector, pergrauis, peristroma, permirus, pernimum, pernumerare, perplacere, perpluere, persectari, peruiuere, peruoluere, petasus, phaleratus, pollinctor, pollingere, porculus, praedatorius, praediuinare, praefiscini, praefulcire, praemandare, praesternere, praestigiator, praetimere, pransor, prolectare, proletarius, prolificere, promonere, promus, propola, propudium, proreta, proserere, protollere, prouocator, pugilatus, pulpamentum, purpurissatus, quadrupedans, quadruplare, reditio, referire, renumerare, reparcere, repuerascere, resecre, responsare, restitare, riscus, robiginosus, rufulus, scriblita, scruposus, securicula, sedentarius, semidoctus, sentus, septuennis, silicernium, sinciput, sodes, sollicitatio, sordidulus, spectatrix, stabilimentum, staticulus, sterculinum, stratioticus, subdituius, subniger, subrufus, succedaneus, succenturiare, superferi, suppetiae, suppositicius, suppositio, suspiritus, telinum, testudineus, tippula, tolutim, tonstrix, tractim, transmouere, tricae, tritauus, trygon, ubiuis, umbraticus, unctor, utut, uaniloquentia, uaniloquus, uegrandis, uerberero, uesperugo, uitor, uolsella*

## B)

Derivational words or Greek loans lacking reflexes in early Romance, but which are common in LL and/or ML, or are (also) attested in non-literary sources [= characterised by factors 1 and 4 or 5, but not 2 and/or 3]

**266 words (groups 4–8)**



## Group 4b/c (25)

*ballistarium, cenaticum, ceriaria, chrysus, deambulatio, edentulus, falsiloquus, fraudulentia, guttula, illecebrosus, litigium, lopas, maestitudo, malefactor, mendaciloquus, multiloquium, multiloquus, myropola, occisor, peniculus, pithecium, porcinarium, potitare, stultiloquium, trapezita*

## Group 6b (9)

*amatio, comarchus, edictio, incogitantia, morus, sacciperium, sectarius, spinter, utilis*

## Group 7b/c (9)

*adaeque, altrinsecus, deosculari, incoctus, munditer, osor, protelare, spectamen, uicitare*

## Group 8b/c (223)

*abiurare, adglutinare, aditio, aequanimitas, aliquantisper, aliquantum, ambesse, ansatus, arbitrarius, astute, attondere, beare, candefacere, cantherinus, cauponius, causea, cauillator, cellula, cerinus, cessatio, circumuertere, coactio, collator, commerere, compedire, complacere, concorditer, concordare, condecorare, condignus, condolescere, condormire, conducibilis, conduplicare, confabulari, confidenter, congialis, congratulari, conradere, constabilire, contuitus, conuiuari, corpulentus, criminatator, cruciabilis, cruciamentum, cubitare, dator, deambulare, debacchari, decolere, dedecorare, defaecare, defensare, deglubere, dehortari, deierare, delectamentum, deliramentum, demulcere, demutare, dentire, deproperare, depurgare, deputare, desiccare, diluculum, duriter, edacitas, eiulatio, emoliri, emungere, equola, euge, excarnificare, exclusio, exenterare, expergefacerere, expungere, expurgatio, exsculpare, exstillare, extergere, fabre, factor, ferrugineus, feruescere, fidelia, flemina, foetidus, frustratio, gestor, gynaeceum, habitudo, homuncio, humanitus, immunditia, incestare, incommode, incommoditas, incommodare, incontinens, indipisci, indotatus, ingurgitare, innuere, insipienter, insipientia, interloqui, interminari, interpolare, ianitrix, ieiunitas, lapidarius, laute, lemniscus, licitari, litatio, lucescere, lymphaticum, machaera, magnificare, magudaris, malesuadus, manupretium, medullitus, mercimonium, meticulosus, morigerari, morigerus, multimodis, mussitare, mustelinus, myrtetum, negotiosus, nequiter, nequities, nugax, obdormire, obfirmare, obliuiosus, obnix, obsecundare, obsequela, obsonator, obsorbere, obticere, obtrudere, occubare, oppressio, palaestricus, palmarium, participare, patinarius, patrocinari, pauperculus, pauxillum, pauxillus, pennatus,*

peplum, *perbene*, *percarus*, *perdite*, *perdolere*, *perdurare*, *perennitas*, *pergrandis*, *perlauare*, *perspicax*, *perstrepere*, *pertegere*, *potatio*, *pota-tor*, *praeloqui*, *praesciscere*, *praestolari*, *praeterere*, *precator*, *prodigialis*, *proteruitas*, *puellula*, *pueriliter*, *pulsatio*, *quadruplicare*, *quaeritare*, *quo-piam*, *ratiuncula*, *receptio*, *redhibere*, *redimicula*, *repromitto*, *resarcire*, *retrudere*, *rubidus*, *rugo*, *sarcinator*, *satagere*, *scortator*, *scortari*, *scutula*, stacta, *suadela*, *subsilire*, *subsultare*, *sudatorius*, *sustollere*, symbolus, *tantillus*, *tenellus*, *textor*, *textura*, *tintinnabulum*, *tranquillare*, *trucu-lentia*, *ubiubi*, *unianimis*, *usurarius*, *utrubi*, *uerecundari*, *uersipellis*, *uesperascere*, *ueternosus*, *uirago*

## C)

Non-derivational, non-loan words lacking reflexes in early Romance, but which are common in LL and/or attested in non-literary sources [= characterised by factors 1 and 2, or 1 and 3, but not factors 4 and 5]

**14 words (groups 4–8)**

## Group 7b/c (2)

*congruus*, *macilentus*

## Group 8b/c (12)

*cantilena*, *crepundia*, *cadere*, *decrepitus*, *larua*, *mucus*, *perpes*, *pipu-lus*, *prosapia*, *putere*, *sudus*, *supparus*

## D)

Derivational words or Greek loans with reflexes in early Romance [=characterised by factor 4 or factor 5, but not factor 1]

**112 words (groups 4–8)**

## Group 4d (11)

*agnellus*, *carcerarius*, *edentare*, *excurare*, *internecare*, *lunula*, *minacia*, *raptio*, sandalium, *scutarius*, *uitellus*

## Group 5b (5)

*calceolarius*, *faeceus*, *insatietas*, *tonsitare*, *uersoria*

## Group 7d (6)

*aliosum*, *coquinus*, *cordolium* [reconstructed in LL], *merenda*, *pulis-culum*, *uaciuus*

## Group 8d (90)

(technical texts) *apicula*, basilicus, *bracchialis*, *deliquere*, *desquamare*, *factura*, *figularis*, *inauris*, *loreus*, *rotula*, *saburrare*, *trimodium*

(low register texts) apage, *baiulare*, *carbonarius*, *collibertus*, collyra,  
*condecet*, *conscindere*, *suauitudo*, *suffringere*  
 (poetry) *admordere*  
 (mixed/other) *adtemperare*, *amatrix*, *anellus*, *anitacula*, *aqualis*,  
*ascensio*, *audientia*, ballaena, blitum, bolus, *bubula*, *cantio*, *cautela*,  
*cellarius*, *cistella*, *collaris*, conger, *consuere*, *coquinare*, *corculum*,  
*crustulum*, *deuellere*, *dilapidare*, *distractio*, *ductare*, *eradicare*, *escarius*,  
*exporrigere*, *fabulari*, *facula*, *famelicus*, *flabellum*, *fodicare*, *gerulus*,  
*impuratus*, *intricare*, *litterarius*, *lupinus*, *manicula* [reconstructed in  
 LL], marsuppium, *mensula*, *minutulus*, *morticinus*, *mucidus*, *nutri-*  
*care*, *oculatus*, *palliolum*, *pappare*, *perlongus*, *pinnula*, *piscarius*, *porci-*  
*nus*, prologus, sambuca, *sartor*, *scirpeus*, *seminium*, *sobrinus*, *spurare*,  
*sputare*, *statarius*, *submonere*, *suffulcire*, *suspectare*, *torulus*, *uiduitas*,  
*uisitare*, *uolaticus*

E)

Non-derivational, non-loan words with reflexes in early Romance [=not characterised by factors 1, 4 and 5]

**37 words (groups 4–8) + 122 words (group 9)**

Group 4d (Comic, no CL, late)

boia, ciccum

Group 5b

mantellum, pandiculari, tarmes

Group 6b

screare (?)

Group 7d

cauilla

Group 8d

(*technical texts*) *rumex*, *subtus*, *upupa*

(*low registers*) *muttire*, *pantices*, *ringi*

(*mixed*), *assula*, *auscultare*, *baiulus*, *battuere*, *caperrare*, *colaphus* [*early borrowing*], *colostra*, *eiulare*, *foetere*, *gannire*, *gluttire*, *labium*,  
*latrina*, *nassa*, *palpare/i*, *pedica*, *pessulus*, *pulmentum*, *situla*, *strena*,  
*tinnire*, *trama*, *transenna*, *ueruex*

Group 9b

(*technical texts*) *anguilla*, *atramentum*, balanus, *bubulus*, *bulbus*,  
cadus, capparis, *caprificus*, *cerussa*, cinnamus, *corbita*, coriandrum,

cribrum, crudus, cuculus, cunila, eruum, fermentum, festuca, frigere, furfur, furnus, glaber, hallec, hara, hemina, hirudo, limax, lumbricus, macerare, manubrium, melinum, molere, nucleus, pala, pergula, perna, pinsere, pirum, platea, polenta, pollen, polypus, posca, pulex, quadrimus, ratri, resina, sarire, scaber, scirpus, seria, sinapis, testa, tuber, urtica

(*technical texts and poetry*) aranea/-um barathrum, cantharus, colubra, corbis, corolla, crabro, cucuma, fauilla, fel, fiscina, fricare, iuncus, laurus, lima, lolium, lumbus, luridus, massa, merula, murena, myrtus, pallidus, papauer, pascuum, pertica, picus, planta, praesepe, restis, robigo, scomber, stipula, sumen, turtur, ueru,

(*technical texts and low registers*) acidus, beta, cimex, floccus, fungus, hircus, lacinia, laridum, lingere, mansio, patina, prurire,

(*technical texts, low registers, poetry*) canus, cassus, costa, crassus, culcita, discum, elleborum, lippus, olere, pannus, sibilare, ueternus

(*low registers*) bellus, caluus, garrire

(*poetry*) coruscus, uitta.

## *Third person possessives from early Latin to late Latin and Romance*

Tommaso Mari

### 1. Introduction

In Latin, while a possessive relation in the first and second person singular and plural is unequivocally expressed by the possessive pronouns *meus tuus noster uester*, in the third person singular and plural a distinction is generally made between reflexive and non-reflexive relations, so that the possessive pronoun *suus* (a derivative of the reflexive pronoun *se*, see de Vaan 2008: 549) is deployed by and large when the possessor, both singular and plural, is the same as the grammatical subject, whereas the genitive of the demonstrative *is ea id* is normally used of a possessor other than the grammatical subject (*eius* of a singular, *eorum* and *earum* of a plural possessor masculine and feminine). This distinction is most evident in a sentence like the following (Pl. *Trin.* 109–11): *uidetque ipse... / suamque filiam esse adultam uirginem, / simul eius matrem suamque uxorem mortuam* ‘He sees ... and that his daughter is a grown-up girl, and that at the same time her mother, his wife, has died’. In the Romance languages, the situation is remarkably different, for the distinction between reflexive and non-reflexive has been lost. In the singular, reflexes of *suus* have been generalised at the expense of *eius*: in Italian, for example, *ama suo padre* can equally translate Latin *amat suum patrem* and *amat eius patrem*. Hence, a very literal Italian rendering of the Plautine passage *eius matrem suamque uxorem* would yield the ambiguous forms *sua madre*, *sua moglie*, and one would need to find an alternative strategy such as *la madre di lei* ‘lit. the mother of her’, *sua moglie* ‘his wife’. When it comes to a plural possessor, things are slightly more complicated, for some modern languages have generalised reflexes of *suus* (Spanish *su*, Portuguese *seu*), while others have introduced a differentiation in number by employing as a possessive pronoun a derivative of the genitive plural demonstrative *illorum* ‘of those’, originally masculine but which has been extended to include feminine as

well (French *leur*, Italian *loro*, Romanian *lor*, etc.). As we will see later, however, the distinction has not always been so clear-cut.

Traditional grammars of Latin record several non-reflexive usages of *suus*, which go back as early as Plautus: the first question that this chapter addresses is whether continuity or not is to be assumed between this early phenomenon and the generalisation of *suus* in the Romance languages, at least in the singular. A related question, which I shall discuss more briefly, is whether the generalisation of reflexes of *illorum* for a plural possessor in some languages is foreshadowed at any point in Latin.

In order to tackle the first question, I shall try to sketch a history of the non-reflexive usage of *suus* in literary Latin from early to late times. I shall examine the entire works of Plautus and Terence, and selections from authors of the first century BC such as Caesar, Nepos and Sallust; from the first century AD Seneca will be taken into account, then later writers spanning the period from the second to the sixth century AD such as Tertullian, the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Palladius and Gregory of Tours (portions of their works will be considered sufficient to yield between 120 and 200 tokens of *suus* for each author).

### 1.1. *Modern scholarly views on the use of reflexives*

First of all, we need to outline more precisely where *suus* is expected in Latin, so that we can concentrate on those cases where it is not. Different approaches are possible in order to understand how reflexives work in Latin: for example, Fruyt (1987) propounds an interpretation which she calls ‘sémantico-référentielle’ and which revolves around the semantic roles of Agent and Experiencer; a ‘semantic and sentence/discourse-related’ one is outlined among the others by Baldi and Nuti (2010: 324–5) and is based on the concept of Topic; the framework of Government and Binding theory is assumed instead by Pierluigi (2007), and several other angles have been tried.

Bertocchi (1989) commendably carries out a comparison of different approaches, and concludes that neither the syntactic nor the semantic nor the pragmatic principle can be generalised; rather, all three of them are involved in reflexivisation. The one generalisation she suggests is that the selection of the reflexive by its antecedent (be it a syntactic subject, a semantic Agent/Experiencer or a pragmatic Topic) obeys a more general principle of ‘empathy’ or sentence perspective. As she goes on to explain, ‘When the speaker identifies himself with the subject’s (or topic’s) point of view, that is, when he presents the facts from the perspective of the subject

(or of the topic), the reflexive is used' (Bertocchi 1989: 455). The advantage of this approach is that it is very flexible. Flexibility, however, brings with it some vagueness, as for example with the acknowledgement that 'It is, therefore, difficult to formulate fixed mechanical rules for the binding of the reflexive to possible antecedents, since it appears that the selection of the referent is strongly determined by the choices of the speaker' (Bertocchi 1989: 456).

Another problem that one encounters with this approach is how to explain cases where speaker and subject coincide in the first person singular but the reflexive refers to the object, as in Pl. *Rud.* 236 *quin uoco ut me audiat nomine illam suo?* Can a speaker in the first person identify himself with the object rather than with himself? This would be odd.

A third difficulty concerns the way this analysis can handle diachronic change, especially when it comes to the Romance situation: does the principle of empathy or sentence perspective itself undergo changes? And if so, how are these to be explained?

### 1.2. *The regular use of suus*

In this study, I shall embrace a morphosyntactic approach with semantic/pragmatic adaptations, such as that adopted by de Melo (2010) in his investigation of *suus* in Plautus. I regard subjecthood in the wider sense as the main factor driving the distinction between reflexive and non-reflexive, but I also acknowledge the regularity of some uses of *suus* that appear to be consistently determined by semantic and/or pragmatic factors, as seen under points 3 and 4 below. There are then four contexts in which *suus* is deemed regular according to our framework (see de Melo 2010: 89–90):

1. *Suus* is mainly expected when possessor and syntactic subject coincide (direct reflexivity), as in Pl. *Trin.* 109–11 above. From a semantic perspective, the syntactic subject can mostly be seen as the Agent.
2. Secondly, *suus* is expected in the case of the so-called indirect reflexivity, that is in 'subordinate clauses which are highly dependent on their main clauses' (de Melo 2010: 89). These are infinitival clauses and subordinate clauses in the subjunctive which follow the sequence of tenses: in this constellation, *suus* belongs in the subordinate but refers to a possessor in the superordinate clause (see Kühner and Stegmann 1912: 2.607). An example of this is Cic. *Div. Caec.* 2 *cuncti ad me publice saepe uenerunt, ut suarum fortunarum omnium causam*

*defensionemque susciperem*: here *suarum* refers back to the subject of the main clause, *cuncti*, as if the final clause were a natural continuation of the main clause. Less dependent subordinate clauses, that is subordinate clauses in the indicative (relatives etc.) and/or which do not follow the sequence of tenses, will regularly have *eius/eorum* as referring to a possessor in the superordinate clause.

3. *Suus* is also expected in the absence of a proper syntactic subject, as for example with impersonal verbs, where it is the element whose semantic role is closest to that of a subject that takes on the role of subject and thus governs the reflexive: Cic. *Div.* 1. 63 *eosque qui secus quam decuit uixerunt peccatorum suorum tum maxime paenitet*. In this sentence, *eos* is what would be called ‘logical subject’ in traditional grammars: from a semantic point of view, it can be defined an Experiencer.
4. Finally, *suus* is regularly used with reference to a non-subject when in the emphatic meaning ‘his/their own’: it can be substantivised (as for example *sui* ‘his soldiers’); it can be closely associated with *quisque* (e.g. *suum cuique*); it can be used contrastively, as in Cic. *Sest.* 142 *hunc [sc. Hannibalem] sui ciues e ciuitate eiecerunt; nos etiam hostem litteris nostris et memoria uidemus esse celebratum*; and it can be connected to a non-subject possessor by *cum*, as in Caes. *Civ.* 3.24.3 *quadriremem cum remigibus defensoribusque suis ceperunt* (see Menge 2009: 126). So it is the special semantic value of *suus* as ‘his/their own’ that selects the reflexive here (see Fruyt 1987: 214). This usage can also be explained in pragmatic terms as an instance of the Contrast function (see Bertocchi 1989: 451–2).

In a way, one could regard types 2 and 3 as extensions of type 1, and type 4 as inherited and different.

## 2. *Suus* instead of *eius/eorum*

Now our task is to look at those cases in which *suus* occurs where we would expect *eius* or *eorum*. From what has just been said about *suus* it appears that *eius* is mainly expected, by contrast, when a possessive which does not have the value ‘his/their own’ refers to a non-subject possessor in the same clause; when it belongs in a less dependent subordinate clause while referring to the subject of a superordinate clause; and when it refers to a possessor in a coordinate clause (e.g. Pl. *Am.* 991 *pater uocat me, eum sequor, eius dicto, imperio audiens sum* ‘My father calls me; I follow him



and obey his word and command'). In what follows, we will mostly come across instances of unexpected *suus* in the first and second contexts.

### 2.1. Plautus

For Plautus, I will consider the material provided by de Melo (2010: 94–7). The tokens of *suus* that can be considered irregular according to our criteria are 15 out of 448.

When it comes to subordinate clauses, in two instances an unexpected *suus* may be explained as a confusion due to an intervening construction and perhaps colloquial (Pl. *Per.* 642–3 and *Ps.* 205b–6). On the other hand, no such confusion can be invoked to explain the use of *suus* in the following conditional clause in the indicative: *Aul.* 300–1 *quin diuum atque hominum clamat continuo fidem, / de suo tiglio fumus si qua exit foras* 'What's more, he immediately implores gods and men if smoke manages to escape from his roof to the outside'. Here the possessor that *suo* refers to is the subject of the main clause, not the subject of the subordinate, *fumus*: given that *suo* is neither emphatic nor contrastive, in such a context we would normally expect *eius*. Therefore, this can be regarded as 'an extension of the use of *suus* from highly dependent subordinate clauses to less dependent ones' (de Melo 2010: 95). Among archaic writers, a similar case will be observed in Terence (see below) and another in Cato *Agr.* 31.2.

More frequently *suus* is co-referential with an oblique case, often a pronoun, of the sentence in which it stands, where no emphatic or contrastive value is to be attributed to the possessive. Here it seems that semantic and pragmatic principles get ahead of syntactic ones. It may be worthwhile pointing out, with de Melo (2010: 99), that the following cases 'do not seem to be colloquial'.

In two instances the selection of the reflexive can be explained as a semantic principle overriding the syntactic one: in *Cist.* 99–100 *ei nunc alia ducendast domum, / sua cognata Lemniensis* 'Now he must marry another girl, his relative from Lemnos', *sua* refers to the dative *ei*, which has the semantic role of Agent, while the syntactic subject expresses the patient of the action. A somewhat similar rationale can be invoked for *Am.* 1002. A counterexample where it is the syntactic subject instead of the agent that selects *suus* is Pl. *Mer.* Argum. 1.1 *missus mercatum ab suo adulescens patre*.

More often, cases of *suus* which are not co-referential with the subject cannot be explained by invoking a semantic principle like the Agent or Experiencer. This is obviously the case of *suus* referring to a direct or

indirect object (whose semantic role is different from both Agent and Experiencer, except for the case of impersonal verbs): in this context one would normally expect *eius*, as in *Cist.* 101 *nam eum pater eius subegit* ‘for his father forced him’ (direct object) and *Bac.* 366–7 *erili filio hanc fabricam dabo / super auro amicaque eius inuenta Bacchide* ‘I’ll present to master’s son this trick about the gold and about his girlfriend Bacchis having been found’ (indirect object).

Five times *suus* refers to a direct object governed by a verb in the first or second person (*Men.* 903, *Rud.* 236, *Aul.* 639, *Bac.* 849, *Mos.* 1171). Let us consider for example *Rud.* 236 *quin uoco ut me audiat nomine illam suo?* ‘Why don’t I call that girl by her name so that she can hear me?’ Here *suo*, which refers to *illam*, is ‘clearly not emphatic and could be left out’ (de Melo 2010: 96): if the syntactic principle were valid here, we would get a demonstrative like *illius* or *eius*, as we do in *Cist.* 101. It may be worth pointing out that even in the possibly ambiguous constellation with a verb in the third person we find *suus* referring to the direct object instead of the subject: this happens twice, at *Mil.* 111–12 and *Mer.* 713. An indirect object in the dative is the antecedent of *suus* in three cases: in *Ps.* 234 the verb is in the first person, while it is in the third person in *Am.* 194 and *Men.* 973 (in the last instance, the possessor is the plural *eis*, so *suus* substitutes for *eorum*).

How can these cases be explained? What principle overrides the syntactic one of co-referentiality of *suus* with the subject? According to Fruyt (1987: 215) this is a semantic principle: *suus* here would be ‘lexicalement déterminée’, for Plautus deals with ‘entités que relie entre elles un lien quasiment inaliénable ou jugé comme tel’, including ‘noms de parenté: lien entre enfants et parents ... entre mari et femme ... fonction sociale du maître et de l’esclave ... lien entre quelqu’un et ses biens, sa fortune ... sa maison ... entre un roi et son royaume ... entre quelqu’un et son nom ... lien entre un individu (ou un animal) et sa vie ... une partie de son corps, sa volonté ... ses actions et ses paroles’ and others. I think, however, that this is too long and varied a list for a unitary principle to be inferred. Nor does it seem that such a principle could be generalised, for cases are not wanting in which words of the same semantic field take *eius* as expected in view of the syntactic principle: for example, in *Men.* 34 the ‘lien entre enfants et parents’ is expressed by *pater eius*; in *Cas.* 480 the link ‘entre mari et femme’ is expressed by *eius uxor*, and so on.

Given that a semantic principle does not seem to work here, what can be invoked to explain this infringement of the syntactic principle? It is a natural observation that in all these cases (and also in those which we have explained as semantically motivated) the word for the possessor precedes

the possessive in the same sentence, and in several cases it is at the beginning of it (the only exception is *Mer.* 713 *iubet saluere suus uir uxorem suam*, for a contextual interpretation of which see de Melo 2010: 97). Perhaps a non-subject possessor which is given particular prominence within the sentence can trigger reflexivity in a following pronoun which refers back to it. In a pragmatic perspective, one could attribute to such antecedents the function of Topic, that is, 'the term in relation to which the process expressed by the verb is uttered' (Bertocchi 1989: 453).

We have observed a few cases where the syntactic principle is overtaken in governing reflexivisation by some other factors (semantic, pragmatic, or simply confusion). Since there always appear to be counterexamples to *suus* as co-referential with the syntactic subject in analogous contexts, we can talk here of a tension between conflicting principles. In order to assess the significance of this phenomenon, in this study I shall produce statistics of two complementary kinds: one, which is used for example by Sznajder (1981), considers how frequently irregular *suus* occurs compared to the regular instances of *suus* itself; the other, which Politzer (1952) applied to later texts, considers how frequently irregular *suus* is compared to *eius* and *eorum*. As the tokens of *suus* in Plautus are 448, the 15 instances of irregular *suus* make up 3.3 per cent of the total instances of it (different figures are produced by Sznajder 1981: 21, whose 7.7 per cent of alleged irregularities include types that we deem regular). If one wants to apply the method of Politzer (1952) and estimate how frequently irregular *suus* substitutes for *eius/eorum*, one has to consider the number of cases in which *suus* actually substitutes for *eius/eorum* out of the total number of cases in which *eius/eorum* were liable to be substituted for by *suus* (which is the sum of cases in which substitution does not occur plus cases in which substitution occurs). Since there are 131 tokens of *eius/eorum* (i.e. cases in which substitution does not occur) and 15 cases of irregular *suus* (i.e. cases in which substitution occurs), the total number of cases in which *eius/eorum* were liable to be substituted for is 146: 15 tokens of irregular *suus* out of 146 cases in which *eius/eorum* were liable to be substituted for by *suus* correspond to 10.3 per cent.

A relevant question would now be whether *eius* or *eorum* happen to substitute for an expected *suus*, in order to test whether the opposite case might just be involved in a more general tendency towards confusion. According to de Melo (2010: 92–3), only two tokens of *eius/eorum* are found where *suus* is expected (*eius* in *Rud.* 1379 and *eorum* in *Trin.* 643), both in subordinate clauses, and are easily explained away, so it is fair to conclude that '*eius* hardly ever encroaches on the territory of *suus*'. It is not

just *suus*, however, which substitutes for *eius: sibi* and *se* are also sometimes employed where one would expect *ei* and *eum*, but this is less common and confined to the context of indirect speech (see [de Melo 2010](#): 91–2; according to Sznajder 1981: 19, reflexives are used irregularly in 1.8 per cent of all cases). It appears then that in Plautus there is an extended usage of *suus*, which is paralleled to a lesser extent by that of *sibi/se*.

## 2.2. Terence

The works of Terence do not have much to offer for our purposes. Out of 80 tokens of *suus*, the only passage where we come across an unexpected *suus* is *Hec.* 660–1 *mater quod suasit sua / adolescens mulier fecit*, where the unemphatic *sua* in the relative clause does not refer to the subject of the relative itself but to the subject of the main clause *adolescens mulier* (as in *Pl. Aul.* 300–1). The proportion of irregular *suus* out of all tokens of it would then be 1.25 per cent, while that of substitution for *eius/eorum* (which could have occurred in 77 cases) is 1.3 per cent.

## 2.3. Caesar

As far as Caesar is concerned, I have considered a sample of 194 tokens of *suus* (*Civ.* 1.1–3.60). Among these, the only two interesting cases for our purposes follow one another: *Civ.* 1.22.5 *se non malefici causa ex prouincia egressum sed uti se a contumeliis inimicorum defenderet, ut tribunos plebis in ea re ex ciuitate expulsos in suam dignitatem restitueret* ‘he had not quitted his province with any evil intent, but to defend himself from the insults of his foes, to restore to their positions the tribunes of the people ...’, and 1.22.6 *quod de sua salute impetrauerit fore etiam reliquis ad suam spem solacio* ‘(saying that) the fact that he had gained his point about his own safety would comfort the rest in their hope for theirs’. In both instances an apparently unemphatic *suus* refers to a non-subject plural possessor which precedes it within the same sentence (*tribunos* and *reliquis*). Unexpected *suus* amount to about 1 per cent of the total occurrences of *suus*; as the possible cases of possessive *eius/eorum* would have been 68, the frequency of substitution is about 2.9 per cent.

## 2.4. Nepos

In Nepos (Lives from Miltiades to Timoleon, 170 tokens of *suus*) I have found three relevant cases, corresponding to 1.8 per cent of the total

(the frequency of substitution being 2.5 per cent, that is 3 out of 117 possible cases). In all three of these cases *suus* stands in a relative clause in the indicative and refers to the subject of the main clause, as in Pl. *Aul.* 300–1: Nep. *Cim.* 3.1 *incidit in eandem inuidiam quam pater suus ceterique Atheniensium principes*, Dat. 6.8 *quod ad perniciem suam fuerat cogitatum, id ad salutem conuertit*, and Ag. 7.4 *domo eadem fuit contentus qua Eurysthenes, progenitor maiorum suorum, fuerat usus*.

### 2.5. Sallust

As regards Sallust (*Bellum Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum*), according to Sznajder (1981: 21–2) there are 8 out of 198 tokens of *suus* which have ‘des référents “libres”’ (i.e. they are not associated with *quisque* nor substantivised nor found in a participial structure corresponding to a subordinate clause), but if one were to exclude those which can be deemed regular because emphatic (‘his own’), only two cases would remain: *Sal. Cat.* 21.4 *admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suae*, and *Jug.* 9.2 *habes uirum dignum te atque auo suo Masinissa* (where *suo* refers to the object *uirum* because *dignum* works as a relative clause like *qui dignus est ... auo suo*). These amount to about 1 per cent of all cases; the frequency of substitution for *eius/eorum* would be 2.3 per cent (2 out of 88 possible cases).

### 2.6. Other classical authors

In addition to this, one has to take into account the fact that reference grammars provide lists of similar usages in classical authors (see Kühner and Stegmann 1912: 2.604 and 613–14). Cicero and Livy are there with several examples of both the types we have considered, and it is worth mentioning that not even poetry of the golden age is exempt from unexpected instances of *suus*, although it has to be said that *eius* was so rarely used by poets as unpoetic (see Axelson 1945: 71–3 and 128) that at times *suus* must have been unavoidable (for examples from Ovid and the *Ciris* see Thomason 1924: 155).

### 2.7. Seneca

Moving on to prose of the first century AD, Sznajder (1981: 21–2) takes into consideration three works by Seneca (*De constantia sapientis*, *Consolatio ad Heluiam matrem* and *Consolatio ad Polybium*), in which she identifies 27

cases of irregular *suus* out of 119 total tokens. She points out that only 15 of them ‘demeurent encore “libres”’, and if we eliminate the emphatic tokens these are further reduced to 7, that is about 5.9 per cent of the total (*Dial.* 2.1.3, 2.15.2, 11.10.2, 12.2.2, 12.7.1, 12.7.4 twice), while the frequency of substitution is about 13 per cent (7 out of 54 possible cases of possessive *eius/eorum*). Almost all of these cases belong to the type more common in Plautus, that is *suus* co-referential with a direct or indirect object preceding it in the same sentence. A minor deviation can be observed in *Dial.* 11.10.2 *iniquus est, qui muneris sui arbitrium danti non relinquit* ‘he who does not leave to the giver the power over his gift is unfair’, where the possessor follows the possessive, if I am correct to take *danti* as the possessor. A more interesting one is in *Dial.* 12.7.1 *non hominum ingenia ad similitudinem caeli sui horrentia ... obstiterunt* ‘the temper of the inhabitants, as savage as their climate, was not a hindrance’: here *sui* refers to *hominum*, and for the first time we have a genitive as the antecedent of the reflexive. However, *hominum ingenia* might equally be a figure for *homines*, so that this could be an only apparent innovation. Examples from other works by Seneca are discussed by Setaioli (1981: 13–14).

## 2.8. Tertullian

The first later author I have looked at is Tertullian, who lived between the second and third century: in the five works of his that I have chosen (*De corona*, *De cultu feminarum*, *De patientia*, *Ad uxorem*, *De exhortatione castitatis*) there are 158 tokens of *suus*, 8 of which are relevant for our purposes (that means about 5.1 per cent of all cases); in addition, there are 72 tokens of possessive *eius/eorum/earum*, so 8 tokens of irregular *suus* mean that substitution occurred in 10% of all possible cases (8/80). A few instances are in line with those seen in Plautus, where *suus* refers to a preceding direct or indirect object: this is the case of Tert. *Cult. fem.* 1.2.4 *illud ipsum bonum feminarum naturalis decoris ut causam mali sic remunerauerunt, ne eis profuisset felicitas sua* ‘they requited that very excellence of women, natural beauty, as a cause of evil, in order that their good fortune might profit them nothing’ (likewise *Cult. fem.* 2.8.3; *Patient.* 11.2).

In a similar constellation, when the word indicating the possessed element is in the genitive, one might think that it is the need to avoid ambiguity that leads *suus* to be selected instead of *eius/eorum*: however, cases of possessive *eius* with a name in the genitive are not absent, so this was apparently not too much of an issue for the authors. Such cases are Tert. *Cult. fem.* 2.9.4 *si quas uel diuitiarum suarum uel natalium uel retro*

*dignitatum ratio compellit ita pompaticas progredi* 'if the exigencies of their wealth, or birth, or past dignities, compel some to appear in public so gorgeously arrayed' (*diuitiarum earum* could in principle be taken to mean either 'of their wealth' or 'of that wealth') and *Cult. fem.* 1.7.2 *gemmarum quoque nobilitatem uidimus Romae de fastidio Parthorum et Medorum ceterorumque gentilium suorum coram matronis erubescentem* 'We have also seen at Rome the nobility of gems blushing in the presence of our matrons at the contemptuous usage of the Parthians and Medes, and the rest of their fellow-countrymen'. Interestingly enough, in the latter case, *suorum* refers to possessors in the genitive (*Parthorum et Medorum*), a fact which has been observed so far only in *Sen. Dial.* 12.7.1 (with doubts). More possible instances will follow later.

In a few instances, the possessor stands in a preceding clause and is referred to by an *eius* or *eorum* in the same sentence as the unexpected *suus*, so that one might see a stylistic reason behind the choice of *suus*, that of avoiding a repetition of *eius/eorum*: *Cult. fem.* 1.2.4-5 *hi sunt nempe angeli quos iudicaturi sumus ... haec sunt utique per quae ab homine iudicari meruerunt. quid ergo facient apud iudices suos* [i.e. *angelorum*] *res eorum?* 'And these are the angels whom we are destined to judge ... these, of course, are the reasons why they have deserved to be judged by man. What business, then, have their things with their judges?' Here the angels must be judged, not their things, therefore *suos* cannot refer to the syntactic subject of the sentence, *res*. It must refer instead either to the genitive *eorum* or to the *angeli* mentioned in a preceding clause: we can observe in both cases a further development in the irregular use of *suus* compared to that seen in Plautus, where only direct and indirect objects could be antecedents. The same goes with *Patient.* 10.8 *quantos uero casus huiusmodi impatientia incurmare consueuerat, ... quotiens instantia eius deterior inuenta est causis suis* [i.e. *impatientiae*]. Finally, *Uxor.* 2.6.1 *quid maritus suus illi, uel marito quid ipsa cantabit?* resembles closely *Pl. Mer.* 713 *iubet saluere suus uir uxorem suam*.

Instances from other works of Tertullian are quoted by Hoppe (1903: 102). A very interesting one, of a kind not observed in the authors considered so far, is *Nat.* 1.4 *philosophis patet libertas transgrediendi a uobis in sectam et auctorem et suum nomen* 'the philosophers are at liberty to cross over from your ranks to any school and founder and his name', where the unemphatic *suum* is unusually co-referential with the coordinated substantive *auctorem*: in such constellations *eius* is normally expected, as in *Cic. Fin.* 5.5.12 *teneamus Aristotelem et eius filium Nicomachum*. Here we seem to have a new development, possibly an extension of the regular use seen in *Caes. Civ.* 3.24.3



*quadriremem cum remigibus defensoribusque suis ceperunt*: the conjunction *et* now allows a closer link between the object possessor and the the object possessed, one that can be expressed by the reflexive. To this development one has to add the fact that *suus* can now refer to a non-subject possessor in the genitive, and perhaps also to a possessor in a preceding clause. From this analysis we can conclude that Tertullian already shows a substantial, in forms if not in numbers, extension of the uses of *suus*.

## 2.9. Historia Augusta

In the section of the *Historia Augusta* which I have looked at (consisting of the lives of Aelius, Antoninus Pius, Avidius Cassius, Caracalla, Geta, Heliogabalus, Alexander Severus) there are 169 tokens of *suus*, 8 of which interest us, that is about 4.7 per cent of the total; the frequency of substitution is about 5.7 per cent (8 out of 141 possible cases).

Three cases involve a less dependent subordinate clause in the indicative (*Pius* 4.10, *Alex.* 29.2, *Alex.* 52.2): in the first of these *suae* might have been selected to avoid an ambiguous *adoptionis eius*, while *temporum suorum* in the following two, referring to the subject of the superordinate clause, might be something of a fixed expression. In one case *suus* is referred to the direct object of the same sentence (*Pius* 8.4 *ita ut et magistratus adiuuaret et senatores urbis ad functiones suas*), in another to the indirect object (*Ael.* 1 *Diocletiano Augusto Aelius Spartianus suus sal.*), where the epistolary style of the dedication may play a role in the selection of the possessive. The possessive pronoun refers to an ablative in *Auid.* 12.5 *non enim umquam placet in imperatore uindicta sui doloris*, unless *sui* is considered emphatic. In two cases *suus* refers to a name in the genitive which expresses the sender of a letter, that is in a way the 'logical subject' or Agent: here a semantic factor overrides the syntactic principle (*Auid.* 5.4 *extat de hoc epistula Diui Marci ad praefectum suum*; *Auid.* 14.1).

## 2.10. Palladius

In the whole work of Palladius (fourth or fifth century) there are 136 tokens of *suus*, among which 11 do not comply with the classical rule, that is about 8.1 per cent (*suus* substitutes for *eius/eorum* in about 7 per cent of all possible cases, which are 158). Most of these are of the type more frequent in Plautus, with *suus* referring to a direct or indirect object preceding it in the same sentence (*Pallad.* 1.28.2, 1.35.13, 4.9.8, 4.13.1, 4.15.3, 7.7.1, 7.7.6, 12.7.9, 13.2), in three of which (4.9.8, 7.7.6, 13.2) the



need to avoid an ambiguous *eius* might have played a role. In another case (4.0.T. *in eo de melo punico cum disciplina et uini sui confectiōe*), the possessive refers to an ablative governed by *de* indicating the subject matter of the chapter, but here the author might have wanted to avoid an ambiguous *uini eius*.

More interesting is the case, which shows a development analogous to that of Tert. *Nat.* 1.4, where the possessor which *suus* refers to is a coordinated genitive (Pallad. *Uet. med.* 2.1): *explicare curauī, ipsis uerbis Columellae et auctorum suorum*. A discussion of the reflexives in Palladius is offered by Svennung (1935: 314–15).

## 2.11. Gregory of Tours

Finally I have considered a section of Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum* (1.1–3.13) containing 170 tokens of *suus*. Of these, only 7 are irregular, corresponding to 4.1 per cent of the total (the frequency of substitution is about 5.3 per cent, that is 7 out of 132 possible cases).

In two cases *suus* refers to a direct object preceding it, as often in Plautus: *Hist. Franc.* 2.37 *eum aperto ustio de cellola sua producant*, and 2.3 *sanctum Eugenium episcopum, uerum inenarrabili sanctitate, qui tunc ferebatur magnae prudentiae esse, in suburbano ciuitates suae* [sc. *Eugenii episcopi*] *repperit persecutor*, in which *suae* substitutes once again for the ambiguous *eius* (the same happens at 2.1 *tricesimo tertio uero ordinationis suae anno oritur contra eum lamentabilis causa*). In one instance, the possessor is the indirect object *exercitu* (*Hist. Franc.* 3.11 *promittens ... exercitu cuncta regionis praedam cum hominibus in suis regionibus transferre permittere*).

More interestingly, in a few cases *suus* refers to the subject of a preceding coordinated sentence, a development which seems new if we discard the doubtful cases in Tertullian (*Cult. fem.* 1.2.4–5 and *Patient.* 10.8). Let us consider *Hist. Franc.* 1.9: *ipse* [sc. *Ioseph*] *tamen se his post multas eorum fatigationes et adducto Beneamen declarauit; de Rachel enim matre sua* [sc. *Ioseph*] *natus et hic fuerat*. Here the grammatical subject of the latter sentence is *hic*, that is Benjamin, but *sua* refers back to *ipse*, that is Joseph, whose point of view is expressed here as well. In *Hist. Franc.* 3.11 *at ille* [sc. *Theudoricus*] *infidelis sibi exhistimans Aruernus, ait: '... tantum hos ne sequamini!' his promissionibus hi* [sc. *Franci*] *inlecti suam* [sc. *Theudorici*] *uoluntatem facere repromittunt*, the Franks promise to do the will of Theudoric, whose speech has just been reported.

Also very peculiar is a case where *suus* in the main clause refers to the subject of a final clause: *Hist. Franc.* 3.13 *adquiuērunt obsessi, ne hi* [sc.

*captiui] interfecerentur, singulos treantes dare in redemptionem suam* [sc. *captiuorum*]. Examples from other books are listed in Bonnet (1890: 696–7).

## 2.12. Other late authors

Remarks on *suus* substituting for *eius/eorum* in other late authors are not wanting in the literature: Cyprian is discussed by Blaise (1955: 114), Jerome by Goelzer (1884: 403–4) and Plater and White (1926: 72), Salvian by Brakman (1924: 127) and Rochus (1934: 102), Ennodius by Dubois (1903: 333–6), St Patrick by Bieler (1952a: 2.105–6 and 1952b: 75), Cassiodorus by Skahill (1934: 86–8). When it comes to epigraphical sources, an index of instances from the *Inscriptiones latinae christianae ueteres* is provided by Diehl (1925–31: 3.596).

## 2.13. Conclusions on *suus* instead of *eius/eorum*

The time has come now to pause and consider what the material we have collected can tell us. First of all, we have observed that the reflexives in general always had an application wider than to contexts of strict co-referentiality with the syntactic subject. *Suus*, in particular, was always more flexible than *se/sibi*, and in some contexts was regularly governed by semantic and/or pragmatic factors (see section 1.1): this must be due to its original emphatic meaning ('his own').

In my discussion so far I have collected examples of *suus* used where *eius* or *eorum* would be expected, and calculated the ratios on the one hand between irregular tokens of *suus* and total instances of *suus*, and on the other hand between irregular tokens of *suus* and the number of cases in which an irregular *suus* could substitute for *eius/eorum*. The results are displayed in the following table.

Author	% irregular <i>suus</i> / all <i>suus</i>	% substitution <i>suus</i> for <i>eius/eorum</i>
Plautus	3.3	10.3
Terence	1.25	1.3
Caesar	1.0	2.9
Nepos	1.8	2.5
Sallust	1.0	2.3
Seneca	5.9	13.0
Tertullian	5.1	10.0
<i>Historia Augusta</i>	4.7	5.7
Palladius	8.1	7.0
Gregory of Tours	4.1	5.3

It appears that figures are consistently low from early to late times. It is in Terence and authors of the first century BC that they are lowest. Here, low figures correspond to a very limited array of contexts in which irregular *suus* is used: in these, the possessor is usually a direct or indirect object preceding the possessive, a circumstance which we can interpret as pragmatic factors overriding the syntactic principle. Although figures are slightly higher in the plays of Plautus, which reveal a relatively looser use of the reflexive, the situation is nevertheless not very different from that of classical Latin. The substitution of *suus* for an expected *eius* is rare and does not take place randomly, but is limited to a few contexts. The tension between the syntactic and semantic/pragmatic principles emerges in much the same ways as it does in classical writers.

What is interesting in figures concerning later authors is that no linear increase in the irregular usage of *suus* is observed: this is comparatively more frequent in Seneca than in Gregory of Tours, and one certainly cannot assume that Seneca reflects language change more faithfully than Gregory. The gap between Seneca's 13 per cent substitution frequency and Gregory's 5.3 per cent must be due to the fact that in the passages considered Seneca uses possessive *eius/eorum* comparatively less, but this by no means indicates that *eius* is weaker in Seneca than it is in Gregory: stylistic issues and different communicative intentions must play a role in this (and the same may apply to the 10.3 per cent frequency of substitution in Plautus).

As regards later authors, one can agree to some extent with Bonnet (1890: 694) when he writes 'Quelle est la règle pour l'emploi de *se* et de *suus*? En général on peut dire qu'elle est la même qu'à l'époque classique; seulement les confusions entre *eius* (ou *ipsius* ou *illius*) et *suus*, entre *eum* et *se*, sont plus fréquentes et plus fortes.' In fact, figures show that the confusions are not so much more frequent in Gregory than in classical authors, but certainly they are 'plus fortes' and disclose an extension of earlier usages to contexts where *suus* could not be found in Plautus and classical authors. These are, for example, the cases where *suus* is co-referential with a possessor within the same sentence in the genitive (e.g. Tert. *Cult. fem.* 1.7.2, *Hist. Aug. Auid.* 5.4 and 14.1) and in the ablative (*Hist. Aug. Auid.* 12.5, Pallad. 4.0.T); with a coordinated substantive in the accusative (Tert. *Nat.* 1.4) and in the genitive (Pallad. *Vet. med.* 2.1); with the subject of a previous coordinate clause (Greg. *Tur. Hist. Franc.* 1.9, 3.11); with the subject of a previous subordinate clause (*Hist. Franc.* 3.13). Such developments could be interpreted as an extension of semantic and pragmatic principles at the expense of the syntactic one.

Moreover, as Pierluigi (2005: 66–7) points out, a collateral sign that something is changing in the possessive system of late Latin may be the switch in the use of *proprius*, which, from a qualifying adjective meaning ‘one’s own, personal, private’, came to be used in a way almost equivalent to *suus* (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: 179). This does not seem responsible for any changes in the possessive system, but may be an interesting example of the ‘tendency of Latin in favour of using adjectives for expressing possession’ (Wackernagel 2009: 516), which may help us understand the success of *suus* over *eius*.

One fact that we also need to highlight is that even in late authors *suus*, besides being regularly used of a plural possessor in reflexive contexts, can replace *eorum* as well as *eius*: as Bonnet (1890: 696 n. 4) puts it, ‘si *suus* signifie *eius* beaucoup plus souvent que *eorum*, c’est qu’il y avait lieu beaucoup plus souvent de dire *eius* que *eorum*’.

### 3. Generalisation of *illorum*

This last observation leads us to the issue of Romance derivatives of *illorum* generalised as possessive pronouns for plural possessors. As has been seen above, the modern languages show an apparently neat separation between those which have generalised reflexes of *suus* for a plural possessor (Spanish and Portuguese) and those in which reflexes of *illorum* are used (French, Italian, Romanian). It is in view of this neat separation that Grandgent (1907: 162) could still write that ‘*illorum* replaced *suus* everywhere except in Spain’.

The observation that *suo* for plural possessors is still current in Italian dialects and was especially common in old Italian, together with the fact that in old Romanian *sau* too could designate plural possessors, led some scholars to assume a different model. Politzer (1952: 70) argues that ‘the basic Romance trend was apparently the substitution of *suus* for *eius* as well as *eorum* ... on this basic Romance trend was superimposed another, namely the generalization of *suus* for the singular and *eorum* for the plural, a development traceable to sixth and seventh century France’, in other words that ‘whenever an *illorum* derivative has become generalized elsewhere, the reason seems to be a conscious imitation of the French custom, as was probably the case in Rumanian and Italian, or diffusion of the French speech habit’ (Politzer 1952: 66). Likewise, Rohlf (1966–9: §427) believes that Italian *loro* is probably due to North Italian or French influence.

More recently, however, the conviction has spread that the use of *illorum* derivatives is practically pan-Romance: the French influence alone cannot

explain such facts as Catalan *llur*, the presence of *lures* in the Spanish Glosas Silenses, Occitan *lor*, Romansch *lur*, nor can the old Romanian *lor* be a French loanword. Moreover, copious instances of variants of *loro* in earlier stages of dialects from Central and Southern Italy as evidenced by Loporcaro (2002: 66–72) show that *loro* itself is native to Italy (see also Tekavčić 1980: 2.148), and one should not forget the Sardinian third person plural possessive *issòro* (from *ipsorum*), which works in a way analogous to *illorum*.

### 3.1. Demonstrative for reflexive in early and classical Latin

Can we trace such a phenomenon back to early Latin? Do we find demonstratives in the genitive plural where we would expect *suus*? Above we hinted at one case in Plautus where *eorum* might be deemed a substitute for *sua*, Trin. 642–3 *itan tandem hanc maiores tradiderunt tibi tui, / ut uirtute eorum anteperta per flagitium perderes?* If the *ut* clause is to be interpreted as a final clause, then one would expect *sua*, but *eorum* turns out to be regular if this is a consecutive clause (see de Melo 2010: 93). On the other hand, cases of *illorum* for *suus* are completely absent from Plautus. Reference grammars, however, list examples of irregular *eorum* and even *illorum* from classical authors both in main clauses (Kühner and Stegmann 1912: 601) and subordinate clauses which are highly dependent on their main clauses (i.e. subordinate clauses in the subjunctive which follow the sequence of tenses, see Kühner and Stegmann 1912: 610): so Cic. Red. Pop. 2 [sc. liberi] *mihi uero et propter indulgentiam meam et propter excellens eorum ingenium uita sunt mea cariores*, or Caes. Civ. 1.6.6 *in reliquas prouincias praetores mittuntur. neque exspectant, ... ut de eorum imperio ad populum feratur*. Such cases, however, are rare, and cannot be separated from instances of like substitutions for a singular possessor, using a demonstrative pronoun both in the genitive (*eius* or *illius* for *suus*) and in other cases (*ei* or *illi* for *sibi* etc.). Therefore, one cannot conclude from this evidence that in early and classical Latin there are clues which point to an early generalisation of demonstratives in the genitive for plural possessors.

### 3.2. Demonstrative for reflexive in late Latin

When it comes to late Latin, in the wake of Väänänen (1981: 124) some scholars quote Lact. Inst. 2.2.9 *uerentur ne omnis illorum religio inanis sit* as proof that ‘*illorum* ricorre già nei contesti sintattici che poi saranno propri

dei suoi continuatori romanzî' (Loporcaro 2002: 53). But in view of the analogous cases in classical authors, this example from Lactantius (third/fourth century AD) is hardly surprising and in my opinion insufficient evidence to assume that the Romance development is already mirrored in late Latin prose. Likewise I believe that, if his evidence is only Patric. *Conf.* 9 *qui optime itaque iura et sacras litteras utraque pari modo combiberunt et sermones illorum ex infantia numquam mutarunt* and *Conf.* 42 *omnes uirgines Dei ita hoc faciunt – non sponte patrum earum, sed et persecutiones patiuntur et impropria falsa a parentibus suis*, Bieler (1952a: 1.132) should be even more cautious when writing that 'Patrick's usage, though still within the terms of Latin syntax, might foreshadow the later Romanic development'. While it is true that in Patrick's *Confessio* 'the non-reflexive pronoun, with one exception, stands in the plural', one must also acknowledge that in other works Patrick does employ *suus* reflexively with reference to a plural possessor (e.g. *Epist.* 5–6 *de spoliis defunctorum Christianorum repleuerunt domos suas. nesciunt miseri uenenum letale cibum porrigunt ad amicos et filios suos*). Even in an author like Gregory of Tours, who uses *suus* quite loosely, *eorum* never substitutes for *suus* referring to a plural possessor (see Bonnet 1890: 696 n. 1).

To the best of my knowledge, it is not until the seventh and eighth century that we find texts where a distinction of number (singular vs. plural) instead of one of reflexivity is genuinely productive. The texts on which scholars have focused are mainly documents, which are generally assumed to reflect language change better than literary works, but no document can be an exact mirror of the spoken language, for example because in legal documents there are elements of formulaicity. A certain degree of variety from one text to another is to be expected, with some documents being more conservative than others due to the different levels of education of the writers.

### 3.3. Medieval texts from France

A remarkable study of the Merovingian documents collected by Pardessus was carried out in the nineteenth century by Geyer (1885). He concluded that it seems evident that *suus* is being generalised for a singular possessor from the sixth century onwards, although many of his cases are inappropriate, as for example such formulaic expressions as *dono uillam cum suis adiacentiis*, which would have been regular even in classical Latin. Interestingly, Geyer (1885: 37–8) spots a few cases of *eorum* substituting for *suus* already in the sixth century, but it is in documents of the

seventh century that the bulk of the examples of this are to be found. At the same time he points out (1885: 36): ‘Dass *suus* in Beziehung auf eine Mehrzahl noch vorkommt, ist natürlich, nicht nur weil die Schreiber mancher Urkunden des Lateinischen ziemlich kundig waren, sondern weil ja auch den rom. Sprachen *suo* in diesem Sinn nicht ganz fremd war.’ Another important analysis of early medieval documents was carried out by Politzer (1952), who extended the research to texts from Italy: however, one can spot the same mistake in his work as in that of Geyer (1885), namely the treatment of *suus* preceded by *cum* as irregular, which may have amplified some of his figures to an extent which I am not able to assess. The sixth-century Capitularies of the Merovingian kings (*MGH, Leg. II*, 1–23) examined by Politzer (1952: 68) apparently show 16 out of 22 cases of substitution of *suus* for *eius* (73 per cent), but none of *eorum* for *suus* (the same as in Gregory of Tours).

When it comes to seventh-century documents, Politzer (1952: 67) examines texts collected by Tardif (1866) and finds that *suus* has almost generalised as a singular possessor (substituting for *eius* in 31 out of 35, or 88 per cent, of possible cases), while *eorum* quite generally replaces *suus* as a plural possessor (although no figures are provided). We can observe the same tendency in contemporary works of literature, such as *Vita Wandregiseli* 23.2 *porro dominus uidens contricionem maximam quam oues suas perpetrabant* [i.e. *quam oues suae perpetiebant*] *pro pastore eorum*, where *suus* and the genitive of *is* are employed in exactly the opposite way to that required by classical rules (for other examples see Müller-Marquardt 1912: 205); in the Chronicle of Fredegar *eorum* for *suus* is common, for example at 1.64.18 *Germani ... Siriam incursauerunt, Francos in eorum habentes auxilium* (see Haag 1898: 83).

Moving on to the eighth century, in the Merovingian documents studied by Pei (1932: 202–6) and Vielliard (1927: 183–5), the notaries have almost completely abandoned the classical rule for *suus* and *eius*. In these texts *suus* indicates by and large a singular possessor, no matter whether subject of the sentence or not, while *eorum* (occasionally *illorum* and *ipso-rum*) is used of any plural possessor; *eius*, on the other hand, has practically disappeared. In the documents analysed by Pei, *suus* for *eius* occurs 27 times out of 30 possible cases (90 per cent); there are only five tokens of *eius*, two of which are incorrect; *eorum* is used 17 times where we would expect *suus*, while *suus* in the plural occurs only twice (so *eorum* for *suus* in 93 per cent of all possible cases); *eorum* correctly used in the plural has 22 tokens. The language of the eighth–ninth-century *Vita Sanctae Euphrosynae* seems to confirm this trend (see Boucherie 1871: 52 ‘La règle



pour l'emploi de *suus*, *a*, *um* et de *eorum*, est exactement la même qu'en français pour l'emploi de *son*, *sa*, *ses*, *leur*, *leurs*').

So far, we have seen texts where it is mostly *eorum*, not *illorum*, that gradually generalises in the plural. A consistent use of *illorum* in a function which makes it almost equivalent to the Romance possessive *leur* and *loro* is registered in the seventh-century *Visio Baronti*, a text allegedly written by Barontius, a Frankish nobleman who lived as a hermit in Tuscany (for example, p. 379.5 *ut qui audiunt expauescunt de illorum uitia*, or p. 382.5 *abba Leodaldus inde refert magnum miraculum, quod terrere potest corda incredula, qui non conpunguntur, ut agunt penitentiam de illorum crimina et rogent sanctum Rafahel ... ut ueniat et curet illorum crimina*).

### 3.4. Medieval texts from Italy

So far we have looked at texts from France. But Politzer (1952) extends the investigation to documents from eighth- and ninth-century Italy, both Central and Northern, for which the same evidence of Merovingian texts has been sometimes taken for granted (see Geyer 1885: 40 'Auch die Rechtsformeln und italienischen Urkunden würden das gewonnene Resultat bestätigen'). Politzer's examination of eighth-century documents from Italy shows a different situation from that which obtains in France: in the *Codice diplomatico longobardo* edited by Schiaparelli (1929–32), documents from Central Italy show that *suus* replaces *eius* in 20 out of 203 possible cases (9 per cent), and *eorum* in 7 out of 97 (8 per cent), while *eorum* substitutes for plural *suus* only once (*suus* is correctly used about 100 times); in documents from Northern Italy, the substitution of *suus* for *eius* occurs 8/50 times (16 per cent), while *suus* never replaces *eorum* (18 possible cases). There are no cases of plural possessors in reflexive contexts, so we cannot tell from this whether *eorum* ever substituted for *suus* in this time and area.

In some later documents from a monastery in Lucca in Tuscany, written between 890 and 900, Politzer (1952: 70) finds that *suus* substitutes for *eius* in 34 of a possible 60 cases (57 per cent) and *eorum* in 7/11 (64 per cent), while 'in one document (No. 55, vol. IV) there occurs the use of *eorum* for *suus*' (but the author does not make it clear how many times). It has to be said that the evidence that he adduces is nonetheless flawed, for in both the examples he provides, *Doc. 1030 ipsa casa cum fundamento et edificio suo ... mihi eas dedisti* and *Doc. 980 dedisti ... casis cum fundamentis et edificiis suis*, we observe a regular case of reflexive selected by *cum*, and we are not now in a position to assess to what extent this mistake has affected his



statistics. Nevertheless, it is clear that the situation in Italian documents is less advanced than in French ones, and certainly less clearcut, with *suus* and *eorum* coexisting for plural possessors.

### 3.5. Medieval texts from the Iberian peninsula

As far as the Iberian peninsula is concerned, Latin documents of a later period have been investigated: Bastardas Parera (1953: 67) points out that in tenth-century texts from Catalonia *illorum* as a possessive for a plural possessor masculine and feminine is ‘costante y regular’, while it remains sporadic in Castilian documents (see also Menéndez Pidal 1929: 362–3).

## 4. Conclusions

In this chapter I have looked at the third person possessives from early Latin to late Latin and Romance. I have adopted a mainly morphosyntactic approach with semantic and pragmatic adaptations, whereby I have pointed out that a use of the reflexive *suus* not co-referential with the syntactic subject has always been regular in certain contexts.

A somewhat extended usage of the possessive reflexive to contexts where *eius* would be regular has been observed in Plautus. The unexpected instances of *suus*, however, are not frequent and the contexts limited: here semantic and pragmatic factors seem to override the syntactic principle. At the same time, whilst cases of *eius/eorum* for *suus* are isolated, there appears to be some degree of confusion in the usage of *sibi* and *se*, which happen to replace the demonstrative pronouns in subordinate clauses: in this respect, *suus* is used more freely, since it can also refer to a non-subject in the same clause.

When it comes to the classical era, it has been observed that even in the more controlled authors, cases of *suus* encroaching on the territory of *eius* still occur, more or less in the same ways and contexts as in Plautus, but on a slightly lesser scale. In Seneca and later Latin writers it appears instead that irregular *suus* occurs slightly more often, but is still comparatively rare. However, one can notice a gradual widening of the contexts in which *suus* refers to a non-subject, both singular and plural. This can be interpreted as a sign that the generalisation of *suus* was on its way in spoken varieties, while the literary language continued to be resistant to this phenomenon.

As regards the generalisation in some Romance languages of derivatives of *illorum* to express a plural possessor, its roots cannot be traced back to

early Latin, as significant instances only appear in the early Middle Ages. Texts attest to a first stage when *eorum* was mainly used, while *illorum* must have taken hold later, because of the phonetic weakness of forms of the demonstrative *is* (see Väänänen 1981: 120 ‘La place de *is* sera prise par *hic* ... et surtout par *ille*’), a factor which at some point must have played a role also in the generalisation of *suus* for a singular possessor. The development of reflexes of *illorum* for a plural possessor, however, took place to different degrees in different areas and on the whole was not so successful as that of *suus* for singular possessors. The distinction of reflexivity had been lost, but as shown by cases of *suus* for *eorum* already in late writers, *suus* never ceased to be employed also to express plural possessors, so much so that in the end it ousted derivatives of *illorum* in the Iberian languages and is still used in dialects of Central and Southern Italy.

If we now return to the initial question as to whether continuity or not is to be assumed for the extended usage of *suus* from early Latin to late Latin and Romance, a plausible answer can be that in a way there is a continuity, for a certain tendency of *suus* to replace *eius* has been observed all the way from Plautus to later Latin authors, including those of the classical period. However, a gradual yet substantial extension of usages of *suus* referring to a non-subject has been noticed in later authors, so that it is only in late Latin that one can see reflected the change towards the Romance situation, while it seems unlikely that this situation was already mirrored in Plautus.

## CHAPTER 4

### *The language of a Pompeian tavern: submerged Latin?*

*James Clackson*

#### 1. Introduction

Any investigation into the continuation of linguistic features from early to late Latin has to take into account the occasional islands that emerge in the stream of classical Latin, indicating the spoken language usually submerged from view by the influence of educated literary norms. One such island is the language of the freedmen in Petronius *Satirica*, another the letters of Claudius Terentianus. This chapter focuses on a much shorter text, which has, however, the advantage over Petronius that the original version survives, unmediated by a manuscript tradition, and over Claudius Terentianus and other Latin documentary material that it consists solely of the representation of conversational interactions, without any influence from epistolary formulae.

The graffiti in question are associated with a series of four paintings from the wall of the Pompeian tavern known as the ‘Caupona of Salvius’ (*CIL* 4.3494, from Regio VI 14, 35/36, see [Figure 1](#)). The paintings and graffiti were situated over the entrance of the north wall of room 1 of the tavern, and must be dated to some time between the earthquake of AD 62 and the eruption of Vesuvius. The four paintings are each about 0.5 metre square, and the whole form a frieze of slightly more than two metres in length. In the first scene a man and woman embrace; in the second two seated men compete for a drink brought in by a serving woman; in the third two men play a game with dice; and the fourth a third figure pushes the same two men, still quarrelling, out of the tavern. Colour plates of the paintings were published in Varone and Stefani (2009) following cleaning between 1997 and 2000, and the images are now widely disseminated. Although the images have been discussed in some detail by artistic and cultural historians ([Fröhlich 1991](#): 212–14, [Bragatini 1994](#), [Clarke 1998](#): 30–5, [Clarke 2003a](#): 161–8, [Clarke 2007](#): 120–5, [Milnor 2014](#): 84–6), the language of the graffiti has not received so much attention (the principal

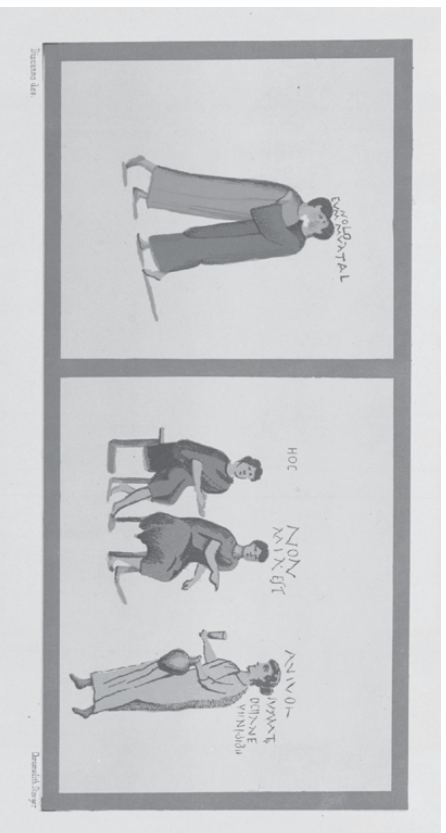


Figure 1: Images reproduced from Presuhn 1882, Plates VI and VII, by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

studies are the brief accounts of Todd 1939, Colin 1951: 132–3, Della Corte 1965: 81–3, Baldi 1982: 61, Wallace 2005: 39 and Weber 2011). Laurence (1994: 71) noted that the subject matter of the graffiti has affinities with representations of tavern life in Roman Comedy, and compared Plautus *Curculio* 354–60 for a parallel account of drinking, dice and knavery. These short inscriptions consequently provide a rare opportunity to compare the language of Plautus with an inscriptional text from the imperial period of similar register and subject matter. Furthermore, the text is normally understood to be representative of ‘Vulgar Latin’ of the period (Todd (1939: 7 and Weber 2011: 1364) and can thus be used for an examination of the thesis that features of Plautine Latin survived in speech but were deliberately excluded from the written language in the first century AD.

## 2. Text

The text of the graffiti is as follows (incorporating the latest readings as reported by Weber 2011: 1364. I have indicated interpuncts in the text through the use of a raised dot, `).

Scene 1

*nolo cum murta le uasu*

Scene 2

SPEAKER 1: *hoc*

SPEAKER 2: *non / mea ` est*

SPEAKER 3: *qui uol ` / sumat ` / oceane ` / ueni ` bibe*

Scene 3

SPEAKER 1: *exsi*

SPEAKER 2: *non / tria ` duas ` / est*

Scene 4

SPEAKER 1: *noxsi ` / a me / tria ` / eco / fui*

SPEAKER 2: *or(o) te fellator / eco ` fui `*

SPEAKER 3: *itis ` / foras ` / rixsatis*

Although Milnor (2014: 84) detects two different hands writing the graffiti, one of which uses the double stroke for <e> as well as capital E, there is little to support her argument; note that the reference she gives to Clarke (2003a: 169) in support of the theory of two separate hands is erroneous, since there he is discussing the scratched graffiti above the scenes in the caupona on the Street of Mercury. The double stroke for <e> occurs in the following words in the original text (in each case indicated

in bold): *murtale*, *oceane*, *veni*, *bibe*, *me*, *eco* (2x), *fellator*. Milnor's claim that the second hand writes the double stroke word-internally, but E at word end (as in *oceane*) does not therefore explain the use of double stroke for <e> in *murtale*, *bibe* and *me*, and the writing in Scene 4, which uses both double stroke and E, is clearly in the same hand as the text in Scene 3, which uses only E. It is not difficult to find parallels for Pompeian graffiti that incorporate the two different ways of writing <e> in the same inscription (for example, *CIL* 4.1837, 4.2847, 4.4091, 4.8203, 4.8562 and 4.9123). In what follows I shall assume that the graffiti are all written at the same time, and do not represent two or more separate authors. I shall give a commentary on the language of each scene in turn, before addressing the particular question of whether the language of this text represents 'submerged Latin', and assessing its affinities with early Latin.

### 3. Commentary

#### 3.1. Scene 1

Varone and Stefani (2009: 331, followed by Weber 2011: 1364) report that there are a further four letters after *Murtale*, almost completely erased: *uas*u. Most scholars had assumed that the missing word is an infinitive after *nolo* (e.g. Clarke 2003a: 162), but the only Latin word beginning *uas*u- is the noun *uasum* meaning 'container for liquids or food, vessel, utensil; other forms of container' (*OLD* s.v. *uas*<sup>2</sup>). A *uas* or *uasum* can be made of wood, metal, clay or woven from organic material, and possible uses include storage jar, chamber pot, coffin and beehive. If *nolo* is understood in sense 3 recorded in the *OLD*, 'not to want or care for (sometimes implying "to refuse")', the meaning of the phrase is something like 'I don't want a jug with Myrtale'. The exact interpretation is, however, uncertain. Given the following scene in the tavern, it is possible that *uasum* had acquired a colloquial sense of 'a drink' (compare English 'jar' with the sense 'a drink of beer'); alternatively, if scholars such as Clarke (2003a: 162) are correct in seeing this as an erotic scene, *uasum* could refer to a small partitioned area in the inn (compare English 'box' with the sense 'a compartment in a tavern').

Jim Adams suggests to me that *VASV* could be a spelling of *basium* 'kiss', comparing Martial's *basia dum nolo nisi quae luctantia carpsi* (5.46.1). There are parallels from Pompeii and the contemporary archive of the Sulpicii from Puteoli for the omission of *i* in hiatus and the confusion of <V> and <B> (Väänänen 1966: 40, 50–2; Adams 1990: 233–6). However, none of

these documents shows the writing of <V> in a Latin word originally beginning *b-*, and this spelling is not widely found elsewhere (see Adams 2013: 184 for discussion of *aceruom* for *acerbum* in a law which may date from the republican period). I have also been unable to find a parallel for the use of the preposition *cum* after the noun *basium* (or indeed after its diminutive *basiolum* or the synonyms *osculum* and *sauium*), although the verb *osculor* does occur with *cum* in Plautus. Even so, the interpretation of this scene as ‘I don’t want a kiss with Myrtale’ remains a possible interpretation.

*Murtale* could be the ablative singular of either the Latinised Greek name *Myrtalis* (Väänänen 1966: 84), or it could be from the Greek form *Myrtale*, with the Greek dative  $-\eta$  used in place of the ablative and rendered in Latin script as *Murtale* (for parallel ablative forms in *-e* from Greek first declension feminine names, see Neue 1902: 68–75). Both forms of the name occur elsewhere in Latin inscriptions, but *Myrtale* is more common; Solin (2003: 1178) counts 29 instances of *Myrtale* and variants in Rome in comparison with just one *Myrtalis*. Colin (1951: 132 n. 4) notes that a *Myrtale* is also twice mentioned in the graffiti from a Pompeian brothel (*CIL* 4.2268 and 4.2271), but there is no need to assume that this is the same person.

*Murtale* is the first of two Greek words in this text to be spelt with <V> in place of the Greek <Y>. The use of the <Y> in the Latin alphabet begins only in the late republic, and abecedaria from Pompeii stop at <X>, showing that <Y> was still not fully accepted into Latin script in the second half of the first century CE. Väänänen (1966: 32–3) notes that the Greek letter was not popular at Pompeii, and many Greek names were rendered in Latin with either <V> or <I> for <Y>. Even so, the spelling *Murtile* occurs only here at Pompeii, and *Myrtile* is found four times (*CIL* 4.1363, 2083, 2268 and 2271). Biville (1995a: 428–30) argued for split between a ‘voie vulgaire’ and a ‘voie savante’ in the Latin treatment of the Greek sound [y] in loanwords. In the ‘voie vulgaire’ the sound was assimilated to the Latin vowel /u/, and would eventually develop to Romance /o/, as in the word for the tuna,  $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , borrowed into Latin *tunnus* with reflexes in Romance (Italian *tonno*, French *thon*). In the ‘voie savante’ the high front rounded vowel was retained in Latin speech for longer under Greek influence, before changing to an unrounded high front vowel in Romance, as in the word  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\tau\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  ‘cytisus’, borrowed as *cytisus* and with outcomes such as Italian *citiso*, and French *citise*. However, even if this were generally applicable (and Biville herself is aware that her schema is overly simplistic), the writing with <V> need not indicate that the speakers pronounced the name with [u] not [y], but may be an orthographic conservatism on the

part of the writer, preferring not to use the non-Roman letter <Y>. Similar indications of orthographic conservatism or ‘old-fashioned’ spellings can be found elsewhere in this text: the spelling of *xs* for *x* in *exsi* and *rixsatis* (see Adams 1995: 90–1 for discussion of the ‘archaising’ nature of this spelling); the writing of *VO* rather than *VV* in *uol(t)* (see Väänänen 1966: 28, although there are in fact no spellings of the verb as *VVLT* from Pompeii); and the use of interpuncts between words, which is noted by Seneca *Ep.* 40.11 as an old-fashioned practice in his day (see further Adams 1995: 95).

### 3.2. Scene 2

The first utterance, *hoc*, is addressed to the serving-girl, asking her to deliver the drink to the speaker. In context the word consequently means ‘here’ (or more accurately ‘hither’). Todd (1939: 5) thought that the adverb *hōc* disappeared from literary Latin after Virgil (who uses the form once in the *Aeneid*, at 8. 423). Todd proposed that *hōc* ‘persisted in the *sermo plebeius*, if not in the *sermo urbanus*’, adducing in support *CIL* 4.2995 *uenimus hoc cupidi, multo magis ire cupimus*, and *et hoc et illoc* in the speech of Trimalchio at Petronius 39. 8. Further examples of *hoc* from Pompeii were provided by Väänänen (1966: 30), who noted that both *hōc* and *hūc* survived in Romanian and Sardo. It is worth noting that the choice between these two variants is further complicated by the tendency in uneducated Latin to use a locative rather than allative form after verbs of motion, in this case *hīc* ‘here’, which is found in Pompeiian examples such as *CIL* 4.2246 *hic ego cum ueni, futui, redei domi* (this is discussed with other examples by Adams 2013: 333). Indeed, Servius in his remarks on *hōc* and *hūc* (in his commentary on *Aen.* 8. 423) does not imply that *hōc* is stigmatised, simply that it was old-fashioned: *sic pro ‘huc’ ‘hoc’ ueteres dicere solebant, sicut pro ‘illuc’ ‘illo’ dicimus*. Moreover, the fact that Petronius puts the expression *et hoc et illoc* into Trimalchio’s mouth does necessarily indicate that *hōc* is sub-standard Latin after Virgil. It is more likely that the jingle *et hoc et illoc* has enabled the form *hōc* to survive in the manuscript tradition, rather than being replaced by *hūc*.

The next speaker’s claim *non mea est* presumably refers to the drink rather than the barmaid, as some have taken it (Colin 1951: 132 n. 4, Corbeill at Clarke 2003a: 309 n. 26). It is worth noting that, before the texts were cleaned and photographs published, *mia*, not *mea*, was read by all commentators, which no doubt contributed to earlier views about the ‘vulgarity’ of the language; the reading *mea* is, however, certain (Varone and Stefani 2009: 332). The barmaid’s next utterance *qui uol, sumat* was



interpreted by Todd (1939: 6) to be a representation of spoken *qui uolet*, with loss of final *-t* and further reduction as the word was ‘pronounced explosively by the angry waitress’. But despite Todd’s objection to the use of the present *uult*, all other commentators have been happy with it, and the complete loss of word-final *-et* would be unparalleled from Pompeii and from other Latin documents of this date. In her next sentence the bar-maid either addresses one of the characters as *Oceanus*, or calls on another character out of sight called Oceanus. Todd (1939) thought that there was a reference to a gladiator Oceanus (whose name is written *Oceaneanus* at *CIL* 4.1422, Todd 1939: 6), but Clarke (2003a: 165–6) suggests that the comic type of a burly individual is being invoked, and that it may be being used to tease one of the more slender drinkers.

### 3.3. Scene 3

Two players sit with a gaming board on their knees, and one holds a *fritillus*, or dice-box, in his hand. An argument breaks out over the dice throw. The first speaker’s *exsi* is generally interpreted as the first person perfect indicative of *exeo* (Della Corte 1965: 82) rather than the imperative (as Todd 1939: 7). Della Corte related this sense of *exeo* to the meaning of its reflex in the Neapolitan dialect of Italian, *ascire*, ‘win’. Since the semantic development from ‘go out’ to ‘win’ or ‘succeed’ is not uncommon (it is paralleled by French *réussir*, as was noted by Väänänen 1966: 112), there is no need to see a direct connection between this Pompeian text and the Neapolitan use of the verb. Although Della Corte’s view has been widely accepted (Colin 1951: 132, Väänänen 1966: 112, Weber 2011: 1364), this sense of the verb *exeo* is not paralleled elsewhere in Latin. Is there any way in which to interpret *exsi* without inventing a new sense of *exeo*? I think there is, if we pay closer attention to the game which is being played in the picture. The board which rests on the two players’ knees has markings on it which are clearly not just the representation of dice. In the recent picture published by Varone and Stefani (2009: 333), damage to the plaster means that all that can be seen are three white markings and two black markings, but in the nineteenth-century drawing of the painting as excavated (Presuhn 1882, Plate VII to Abtheilung V, see Figure 1), six dots form a row in the upper half of the board, paralleled by a similar row of seven on the lower half (some scholars have seen a third row of dots, Lamer 1927: 2001). There is no known variant of ancient dice games which used so many dice, and it is most likely that the players are represented playing an ancient board game which involved pieces on a board moving in

accordance with throws of the dice. Indeed, Bell (1979: 33) reproduces a drawing of this very Pompeian scene in his discussion of the *ludus duodecim scriptorum* (see also Marquardt 1879–1882: 834–8, Lamer 1927: 1976–83 and Austin 1935 for discussion of ancient board games involving both pieces and dice). The shout of *exsi* refers to the player's success in getting his piece 'out', or perhaps (as suggested by Bell 1979: 33) shows a parallel to the modern use of 'I'm out' in backgammon by the player who succeeds in removing all his pieces from the board first (Bell believed that the *ludus duodecim scriptorum* was the forerunner to the modern game of backgammon). Much has been written about ancient board games, but little is known for certain. The board game played here may be similar to that described by Martial (14.17), in an epigram composed to accompany a gift of *tabula lusoria*:

Hac mihi bis seno numeratur tessera puncto;  
Calculus hac gemino discolor hoste perit.

On this side of me the die scores with double sixes.

On this other a piece of different color is killed by two foemen.

(Translation from Shackleton Bailey 1993: 237)

Martial's game has both dice (*tesserae*) and pieces of different colours (*calculi*), and one of the latter appears to be taken or trapped by the opponent's piece (see also Ovid *Ars* 2.208 for a similar use of *pereo*). Seneca (*Ep.* 117.30) describes the man whose house is burning down worrying about a board game *quomodo alligatus exeat calculus*, using the same verb to describe the piece's escape that is used by the player in the Pompeian inscription. It is perhaps worth considering whether *exsi* could stand for *exit*, i.e. '(the piece) gets out', with the same loss of final *-t* as seen in *uol* for *uult*. In scene 2 *sumat* is written with final *-t*, but there are parallels from Pompeii for both the writing and loss of final *-t* in the same graffito: *CIL* 4.4986, *Ruta(m) qui oderat tisana(m) edeba(t)*. The freedman C. Novius Eunus, who lived in the Bay of Naples at the same time that this graffito was written, might also have omitted final *-t* in speech while generally noting it in writing (see the discussion in Adams 2013: 154–5).

In the second speaker's response, there is little doubt that *duas* is not either the accusative or nominative plural feminine of the number *duo* (so Vollmer in the *TLL* s.v.) but rather a borrowing of the Greek word for a 'dyad', δυάς, here used of the deuce on a die (Todd 1939: 7, Väänänen 1966: 111). The *OLD* (s.v. *trias*) understands the preceding word, *tria*, to be written for *trias*, a borrowing of Greek τριάς 'triad' or (here) 'trey' (the number three on a die), with loss of final *-s* (the photograph at Varone

and Stefani 2009: 333 makes it clear that it not possible to read *trias*). However, *tria* is written twice, and the other two words ending *-as* in the text, *duas* and *foras*, retain the final consonant. Moreover, the final vowel of τριάς is short, and there is no parallel from Pompeii for the loss of *-s* from a sequence *-ās* in the examples collected by Väänänen (1966: 79–80). Adams (2013: 135–7) has recently shown that the pattern of restoration (or retention) of *s* after short vowels in Pompeii is corroborated from other inscription documents in the early Empire. It is therefore best to interpret *tria* as the neuter of either the Latin (or possibly the Greek) word for ‘three’. A Greek die from Tarentum in the archaic period gives the names of the numbers on its six sides rather than using points, and it too uses the neuter to designate the number three: τρία (Lamer 1927: 2022, Arena 1998: 43). The speaker in the Pompeian graffito thus seems to be using two separate systems of referring to the numbers on the die: a special term (*duas*) is collocated with a cardinal number (*tria*). This double system of reference can also be found in other languages. Zenobius records the Greek proverb ἡ τρίς ἕξ ἢ τρεῖς οἶναι ‘either thrice six or three aces’, with the cardinal number ‘six’ alongside the special term for an ace, οἶνη, and the Tarentine die just mentioned identifies the ace by κύ(ων) (so Lamer 1927: 2022; Arena 1998: 43 supplements κύ(βος), which seems less likely) and the other numbers with cardinals. Some speakers of English also name the sides of a die with cardinal numbers in place of the rare *trey*, *cater* (or *quatre*), *cinque* and *sice* alongside the special terms *ace* and *deuce* (the latter more widely used for cards than dice).

The Greek term δυάς is paralleled from Latin texts only centuries later, written *dyas*. The *TLL* cite passages from Augustine, Irenaeus, Martianus Capella, Macrobius and Boethius, where it means the number two or ‘duality’, but none of these authors use the term to refer to the number on a die. In Greek too, the use of δυάς to describe the number on a die is unusual; it is not given in *LSJ* or any of its supplements s.v. δυάς. However, the *Scholion* to Plato’s *Lysis* 206e (Bekker 1824: 10) has a long note on how the knucklebone dice with four marked faces (ἄστρογάλοι or *tali*) differ from cubic dice (κύβοι or *tesserae*) with six marked sides. In the scholiast’s account the numbers on a die are described with the Greek terms μονάς, δυάς etc. up to ἑξάς. The term μονάς appears elsewhere in this sense in Lucian (*Sat.* 4.4), who has ἑξάς for ‘sice’ in the same passage, and in the lexicographer Pollux (7. 204), who gives it as an Ionic alternative to the more widespread word for an ace, οἶνη.

The rarity of the term *duas* in surviving Latin texts may reflect the fact that ancient authors were more interested in talking about lucky or unlucky throws, rather than the names for individual sides of a die

(see the appendix for a discussion of the Latin terms for dice throws). It was only necessary to name the number when, as is the case with the Pompeian scene, there was doubt about the correct call of a particular roll. I take it that the argument there is over the roll of one of the dice, rather than the complete total, since if two dice were used and both showed an ace, the speaker would talk of a *canis*, the lowest possible throw of dice, rather than *duas*. The term *duas* does not reappear in Latin in this sense, but there is no instance known to me of any other term for ‘deuce’, before the very doubtful *binio* (doubtless formed by analogy to *senio*) found in some manuscripts of Isidore (see the appendix below). The borrowing of the Greek term for the name of the deuce is not particularly surprising, since many of the other terms associated with dice are borrowed from Greek: note the word *tessera* itself as well as *bolus* ‘throw’, and Plautus’ term for a winning throw, a *basilicum*.

### 3.4. Scene 4

On the final scene we have the longest record of interaction, and one that evolves from the third scene. The first sequence has been read *noxia* by Della Corte (1965: 82–3), Colin (1961: 133 n. 1) and Väänänen (1966: 61 and 113), all of whom take the word to be the subject of a verb which is missed out, with Della Corte and Colin supplying *tangat* by analogy with a supposed Latin imprecation *malum me* or *malum me tangat*. There are several reasons to doubt this account. First, there is a clear interpunct after *noxsi*, and in this text, and more generally in Pompeian inscriptions, interpuncts are used to divide words or phrases, but not syllables within a word. Secondly, I cannot find a parallel for a Latin imprecation *malum me* or *malum me tangat*; the closest equivalent is again from modern Neapolitan, for which Della Corte cites the phrases *mar’a mè* and *nescia mè*. The translations Della Corte offers for the Neapolitan phrases, *misera me*, or *me infelix* are in any case inappropriate in context. The speaker is not lamenting his own bad fortune, he maintains that he has had a stroke of good luck, and it is the other speaker who is the cheat. Accordingly, it is better to follow Todd (1939) and read *noxsi* as the vocative of *noxius* (so also Dickey 2000: 551 n. 9: ‘Interpretation of the graffito containing this word is difficult if one takes *noxsi* as a vocative, but even more difficult if one does not’). The adjective *noxius* can simply mean ‘guilty’, ‘harmful’ or ‘injurious’, but it is better to take *noxsi* in this passage as a vocative of the substantive *noxius*, which refers specifically to someone who has committed a crime, a convicted criminal (*OLD* s.v. *noxius* 1b) or a slave who is

guilty of *noxa* (OLD s.v. *noxius* 1c, citing only a single passage of the *Digest* for this sense). The use of the vocative of a noun referring to criminal behaviour is particularly frequent as an insult in lower registers of Latin, whereas adjectives used as insults are more frequently found in higher genres (Dickey 2002: 177–9); indeed, the adjective *noxius*, in the sense ‘harmful’, stands in the vocative only in one text, an epic poem (Luc. 8.823, in an address to the land of Egypt). The use of this word here is noteworthy in the discussion of the continuation of lexical items between Roman comedy and later Latin, since although the insult *noxii!* would fit in well with the schema of comedic insults (as observed by Dickey 2002), it is not found in any Latin comedies, or indeed in any other text known to me. This may be connected to the general avoidance of vocatives from all but the most common words ending in *-ius* in Latin literature before the third century AD (Dickey 2000), or perhaps it reflects the fact that the substantive *noxius* meaning ‘criminal’ does not become general until the imperial period.

The phrase *a me tria* is translated ‘Nicht zwei für mich, sondern drei’ by Presuhn (1882, Abtheilung V p.4), ‘it was three for me’ by Clarke (2003a: 167) and ‘it was three to me’ by Milnor (2014: 84 n. 110), indicating that they all took *a me* to be written for *ad me*. The writing *a me* for *ad me* could be explained if the phrase had first assimilated to *\*am me* in speech, and then the geminate *m* had been simplified, either in speech or orthographically. Although *admittit* is written *ammittit* twice in Pompeii (CIL 4.8939 and 8940), the assimilation of *dm* to *mm* is not widespread in Latin documents (Väänänen 1966: 63). There is no parallel from Pompeii for the preposition *ad* written *a*, and the only parallel known to me from the imperial period is in one of the bu Njem ostraca discussed by Adams (1994: 107), which contains the phrase *a meos* in place of *ad meos*. However, the use of *a* for *ad* in the bu Njem document may be attributable to the fact that its author is most probably not a native speaker of Latin. It seems better therefore to follow Todd (1939: 7 n. 1) in taking *a* to be the preposition *ab*, and assuming that the missing verb is a passive form of *iacio*: *a me tria iacta sunt* (or possibly *iacta est*) ‘three was thrown by me’. The next phrase, *eco fui*, also shows ellipsis, but here of a noun such as *victor*: ‘I was the winner.’ The writing of *ego* with *c* not *g* is paralleled elsewhere in Pompeii (CIL 4.1397, 1877 and 4133b), and reflects a widespread graphic confusion between the two letters (Väänänen 1966: 53).

The next phrase was understood to contain a vocative *Orte* to an otherwise unattested name *Ortus* before Todd (1939: 7–8), who took *orte* to be a syncopated form of *oro te* ‘please’. This interpretation has now

found widespread acceptance (see Weber 2011: 1364). If the vowel has indeed been syncope, and is not just left out through careless writing, the syncope would be unusual, since most cases of syncope from Pompeii involve the loss of short vowels following an accented syllable (Väänänen 1966: 41–5). One possible way to explain the development is that given by Todd (1939: 8): the phrase *oro te* has become lexicalised as a single word, with loss of quality of the final vowel of *oro* (see Leumann 1977: 110 for discussion of loss of quality of the first person singular present ending in verbs of non-iambic shape); in this environment syncope of *o* would be unremarkable. It is possible that there are inscriptional parallels to this writing of *oro te* as *orte*. The first also comes from Pompeii and features in a two-word curse (*CIL* 4.2960) *orte, aegrotas* (see discussion at Todd 1939: 8 and at *CIL* 4 *Suppl.* 4.1). There are three more occurrences of *orte* in initial position of a phrase, all on medallions from third-century Lyon: *orte scutus est* (*AE* 1982, 712 no. 13, accompanying an erotic scene of a woman astride a man holding up a shield, see the reproduction in Clarke 2003b: 148), *orte venetus est* and *orte prasinus est* (referring to the Blue and Green circus factions, *AE* 1982, 712 nos. 14c and 14e). Unfortunately, all of these texts are too short to allow a secure interpretation.

The phrase *oro te* ‘I beg you’ is attested in Plautus (*Epid.* 728) at the beginning of a sentence: *oro te, Epidice / mihi ut ignoscas siquid imprudens culpa peccaui mea*. It is, however, only in Cicero and later Latin that *oro* becomes more widespread in polite requests (Dickey 2012a: 324). The phrase *oro te* occurs twice in Petronius in the language of the freedmen (45.1 and 61.2), in both times at the beginning of a sentence containing an imperative, and the voting formula *oro uos faciatis*, usually abbreviated to *OVF* is extremely frequent in election slogans from Pompeii. In the letters of Fronto, Cicero and their correspondents *oro te* can be used parenthetically with a direct question (Hofmann and Ricottilli 2003: 284, 379), and it is presumably from this use that the meaning developed to one of an expression of exasperation or incredulity, as in the Pompeii graffito (the same semantic development can be seen in English *please*). The obscenity *fellator* is paralleled as an insult from Pompeian graffiti and the epigrams of Martial (11.66.3).

The final phrase of the text is uttered by a third party, probably the innkeeper who is pushing the quarrelling players out of the tavern (Clarke 2003a: 167). Todd (1939: 8) understood the forms *itis* and *rixsatitis* to stand for imperatives, arguing that in the spoken Latin of Pompeii the spelling *-tis* would have represented spoken *-te*. However, as we discussed above, the loss of final *-s* after a short vowel was common neither in

Pompeian graffiti and documents nor in other Latin texts from a similar date. Accordingly, other scholars have also seen the forms as standing for imperatives, but showing a non-standard replacement of the second plural imperative ending *-te* by *-tis*. The use of the second plural indicative in place of the imperative is paralleled on other inscriptions from Pompeii (*CIL* 4.4123b *ualetis* and *CIL* 4.3442a *facitis uobis suauiter ego canto*) and elsewhere (*CIL* 5.7537 *discitis crescentes pietate(m) red(d)ere uostris* and *CIL* 6.13741 which has both *hauetis* (for *auete*) and *ualetis*). The grammarians Donatus and Pompeius cited an early Latin senarius verse showing what appears to be the same feature: *itis, paratis arma quam primum, uiri* (fragment no. 154 in Schauer 2012). However, it is not clear that in the Pompeian context an imperative is required. In the drawing the innkeeper is escorting the men outside, and it may have been a statement describing what is actually happening, rather than an order. Moreover, as Leumann and Hofmann (1928: 566) indicate, the use of an indicative rather than imperative to imply that what is stated is more than an order, instead something that is already happening with no possible contradiction, can be paralleled from other languages. The second verb used in this utterance, *rixsatis*, is here conjugated as an active rather than the more usual deponent. This verb is not attested before the first century BC, but thereafter found in prose and satirical verse texts (Flobert 1975: 113). The active conjugation is paralleled in Varro (*Men.* 43, 454, *R.* 1.15.1) but not again before the Vetus Latina versions of the Bible (see Flobert 1975: 296 for attestations).

The adverb *foras* stands between the two verbs. As Weber (2011: 1364) shows, *foras* could be plausibly taken with either verb. If with the first, the innkeeper is telling the fighters where to go, correctly using the directional adverb *foras*; the pendent *rixsatis* gives the reason why they must leave. Alternatively, *foras* could be construed with *rixsatis*, telling the customers where to fight. Strictly speaking, the locational adverb *foris* should be used in the latter case, rather than *foras*, but confusion between locational and directional adverbs is frequent in Pompeian graffiti and Latin documents at this date (see Adams 2013: 327–45, with 337 on *foras* for *foris*). *Foras* is separated from each of the two verbs by an interpunct as well as a line break, and it would also be possible to take the three words as three separate utterances barked out by the innkeeper: ‘You are on your way! Outside! You are fighting!’ However, it is probably mistaken to put too much weight on the use of interpuncts in this text, which are used inconsistently in this text: sometimes they separate individual words (as in the barmaid’s speech in scene 2, and in the words of the second speaker in



scene 3) and sometimes they separate out whole phrases (as in speaker 1's utterance in scene 4).

#### 4. Translation of the tavern graffiti

Many translations of *CIL* 4.3494 have been published, from Presuhn (1882, Abtheilung V p. 4) to Hunink (2011: 161) and Milnor (2014: 84 n. 110). The translation offered below attempts to combine the observations given on the language of the text in the preceding sections.

Scene 1

I don't want a jug with Myrtale.

Scene 2

SPEAKER 1: Over here!

SPEAKER 2: No! It's mine.

SPEAKER 3: Let whoever wants it take it. Oceanus, come and drink!

Scene 3

SPEAKER 1: I'm out.

SPEAKER 2: That's not a three – it's a deuce.

Scene 4

SPEAKER 1: Cheat! I threw three. It was me.

SPEAKER 2: Please! Cocksucker, it was me.

SPEAKER 3: You're both going outside. You're fighting.

#### 5. Early features and submerged elements in the text

After this lengthy consideration of this text, what can we say about the similarities or differences between it and the language of early Latin, and whether it represents a 'submerged' form of Latin? There are certainly some features which at first sight could be taken to be survivals: Servius associated the word *hoc* 'hither' with *ueteres*, and the indicative for imperative is only paralleled in literary Latin by a senarius verse line. On one possible view, the writing *Murtale* and *duas* with *u* for Greek *υ* could represent an attempt to reproduce a pronunciation of the vowel more current in early Latin (Allen 1978: 52). But these affinities with early Latin need not be indicative of anything other than a conservative orthography (in the case of *hoc*, *Murtale* and *duas*), and the indicatives need not have imperative force. On the other hand, in scenes that have much in common with those of Roman comedy, it is striking that there is so little shared vocabulary. The insults *noxi* and *fellator* do not occur in early



Latin, nor does the verb *rixor* (or *rixo*). The phrase *oro te* is attested in Roman comedy, but only once, in a context where it is still a full verbal phrase construed with a clause introduced by *ut*; it has not yet become lexicalised in the sense 'please'. Plautus also once uses *hoc* 'hither' as a one-word utterance (*Captivi* 480 *quis ait 'hoc'*, in answer to the question *quo imus una*), but *hoc* or *huc* used in this way must have been typical of Latin conversation at all times.

On the other hand, there are features in the language of the text which are perhaps indicative of 'submerged' Latin, and which are avoided in literary and higher register texts. The vocative *noxi* is one such, as is the sarcastic use of *oro te*. The terms *dyas* and *tria* seem to be unique to this text and, although *exeo* need not mean 'win', its use in the context of gaming is scarcely paralleled in literary Latin. However, their rarity may just reflect the fact that none of the ancient works on dice or board games have survived, rather than indicate that these terms were stigmatised in some way. The omission of final *-t* in *uol* (and perhaps in *exsi*) is clearly another submerged feature, but one perhaps more indicative of education and orthographic practices rather than representative of a spoken feature limited to lower-class speakers (Adams 2013: 156–7).

Another possible 'submerged' feature of the text is the active conjugation of *rixor* in place of the deponent, which seems to have been avoided in literary texts after Varro. According to Väänänen (1966: 87) the use of deponent verbs was an artificial feature, avoided in the spoken language, and he cites other deponent verbs with active conjugations from the Pompeian inscriptions *abomino* (CIL 4.9839b) and *luctabas* (CIL 4.10174). There are also instances of deponents conjugated as actives in the speeches of the freedmen in Petronius (*loquere* and *loquis* 46.1, *exhortavit* 76.10), in the letters of Claudius Terentianus (*merca* at *P. Mich.* 8.469.17) and in the ostraca letters of Rustius Barbarus (*obliscere* for *obliuisci*, *O. Wādi Fawākhir* 2.5). However, the active *loquor* in Petronius stands alongside the deponent conjugation of the same verb, found three times in the speech of the freedmen (42.3, 44.8, 45.1), and Claudius Terentianus also uses deponents in his letters (Adams 1977: 52). The substitution of active for the deponent conjugation is not limited to low register authors, and for many verbs active and deponent verbs coexisted in the late republican and imperial periods (see the evidence collected by Flobert 1975: 286–309). Moreover, the move from active to deponent seen in this history of *rixor* is paralleled by other verbs in the same semantic field: compare *luctor* (active in Ennius, Plautus, Terence and Varro), *proelior* (active in Ennius) and the occasional deponent use of *certo* and *bello* alongside the more common active in the early Empire (Flobert 1975: 211–12).

The graffiti from the Caupona of Salvius also show a notable absence of sentence connectives and conjunctions; parataxis is the norm. The syntax thus has similarities to some of the speeches of the freedmen in Petronius (for example, Dama at 41.10–12), and to the ‘simple style’ castigated in the *Ad Herennium* (*Rhet. Her.* 4.14, see Probert and Ferri 2010: 18–28). However, in heated conversational exchanges the short paratactic sentences are entirely appropriate, and not necessarily indicative of a lower register or social dialect of speech. It is possible to find analogous runs of short utterances without connectives or overt subordinators in the high literary style of Seneca’s tragedies (for instance, Seneca *Med.* 513–21).

## 6. Conclusion

Weber (2011: 1364) concludes his discussion of the tavern graffiti stating that ‘haec inscriptiones redolent sermonem plebeium’. It is impossible to deny that some features of this text are avoided in Latin literature, but none of these can be shown to be a direct inheritance from early Latin which has ‘gone underground’. Furthermore, some of the supposed vulgarisms need not be explained as such, and, despite the occasional ‘mistake’ (such as the omission of final *t* in *uol*, and syncope of *oro te*), the text as a whole is more often classical than not in its orthography (note *h* written in *hoc*, *mea* and *Oceanus* not *mia*, *Ocianus*, and geminate *l* written in *fellator*). The tavern conversation is therefore perhaps less far removed from ‘classical Latin’ than has sometimes been thought.

## Appendix: Latin terms for dice throws

Greek and Roman authors record numerous names for throws in dice: Pollux (7. 203–7) gives 15 names for the worst throw, and over 40 more words for other combinations, and numerous other terms are collected and discussed by Lamer (1927: 1947–57). The principal source for the Latin terms is Isidore *Orig.* 18.65, part of a longer discussion of the board game which he names simply *alea* or *lusus tabulae* (*Orig.* 18.60–8):

de uocabulis tesserarum. iactus quisque apud lusores ueteres a numero uocabatur, ut unio, [binio,] trinio, quaternio, [quinio,] senio. postea appellatio singulorum mutata est, et unionem canem, trinionem suppum, quaternionem planum uocabant.

Isidore states that the older terms for the Latin throws (*iactus tessararum*) were *unio*, *trinio*, *quaternio* and *senio*, with *unio* later replaced by

*canis*, *ternio* by *suppus* and *quaternio* by *planus*. Isidore appears to have limited the names to just four terms which would correspond to a *talus*, whose four marked sides were numbered 1, 3, 4, and 6, rather than the six-faced *tessera*, but copyists added *binio* between one and three, and *quinio* between four and six in some manuscripts. In the next paragraph (*Orig.* 18.66) Isidore states plainly that *canis* means ‘one’ (*uitant autem canem quia damnosus est; unum enim significat*). Apart from the *canis* and *senio* (on which see below) the other terms mentioned by Isidore are unattested in any gaming contexts in Latin. Isidore does not mention the Plautine terms for dice throws *uulturius* (*iacit uolturios quattuor*, *Cur.* 357) or *basilicum* (*iacto basilicum*, *Cur.* 369), and his Christian sensibility has led him to omit the common term for the throw where all the dice fell on different faces, the *Venus* or *iactus Venerius*. The three terms *uulturius*, *basilicum* and *Venus* (and no others) are given by the anonymous author of the grammatical text known as the *Fragmenta Bobiensia* (*GL* 7.543.8).

In Isidore’s account there may be some confusion between the terms for the numbers on the faces of the die, and the names given to the outcome of a throw of four *tali*; the two are certainly mixed up in Watkins (1973) (as was noticed by Weiss 2010: 375). Hence, although Watkins (1973: 501) equates the term *Venus* with a six, this is actually the term for the throw when the four *tali* each show a different number. The *canis*, as the lowest throw, was four aces when four dice were used, but an ace if only one was thrown. The term *senio* is opposed to *canis* in several Latin authors (*Pers.* 3.48, *Suet. Aug.* 71.2 in a citation of a letter written by Augustus, and *Martial* 13.1.6), and is generally understood as meaning ‘six’ of a die, the ‘sice’ (thus *OLD* s.v.). However, *senio* is derived from *seni* ‘six in each instance, six apiece’, and this would make better sense if it actually refers to a throw of sixes on each die thrown: four sixes with four dice, one six with a single die. It is possible that this original sense develops the meaning of ‘sice’, much as Isidore takes *canis* to refer to an ace, but none of the classical instances of *senio* requires this sense. Note for example the passage of Augustus’ correspondence cited by Suetonius (*Augustus* 71.2):

inter cenam lusimus geronticos et heri et hodie; talis enim iactatis, ut quisque canem aut senionem miserat, in singulos talos singulos denarios in medium conferebat, quos tollebat uniuersos, qui Venerem iecerat.

It is clear that the players are using four dice, since the winner of the pot has to throw the *Venus*, and the *senio* here may refer to a throw of four sixes (so Marquardt 1879–1882: 830). Similarly at *Martial* 13.1.6

*senio nec nostrum cum cane quassat ebur*, translated by Shackleton Bailey (1993: 171) ‘nor do sice and ace shake my ivory’, the poet may be referring to a throw of more than one die, as would have been usual in ancient gambling (the use of *tessera* in the preceding line to refer to dice rather than a single die is paralleled at Martial 14.17; the plural *tesserae* caused metrical difficulties).

If *senio* and *canis* refer to throws of sices and aces respectively, two of the terms which Isidore identifies as more recent, *suppus* and *planus*, seem to refer to sides of the *talus* rather than the outcome of throws. Thus, as was seen by Weiss (2010: 375–6), *suppus* corresponds etymologically with the Greek term ὕππιος, descriptive of one side of a talus, and this also fits better with the other attestations of *suppus* in Latin and its Umbrian cognate **supa** / *sopa*. Weiss also suggests that a reading *pronus* for *planus* in Isidore would be a better match for the Greek term for another face of the *talus*, πρηγής.

*Ad versus the dative: from early to late Latin**James Adams and Wolfgang de Melo***1. Introduction**

When forms or constructions that are well attested in early Latin disappear during the classical period and reappear in late Latin and Romance, it is reasonable to ask whether they survived at a subliterate level or were created afresh. This question is easier to answer for non-classical morphology than for non-classical syntax. For instance, classical Latin uses *uester* as a second-person plural possessive pronoun, while early and late Latin have *uoster* (presupposed also by French *votre*). The classical form is due to a regular change of *ō* to *ē* between consonantal *u* and *s* or *r* followed by another consonant. Did the early form survive at a subliterate level? This seems unlikely. As sound change is by and large regular, we have to assume that *uōster* was recreated. This new creation made good sense: *uōster* had the same relation to *uōs* as *nōster* had to *nōs*, a relation that was obscured by sound change. The analogical change back to *uōster* was simple and restored the original connection.

This example shows how easily the morphology of individual words can change if similar patterns are already in existence elsewhere. In fact, such changes are so common that non-continuity between early and late Latin should be our default assumption unless sporadic survival can be demonstrated for subliterate documents or the morphological changes would be unusually intricate. The principles of syntactic change are more subtle, which makes it more difficult to assess whether early and late constructions without classical equivalents survived at a subliterate level or not. We always have to ask ourselves whether the early and late constructions are good matches syntactically and semantically or whether there are significant differences. If there are no significant differences, could the construction have been created again by analogy? And if there are significant differences, can the late construction-types be derived from the early ones?

In this chapter, we will discuss one type of syntactic alternation. As is well known, in classical Latin the recipient of verbs like *do* ‘to give’ and *nuntio* ‘to announce’ typically stands in the dative. In the Romance languages, the recipient is normally expressed as a prepositional phrase. In early Latin, especially in Plautus, verbs like *do* and *nuntio* can be construed with *ad* + accusative. Do such early instances foreshadow Romance developments? In what follows, we shall give a very brief outline of the most important views on this topic, followed by a closer look at the finer points of the Romance system. After that, we shall examine the Plautine alternation between dative and *ad* + accusative in more detail than has been done before. This will enable us to draw a better, more nuanced comparison between Plautus and Romance than has been possible thus far. And finally, we shall look at selected classical and late Latin authors and see to what extent their patterns of use fit into the reconstructed development from Latin to Romance. The discussion of the texts will fall into two parts. In the first (sections 4 and 5) we consider texts of the period 200 BC–AD 200. In the second (sections 6 to 8) we deal with the late period (roughly AD 200–900). The first part contains a full account of *ad* versus the dative with a wide variety of verbs. The second part is restricted to the two semantic fields ‘say’ and ‘give’ that are of the greatest importance in assessing continuity.

## 2. Some scholarly views on the alternation in Plautus

Perhaps the most radical view is that espoused by Lindsay (1907: 20), who speaks of ‘equivalence’ between *do* with the dative and *do* with *ad* in Plautus. In support of this idea he quotes a few passages in which *do* is combined with the same noun, but this noun can be in the dative or in the accusative governed by *ad*.<sup>1</sup> As is well known, Lindsay was keen to see colloquial and non-standard elements in Plautus, and this bias occasionally led to inappropriate or untenable analyses. Löfstedt (1956: 187) takes a more moderate stance. For him, *do* with *ad* can still show the original, directional meaning of *ad*, as in *Capt.* 1019, where *ad carnuficem dabo* means ‘I shall send to the henchman’ (thus also Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: 100). He believes that in other instances there is no true contrast between the two constructions; hence *ad patrem uis nuntiari* (*Capt.* 360) is equivalent to *uis patri nuntiari* (*Capt.* 400–1). Given that *ad* ultimately ousts the dative, constructions like *se recepit castello* ‘he withdrew

<sup>1</sup> E. g. *ad mortem* in *Am.* 809 and *morti* in *Mer.* 472.

to the garrison' (*B. Hisp.* 40.1) are said to be hypercorrections. Rosén (1999: 141) looks at some alternations between various cases and prepositional phrases and speaks of a 'popular shading' of the latter. However, both the construction types and the texts they come from are such a mixed bag that Rosén's generalisation is too simplistic and ultimately untenable.

Baños (2000) examines the opposition in Plautus much more thoroughly than Lindsay or Löfstedt and concludes that the constructions still have consistently different meanings in Plautus. Phrases with *ad* express direction, while datives express recipients, as can be seen from the fact that the former type is often combined with directional adverbials:

inscendo, ut eam rem *Naupactum* ad erum nuntiem.

(Mil. 116)

ergo animum aduortas uolo  
quae nuntiare *hinc* te uolo *in patriam* ad patrem.

(Capt. 383–4)

The difference between dative and *ad* can also be illustrated with the verb *scribo* used in letters (Baños 2000: 13): Cicero uses the dative 103 times and *ad* 658 times; for Seneca the figures are 21 and 2, and for Pliny the figures are 35 and 3. Why do we find this marked difference between Cicero on the one hand and Seneca and Pliny on the other? If there were diachronic change, it should go in the other direction, with Cicero preferring the dative and Seneca and Pliny preferring *ad*. Baños argues convincingly that this distinction has to do with the types of letters we are dealing with: Cicero writes genuine letters sent to an addressee (direction), so the recipient dative is less common; Seneca and Pliny use letters as a literary genre, but these are not necessarily sent off, so the recipient dative is much more prominent than the *ad*-phrase.

Adams (2013: 278–94) is in broad agreement with Baños and shows that in many instances the postulated semantic overlap between the constructions does not stand up to scrutiny. He does however stress that *ad* does occur quite commonly with verbs of speaking, and that in native Latin texts there is a clear opposition between dative and *ad*; the former is used for direct address, while the latter is used for 'address of an audience with projection of the voice towards the listeners' (2013: 293 (see below, 5.1)). In translations from Greek, *ad* can be used with verbs of speech even when there is no proper audience; here, *ad* is used to render πρὸς, which is common with such verbs in Greek (see, e.g., below, 7.2.2).

Before we can go on to examine Plautus in more detail, we shall briefly look at the Romance system in order to see what Plautine foreshadowing of it would mean in practice.

### 3. The Romance system in more detail

The Romance pattern is more complicated than implied by scholars who assume a continuation of early Latin usages and speak of an increased replacement of datives by prepositional phrases. Typically, in Romance languages nominal and pronominal indirect objects do not behave in the same way.

In Italian, a nominal direct object is unmarked, while a nominal indirect object is marked by the preposition *a*, which continues Latin *ad* (Italian occasionally still has *ad* before a vowel):

Mando un libro *a* Paolo.

I am sending a book *to* Paolo.

Pronominal objects can be stressed or unstressed. When stressed, they pattern with the nouns. When unstressed, they are clitic and are not marked by prepositions, irrespective of whether they indicate the direct object or the indirect one. Compare Italian:

Daglielo.

Give it to him.

Fammelo.

Do it for me.

Here the imperatives *da* and *fa* are followed by pronouns for the indirect object and then for the direct object; this order is fixed. The *-mm-* in *fammelo*, synchronically described as *radoppiamento fonosintattico*, is historically the result of an assimilation taking place between *fac* and *me*.

Diachronically, this *me* is an accusative rather than a dative. In the first and second person singular and plural, French and Spanish do not make any formal distinction between pronouns for direct objects and those for indirect objects.<sup>2</sup> The Spanish forms *me*, *te*, *nos*, and *vos* continue accusatives, as do the French *me*, *te*, *nous*, and *vous*, yet all these forms can be used not only where Latin would have used accusatives, but also where it

<sup>2</sup> For an overview of Old French pronouns and their functions see Buridant (2000: 408). For older Italian see Maiden (1995: 166–77).



would have had datives. For every French form, Italian has two: *mi* and *me*, *ti* and *te*, *ci* and *ce*, and *vi* and *ve*. While historically *mi* continues a dative and *me* an accusative, synchronically the distribution of such forms is not determined by syntactic function, but rather by morphophonological factors.

Much the same can be said about the reflexive pronoun. Spanish and French continue the old accusative *se*. Italian has both *si* and *se*, originally dative and accusative, but again their distribution has nothing to do with syntactic functions. In all these instances, the old datives and accusatives became interchangeable within Romance, and where the new allomorphy was not eliminated, it was put to new uses in the medieval period (Elcock 1975: 91–2, Maiden 2011). Only among the third-person non-reflexive pronouns do we find case distinctions preserved. These pronouns go back to forms of *ille* and thus retain a distinction between masculine and feminine as well. However, third-person pronouns were commonly remodelled under the influence of relative pronouns or the nominal declensions, which makes them less easily recognisable to the classicist (Elcock 1975: 93–5).

For the direct object, Italian uses *lo* and *la* for the singular and *li* and *le* for the plural. The Spanish equivalents are *lo* and *la* for the singular and *los* and *las* for the plural. French has *le* and *la* for the singular and gender-neutral *les* for the plural. For the indirect object, Italian uses *gli* and *le* for the singular and *loro* and *gli* for the plural. Depending on morphophonological conditioning, all these forms except for *loro* can be replaced by *glie*. Spanish and French do not have gender distinctions for indirect object pronouns. Spanish has *le* for the singular and *les* for the plural, while the French equivalents are *lui* and *leur*. Thus, direct and indirect object remain morphologically and syntactically distinct among the third-person non-reflexive pronouns. But while none of the other pronouns preserve such a morphological distinction, word order patterns still enable us to recognise a syntactic distinction between direct and indirect objects here.

We can now be more specific about what Plautine foreshadowing of the Romance situation would mean. First, and most importantly, if Plautus foreshadows the Romance system, there should be no clear difference between the dative and *ad*, or at least this distinction should show some signs of erosion. And second, nouns should prefer the construction with *ad*, while clitic pronouns should prefer the dative. Let us now examine these questions for Plautus.

#### 4. The alternation between dative and *ad* + accusative in Plautus

In order to see how the alternation between dative and *ad* with accusative works in Plautus, we have collected and classified all instances of *ad*. These fall into several groups, some of them in opposition to datives and others not. It is only the former which matter to us, so we shall touch on the latter only briefly.

Thirty-four tokens had to be excluded on various grounds, for instance because they stood in the late Latin plot summaries rather than the Plautine text itself or because there were textual problems. We also excluded all cases which are textually secure but in which *ad* cannot alternate with a dative; there are 711 of these. They fall into several different categories, and there would be little point in discussing them in detail. The most important ones are adverbial usages (type *ad hunc modum*), complements after verbs of movement (type *uenio*) and purpose expressions (type *adorno ad aliquam rem*). For some of the excluded items there is a superficial alternation between dative and *ad*; but in such cases the dative is always used for persons and the *ad*-phrase for things. For instance, when *quaero* takes the dative, this dative always refers to a person, and this person is the beneficiary of the action, while an *ad*-phrase always refers to a thing, and this thing expresses the purpose of the search.

If we restrict ourselves to instances where *ad* can truly alternate with a dative, we get 340 tokens of *ad* contrasting with 1,303 dative phrases. We can now examine whether there is a consistent difference in meaning between the two constructions, and whether pronouns and nouns prefer different construction types.

##### 4.1. Differences in meaning?

The easiest way to find out if datives differ in meaning from *ad*-phrases is to see what types of nouns are used in such expressions and how datives and *ad*-phrases are distributed across different types of verbs. However, before we can examine this, we need to modify one of Baños's statements. According to Baños (2000: 7–8), the frequent combination of *ad*-phrases with directional expressions shows that *ad*-phrases still indicate direction rather than recipients. Among the 340 *ad*-phrases that we have counted, 73 are combined with such directional expressions. However, 37 directional expressions are used in combination with datives, and this count

excludes cases where we have *ad*-phrases combined with the datives. One example will suffice:

salutem tibi *ab sodali* solidam nuntio.

(Bac. 188)

Obviously, the figure of 37 directional expressions combined with datives pales in comparison with that of directional expressions combined with *ad*-phrases, especially when one considers that datives are almost four times as frequent as *ad*-phrases. However, the fact that it is possible to combine datives as well as *ad*-phrases with such directional expressions should make us cautious about using them as proof of anything. The greater frequency of directional expressions with *ad*-phrases is an indication that *ad* still had directional meaning in Plautus, but not more than that.

More important than Baños's combination patterns is the question of animacy. A recipient is more likely to be an animate entity, a person or a deity, while a directional phrase can express movement towards a person or a thing. Of our 1,303 datives, 1,261 refer to animate entities and only 42 to things and inanimate entities; what is more, some of these 42 tokens can be regarded as personifications. Among the 340 *ad*-phrases, the distribution is more equal: 222 refer to animate destinations and 118 to inanimate ones. This is a first indication that the two expressions cannot be fully interchangeable. Animate nouns are so much rarer in *ad*-phrases than in dative constructions that the Romance pattern, if it already exists, must still be in its infancy.

We can now check how datives and *ad*-phrases are distributed according to verb types. In order to do so, we have divided the verbs into 13 groups.

Verbs	Datives	Phrases with <i>ad</i>	Total	% of datives
say	308	2	310	99.35
give	605	8	613	98.69
tell, promise	68	5	73	93.15
add, hand over	26	5	31	83.87
announce	22	10	32	68.75
carry, bring	158	95	253	62.45
place	11	7	18	61.11
drive	21	17	38	55.26
send	39	49	88	44.32

Verbs	Datives	Phrases with <i>ad</i>	Total	% of datives
stick	6	12	18	33.33
lead	21	48	69	30.43
summon, receive	15	65	80	18.75
throw, drag	3	17	20	15

If datives and phrases with *ad* were truly interchangeable, one would expect a far more even distribution, with random variation between the expressions. But this is not at all what we get. What we find is a very neat distribution pattern based on verbal meaning. Recipient and direction are categories that are clearly related, and there is something of a semantic continuum between them. At the top of this table are the verbs of saying and giving; they typically have pure recipients and involve little or no direction. Consequently, they virtually always take datives, as this is the typical case for recipients. At the bottom of the table we find verbs of throwing and dragging. These rarely involve a recipient, but a direction is normally implied or specified explicitly. As a result, such verbs are almost always combined with *ad*-phrases, but rarely with datives. While the virtual absence of *ad*-phrases among verbs of giving and saying shows that there is no direct continuity between Plautus and Romance, no continuity obfuscated by classical authors, the table does have wider diachronic implications which we shall return to at the end of this section.

The verbs in the middle of the table can take datives or *ad*-phrases. Here we are in a grey area where next to subject and direct object we find a third constituent which is halfway between a recipient and a direction in meaning. This third constituent can thus be encoded as a dative or an *ad*-phrase, depending on whether we want to emphasise the receptive or the directional facet of its meaning. In practical terms, however, there is sometimes little difference between the two construction types:

*Toxilo* has fero tabellas *tuo* ero. – abi, eccillum domi.

at ego hanc *ad Lemniselenem tuam eram* opsignatam abietem.

(*Per.* 247–8)

Here two slaves are bringing messages to each other's owners. The first slave expresses the master as a recipient, the second slave expresses the mistress as a direction. The two constructions are virtually interchangeable here because the owners are both the final destinations of the letters and their recipients.

The table reflects a semantic hierarchy that has clear morphosyntactic repercussions. The higher up in the table a verb is, the more its third argument resembles a pure recipient and the less it resembles a direction. As we go down in the table, this situation is reversed. The lower down in the table a verb is, the more its third argument is directional and the less likely it is to indicate a recipient. This is reflected in the likelihood with which a verb may take the dative or *ad*. The higher a verb is in the hierarchy, the more likely it is to take a dative; the lower it is, the more likely it is to take *ad*.

Since verbs higher up in the table are more likely to take the dative, *ad* is normally used only to emphasise movement. A case in point is *nuntio*, which always implies an addressee, but this addressee can stand in an *ad*-phrase if he or she needs to be reached through arduous travel:

*uxori facito ut nunties negotium  
mihi esse in urbe.*

(*Mer.* 279–80)

*credo, si boni quid ad te nuntiem, instes acriter.*

(*Mer.* 177)

*Nuntio* is never a simple verb of speech. It refers to the act of bringing a message from one person to another, and thus there is always a choice between the dative and *ad*. However, this choice is not determined by extra-linguistic factors. In both examples movement from one place in the city to another is involved, so the difference in distance can hardly be substantial. But the first example is a simple command given by a master to his slave, while in the second a slave is stressing how out of breath he is because of his errand. That explains why the dative is used in the first example, but *ad* in the second.

*Dico* is the most basic verb of speech in Latin. It implies no travel, and as such the addressee is almost always in the dative. Much the same can be said about *uerba facio*. Thus it comes as no surprise that they are combined with datives 308 times, but only twice with *ad*-phrases:

*auscultate, argumenta dum dico ad hanc rem.*

(*Mos.* 99)

*nimis lepide fecit uerba ad parsimoniam.*

(*Aul.* 497)

In both cases the noun following *ad* is inanimate and abstract. It is clearly not an addressee, but functions as a purpose expression. Plautus does not

have *dico ad* with animate nouns referring to an audience addressed by an orator.

Just as *dico* is the most basic verb of speech, *do* is the most basic verb of giving. However, unlike *dico* it is occasionally combined with *ad*-phrases containing animate nouns:

at ego hunc grandis grandem natu ob furtum *ad carnuficem* dabo.  
(*Capt.* 1019)

postidea *ad pistores* dabo, ut ibi cruciere currens.  
(*As.* 709)

While it is normally the meaning of a verb that tells us what construction it will take, sometimes it is the construction that changes the meaning of a verb. This is the case here. Normally *do* refers to a simple handover, but when it is combined with *ad*, it changes its meaning and becomes almost equivalent to *mitto*, implying movement before the handover.

Another revealing example in early Latin comes from a speech by Cato:

quom essem in prouincia legatus, quamplures ad praetores et consules  
uinum honorarium dabant; numquam accepi, ne priuatus quidem.  
(*Cato Orat.* fr. 132 Malcovati)

Here the distribution of wine to a large number of people is referred to. It is not envisaged as a direct handover from donor to recipient; rather, the donor would dispatch the wine, and the person delivering it would be a servant. Again *do* is almost equivalent to *mitto*.

What we have seen so far is that there is a semantic continuum from recipient to direction, and that different verbs fall onto different points along that continuum. At the one end we have verbs like *dico* and *do*, which virtually always take the recipient dative; where they take *ad*, this construction can change the meaning of the verb. At the other extreme we find verbs like *rapio*, which rarely take a recipient, but can freely take *ad* in order to mark a direction. Many other verbs fall between the extreme points. Here Plautus typically has a choice between dative and *ad*. The two constructions remain semantically distinct, but the differences in meaning can be quite small.

When one construction-type ousts another, the starting-point is normally a semantic overlap or similarity, as it exists in Plautus. Our table allows us to predict that the replacement of the dative will begin at the lower end, with verbs like *rapio*, and move upwards from there, reaching *do* and *dico* only much later. These predictions are generally borne

out by the facts, but we shall also see in later sections that the situation is much more complex for *dico* because of various other factors.

Plautus does not foreshadow the Romance developments in the strong sense that we find proper Romance construction patterns in his comedies; but he does foreshadow them in a weaker sense insofar as the frequency patterns in his comedies give us an indication of how the language should develop under normal circumstances. Diachronic change is embryonically present in synchronic usage patterns. As Plautus always has a choice between constructions when it comes to verbs like *fero* or *nuntio*, diachronic developments can most easily be observed among verbs that are high up in our table and do not normally allow *ad* in Plautus, for instance *dico* and *do*. Here a comparison between *dico* and *do* will be particularly instructive because they do not behave alike; the ‘normal’ or expected developments are more difficult to pin down.

#### 4.2. Differences in behaviour between nouns and pronouns?

In the Romance pattern, a second feature was notable: indirect objects are marked by a preposition if they are nominal, but not if they are pronominal and clitic, in which case they may have a separate case form. Is there anything comparable in Plautus?

Since in Plautus the case system is still intact among both nouns and pronouns, there is no *a priori* reason for differences in syntactic behaviour. Such differences would seem especially unlikely in view of the fact that the dative and *ad* also have demonstrably different functions throughout early and classical Latin. Nevertheless, among the verbs where we can find a contrast between dative and *ad*, there is a noticeable difference in behaviour between nouns and pronouns in Plautus.

	Datives	Phrases with <i>ad</i>	Total	% of datives
Nouns	398	190	588	67.69
Pronouns	905	150	1055	85.78

In this table, we count personal and reflexive pronouns as well as *hic*, *iste* and *ille* as pronouns, but not relative or interrogative pronouns, as these are not clitic and pattern with the nouns in Romance. While both nouns and pronouns are more frequent in the dative than in *ad*-phrases,

pronouns prefer the dative much more strongly than nouns do. Why should this be the case?

There is a straightforward explanation for this seemingly odd behaviour. Outside highly technical genres, human beings tend to talk mostly about themselves and each other. Pronouns are used for entities that are easily identified from discourse. If we put these two facts together, it comes as no surprise that most pronouns refer to human beings, while nouns refer more evenly to humans and inanimate things. Since inanimate objects can be the endpoint of a movement, but are generally unlikely to be recipients or beneficiaries, only some of the nouns, those used for humans, are likely to stand in the dative. Thus it is only natural that pronouns prefer the dative more strongly than nouns do.

Is this divide between nouns and pronouns an indication that Plautus foreshadows Romance? Yes and no. The patterns we observe in Plautus are the result of an interplay of two factors: the semantic opposition between recipient and direction on the one hand, and the alignment of animacy with recipients on the other. The fact that we still have a functional opposition between recipient and direction in Plautus means that we cannot and must not rewrite the rules of grammar for this early author.

But in a weaker sense Plautus does again foreshadow Romance: the statistical preference which pronouns have for the dative will eventually become grammaticalised. Nouns will gravitate towards *ad*, while pronouns will move in the opposite direction. We shall see later on (sections 7.11, 7.12) that Jerome has moved further towards the Romance pattern, and we shall also look at a text on falcon medicine in which the Romance pattern has been achieved fully (7.1).

#### 4.3. *Consequences for the analysis of later authors*

Of the two features we have examined, the first has the greatest significance for later authors. We expect the dative to decrease among verbs of throwing and the like first and continue longest among verbs of saying and giving. Verbs of carrying and sending should fall in the middle. Since the verbs of throwing and the like do not take datives very frequently as early as Plautus, the absence of such datives in later authors may be due to chance, unless these verbs should occur particularly commonly in some text types. Verbs of carrying and sending are complicated because here the semantic overlap between recipient and direction is greatest, which means that any shift to more *ad*-phrases may be due to an author's individual preferences. Ultimately, the most fruitful area for



research will then be the verbs of giving and saying, and in what follows we shall focus on these.

In Plautus the second feature, the syntactic divide between nouns and pronouns, is based on the fact that pronouns are used more commonly for humans than for inanimate entities, and that recipients are normally human, while the endpoint of a motion may be a human being or a thing. As this feature is thus ultimately derived from the meaning of verbs and the kinds of arguments they take, it makes more sense to focus on the verbs directly, which brings us back to our first feature. We can now look at verbs of giving and saying in classical and post-classical authors; but we shall not ignore the divide between pronouns and nouns completely, as it will become more relevant in our later texts.

## 5. Other authors before the third century

### 5.1. Cicero

In Cicero's speeches and philosophical works usage corresponds closely to what we found in Plautus. *Do*, *dono* and the verbs of speech are of course of special interest to us.

The recipient of *do* and *dono* is always expressed by the dative. *Ad* is not used for people, which means that the Plautine type *do ad*, with *do* almost equivalent to *mitto*, does not occur. When *ad* is used, it is used in combination with gerunds or gerundives and occasionally inanimate nouns; in each case a purpose is expressed. Occasionally we find the dative and an *ad*-phrase next to each other:

quid *mihi ad defendendum* dedisti, bone accusator?

(Cic. *S. Rosc.* 58)

Here the dative marks the recipient. What follows is an example from Cicero's letters containing *do* with *ad* and an inanimate noun:

his litteris scriptis me *ad συντάξεις* dedi.

(Cic. *Att.* 15.14.4)

The inanimate noun is not a recipient as such, and this is why the *ad*-phrase is preferred.

With verbs of speech we find a similar contrast between the dative and *ad*. *Ad*-phrases are very common for inanimate entities. Here *ad* does not express purpose, but could be rendered as 'in response to'. The

addressee regularly stands in the dative, and again dative and *ad*-phrase may co-occur:

sed ut aliquando audiamus quam copiose *mihi ad rogata* respondeas, concludam iam interrogationem meam.

(Cic. *Vat.* 40)

However, while Cicero does not use *do* with an *ad*-phrase containing a human being, *dico* and other verbs of speech are occasionally used in this way. In such cases, it is regularly an audience that is being addressed, typically with projection of the voice:

hi nimis iracunde agunt, praesertim cum ab is non sane animosa defendatur sententia, pro qua non in senatu, non in contione, non apud exercitum neque *ad censores* dicere audeant.

(Cic. *Tusc.* 3.51)

pro se quisque, ut in quoque erat auctoritatis plurimum, *ad populum* loquebatur.

(Cic. *Ver.* 1.68)

si haec non *ad ciuis Romanos*, non *ad aliquos amicos nostrae ciuitatis*, non *ad eos qui populi Romani nomen audissent*, denique si non *ad homines* uerum *ad bestias*, aut etiam, ut longius progrediar, si in aliqua desertissima solitudine *ad saxa* et *ad scopulos* haec conqueri ac deplorare uellem, tamen omnia muta atque inanima tanta et tam indigna rerum acerbitate commouerentur.

(Cic. *Ver.* 5.171)

In our first example, *ad* is not the only preposition that is used with *dico*: *in* is used for the senate and the assembly, and *apud* for the military. This underlines the local meaning of *ad*, which is clearly not equivalent to the dative. No such contrast of prepositions is found in the next case, where the verb is *loquor*, but again we are clearly dealing with a formal address rather than a private conversation between two people. In the last example, the relevant verbs are *conqueror* and *deploro*, and the frequent *ad*-phrases indicate the audience of the sad declamation; as such, the example could be interpreted in the same way in which we have interpreted the preceding two, or, since several nouns are inanimate, *ad* could be equivalent to *apud* here and indicate the place of the speech rather than its direction.

However, while the construction of verbs of speech with *ad* is clearly attested in Cicero's speeches and philosophical works, it is also comparatively rare, owing to its special meaning. With *dico* we also find it in *Tusc.* 3.71 and *Ver.* 2.72 and 3.68; with *loquor* it also occurs in *Lig.* 30, where an *ad*-phrase contrasts with a phrase with *apud*, showing again that the

meaning of *ad* is still purely local. We have found only one instance where an *ad*-phrase does not necessarily involve the address of an audience:

*ad eos* is deus, qui omnia genuit, fatur.

(Cic. *Tim.* 40)

If this is to be interpreted as addressing an audience, it conforms to the rule (see also below, 7.4, on an address by a god marked by *ad*). However, there could also be a different rationale for the use of *ad*: the text renders a passage from Plato (*Ti.* 41a), and Plato has λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς. The Latin preposition could simply be used as a translation of the Greek one.

## 5.2. Petronius

According to Petersmann (1977: 78), there is only one instance in Petronius where an *ad*-phrase replaces the dative:

exonerata ille uesica aquam poposcit *ad manus*. (27.6)

When he had relieved his bladder, he demanded water *for his hands*.

Petersmann considers this *ad*-phrase adnominal and compares *da aquam ad manus* (CGL 3.514.71), which is rendered as δὲς ὕδωρ εἰς χεῖρας; replacement of object datives is not attested. There are two problems with this interpretation. First, it is not obvious that *ad manus* should really be taken as adnominal; it could be, but it could equally well be dependent on the verb. And second, it is not clear whether *ad manus* is fully equivalent to a dative *manibus*.

In Plautus, when water is brought for washing one's hands or feet, it is always the dative which is used. Thus, we find *date aquam manibus* (*Per.* 769a, *Truc.* 481), *cēdō aquam manibus* (*Mos.* 308) and *ferre aquam pedibus* (*Per.* 792a). If we take these datives as adnominal, they presumably express a purpose, and replacement by *ad* is not surprising; while Plautus does not use *ad* in this collocation, he has other cases of *ad* expressing purpose:

haec *ad Neptuni pecudes* condimenta sunt.

(Pl. *Ps.* 834)

Given the rarity of passages in which people wash their hands or feet in Plautus, it is unclear whether the absence of *aquam ad manus* is due to chance or whether Petronius has extended the use of adnominal *ad*-phrases.

If *ad manus* is not adnominal in Petronius, the use of *ad* is even less unusual, as *aquam posco* is short for 'to demand to be brought water', and verbs of bringing have always had variation between the dative and *ad*.

Petersmann (1977: 78) correctly states that indirect objects are not yet replaced by *ad*-phrases in Petronius. He finds this surprising for verbs of speech because here he can see such replacements as early as Virgil (*ad quem ... locuta est, Aen.* 9.5) and Propertius (*ad argutas dicere ... aues,* 1.18.30). However, both instances fall under the category of formal address with projection of the voice, even if in Virgil it is a single person who is being addressed. With verbs of speech, we have found only the dative in Petronius (24 tokens for *dico*, 1 for *respondeo*, and no indirect object for *loquor*).

*Do* is combined with the dative 34 times. There is one instance of *do ad*:

Glyco autem, sestertiarus homo, dispensatorem *ad bestias* dedit.

(45.8)

Since Glyco is not giving the treasurer to the animals directly, this is a case where *do* is roughly equivalent to *mitto*; we have seen this type in Plautus, who uses phrases such as *ad carnuficem do*, and we find a close parallel in Tertullian, who quotes the phrase *Christianos ad leonem* (Tert. *Apol.* 40.2).

### 5.3. Seneca the Younger

If *ad*-phrases replaced datives earlier in colloquial speech than in formal registers, one would expect more such *ad*-phrases in Petronius than in his probable contemporary Seneca. However, as we saw in the preceding section, Petronius does not have any non-classical usages in this respect, and so Seneca should not have them either. This assumption turns out to be correct; again we shall look at verbs of speech and *do*.

Among verbs of speech, *loquor* and *for* are not combined with datives or *ad*-phrases at all, but both *aio* and *dico* take addressees. The former is combined with the dative five times and the latter 141 times. Neither verb takes *ad*, which is not surprising for *aio*, a verb unsuitable for addressing crowds, but *dico ad* is also conspicuous by its absence not just from the letters, but also from the other philosophical works and the tragedies, where public speeches are at least mentioned, which would justify the use of *ad*.

Petronius had *do* with *ad* in the meaning 'to send' rather than 'to give', where only the dative was found. Seneca uses *do* only in the latter meaning, so only the dative should occur; again this expectation turns out to be correct, with 662 datives and not a single *ad*-phrase.

## 5.4. Fronto's correspondence

The letters by and to Fronto show that the situation established for the classical period still holds in the second century. Among verbs of speech, neither *for* nor *aio* is combined with any addressees, but *dico* and *loquor* are. There are 14 tokens of the dative dependent on *dico*, one of them in a quotation of an earlier author, and there is one dative dependent on *loquor*. Each of these verbs is combined with *ad* once. However, the *ad*-phrase dependent on *dico* does not express an addressee, but rather the notion of agreement (*ad uoluntatem suam dictum*, 'said in accordance with his will', Fronto p. 45.2). This leaves us with a single relevant *ad*-phrase dependent on *loquor*:

... *ad senatum* quom debet loqui ...

(Fronto p. 125.13)

Since the senate cannot be addressed in the way a private person is spoken to, this example clearly conforms to the rule valid for classical Latin that *ad* is used with verbs of speech if a group of people is addressed and the voice is projected; we saw exactly the same type in Cicero above (*ad populum loquebatur*).

*Do* (with *operam do*) is combined with the dative 39 times. There are two instances of *do* with *ad*:

paucis ante diebus Lucius *ad Vologaesum* litteras ultro dederat.

(Fronto p. 212.4)

an uelles *ad te* quoque me litteras inuitum, querentem, festinantem, quia necesse erat potius quam quia libebat, darem?

(Fronto p. 107.13–15)

In both cases we are dealing with letters that are being sent. *Do* does not simply mean 'to give' here, but rather 'to dispatch, give to a courier to travel to the recipient' (Adams 2013: 280), and this element of sending makes the use of *ad* natural. Thus, the rules that apply to Cicero have not yet changed by the second century.

We shall now turn to the later period, where the use of *ad* increases gradually.

## 6. Late Latin: preliminaries

Between about 200 and 500 (the dates are approximate) there is a higher incidence of *ad* with verbs of saying than in the classical period, but the construction is still subject to restrictions and outnumbered by the dative.

*Ad* is hardly ever found with verbs of the semantic field 'give', but in very late texts signs of a change may be discerned.

We have read, or used published lexica for, 16 corpora: Hyginus' *Fabulae*, part of Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* 4), the *Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, part of Porphyrio's commentary on Horace, five of the bilingual school exercises edited by Dickey (2012 and 2015), the *Historia Augusta*, Lucifer of Cagliari, the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, the first 52 letters of Jerome, the three *Vitae sanctorum* of Jerome, Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Martini*, the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*, Anonymus Valesianus II, Gregory of Tours and an early medieval text on falcon medicine. Several of these texts (see 7.2, 7.11) are investigated here in detail, but in others we have looked only for *ad*, while establishing that the dative continues in abundance.

There is a sharp difference between the latest of the texts (that on falcons) and the others. In this *ad* (with dependent noun) is the norm with verbs of giving. This text takes us close to the Romance languages. In the others the almost complete restriction of *ad* to verbs of saying requires discussion.

We will identify several categories and motivations of uses of *ad* with verbs of saying, of which three may be listed here. First, many instances are in Christian texts and are in imitation or more loosely under the influence of biblical usage. Second, some examples refer to projection of the voice, for example in crowd address or in prayers uttered to God or in authoritative address by a superior (not least God) to inferiors. This is a use not confined for the late period to Christian texts, and it has already been seen in the classical period. Third, some others seem unmotivated, and indistinguishable from the dative. Here may lie a new development. The first two categories are not mutually exclusive, and this summary is not the whole story. We will refine it later.

The numerous members of the first group above, which are often mere translationese, carry a warning. Statistics obtained from late (i.e. mainly Christian) texts by (e.g.) computerised methods will not necessarily reveal genuine developments in the language. It is an unfortunate fact for the linguist that a huge number of the late texts extant are overtly Christian, even theological, and they quote versions of the Bible constantly, or fall into biblical phraseology. But biblical Latin was subject to the direct influence of biblical Greek, and the influence, direct and indirect, of Hebrew. It was not cut off from spoken varieties of Latin, but a particular biblical construction might have had no real life in the language. This point will be implicit in much of the rest of the chapter, and it makes the analysis of textual data difficult.

We will begin with the latest text, that on falcons, because it displays in straightforward form a new system, a system merely hinted at in some other texts. We will then consider in detail the *Hist. Apoll.*, because this is a work which raises the problems of analysis referred to above. After that texts will be presented in rough chronological order.

## 7. Selected texts

### 7.1. Text on falcon medicine (Bischoff 1984)

This is a text from Northern Italy of about 900. There is a distinction between the indirect-object construction with personal pronouns and that with nouns. The dative inflection in whatever role is confined to pronouns (*illi, ei, cui*), of which there are 30 examples. These are mainly datives of the indirect object, usually with verbs meaning 'give': e.g. 6 *dona illi ad manducare*, 64 *da illi ad manducandum*, 71 *da illi manducare*, 72 *illi dones ad manducare*. There are also datives of advantage (e.g. 26) and sympathetic/possessive datives (16, 71, 98). Verbs of saying do not occur.

There is not a single nominal dative. The only relevant noun is *falco*, understandably, given the subject matter. *Ad falconem* is used with verbs of giving (45 *dona ad falconem manducare*, 78 *dona ad falconem manducare*, 104 *sic dona ad ipsum falconem manducare*, 124 *quam ad ipsum falconem dabis manducare*, 144 <da> *de mane ad falconem bibere*), and is also found instead of the sympathetic/possessive dative (112, 116, 127), and instead of the dative with a verb taking a dative rather than accusative object (66–7). The contexts in which *illi* and *ad falconem* occur are almost identical. There is however one interesting difference. In every case *illi* is adjacent to the verb (and thus seems to be clitic), whereas *ad falconem* is separated from the verb at 144.

Here then is a text in which a Romance-type distinction between the indirect object of nouns and of pronouns is already established, and in which any earlier restriction on *ad* with *do/dono* (on which see below, *passim*) no longer exists.

### 7.2. Historia Apollonii regis Tyri

The *Hist. Apoll.* is a work of uncertain authorship and date, but it is probably later than the fourth century. The date conventionally ascribed to it is the fifth or sixth century (so the *TLL* index; cf. Kortekaas 1984: 101,

Panayotakis 2012: 1). It is believed that the work derives from a lost original, possibly in Greek (on the history of this view see Kortekaas 1984: 11, with further details at 107–14), but Panayotakis (2012: 9) has expressed some reservations on this last point. Certainly the Latin is not mere translationese, and it has Latin stylistic models, notably the Vulgate version of the Old Testament. The *Hist. Apoll.* is in two recensions (see Kortekaas 1984: 9–12, and on the manuscripts, 14–96). The second (here called B) is less wordy than the first, and eliminates some non-classical features found in A. We give details below of *ad* and of the dative mainly in Rec. A. The subject of the narrative is entirely pagan.

### 7.2.1. The data

#### *Rec. A*

- (i) With verbs other than those of saying the dative is still the norm. Here is a fairly comprehensive collection of the dative constructions with selected verbs: *do* (9.6, 10.3, 14.6, 15.1, 16.10, 17.2, 17.7, 17.8, 22.5, 25.12, 34.11, 34.12, 40.8, 40.16, 41.11, 41.12 twice, 51.6, 51.9), *dono* (17.6, 39.3, 39.8, 51.10, 51.12), *redono* (46.10), *reddo* (12.10, 38.1), *trado* (18.3, 20.6, 20.7, 22.6, 46.9), *denego* (17.9), *ostendo* (14.9, 16.3, 42.7, 49.2, 50.7), *demonstro* (13.1), *tribuo* (51.8), *assigno* (14.7), *affero* (16.6), *confero* (46.11), *offero* (35.4), *profero* (8.12), *refero* (30.1).

There are only two instances of *ad* that might have been replaced by the dative with such verbs. Notable is 34.11 *quantum dedit ad te iuuenis?*, a question which is immediately answered by means of the dative: *quater denos mihi aureos dedit*. The other is at 32.14: *qui iunctus sum ad pessimam uenenosamque serpentem et iniquam coniugem*. For verbs of joining with the dative see 22.4, 24.2.

- (ii) With verbs of saying other than *ait*, the dative is also the norm. With *dico* we have noted 20 datives, mainly pronominal (6.1, 14.4, 14.5, 21.7, 24.3, 24.4, 24.5, 29.3, 34.7, 35.9, 37.2, 39.8, 39.13, 40.12, 41.12, 47.3, 49.2) but sometimes nominal (10.1, 14.5, 48.2). *Dico* is used with *ad* only twice (24.6 *dixit ad coniugem*, 39.11 *dixit ad gubernum*).

With other verbs of this semantic field the dative is regular: e.g. *confiteor* (37.3), *expono* (28.2, 35.13), *indico* (2.5, 7.4, 15.5, 15.6, 34.11), *iuro* (14.1, 18.5, 22.5), *nuntio* (31.6, 48.9), *promitto* (32.4), *respondeo* (20.3, 42.8, 42.14, 42.16). One exception is at 6.5: *ad semetipsum locutus est dicens*.

- (iii) With *ait* it is a different matter. This is regularly complemented by *ad* in expressions of two types, those with a personal pronoun, and



those with a name or noun. When the complement is a relative pronoun the plain dative is the norm. All three of these categories do admit of some exceptions. We take the three types in turn.

First, there are about 40 instances of *ad eum/ad eam/ad eos* with *ait*, as e.g. 4.3 *sic ait ad eum*. There appear to be only two exceptions in this category, at 19.3 *quos uidens rex subridens ait illis* and 21.1 *ait illis*. In both the pronoun is *ille*. When the pronoun is *is*, *ad* is universal.

Second, there are seven instances of *ait* with *ad* and a noun or name: 9.6 *Apollonius autem ad Stranguillionem ait*, 17.2 *sic ait puella ad patrem suum*, 20.2 *quae <ad a>mores suos sic ait*, 24.3 *conuersus ait ad gubernatorem*, 26.6 *ad famulos ait*, 38.3 *ait ad famulos suos*, 51.8 *ait ad coniugem*. There are three exceptions: 7.4 *ait cuidam puero*, 26.1 *ait famulis suis*, 27.6 *ait discipulo suo*.

Third, there are 16 instances of *cui* with *ait* (7.5, 8.7, 8.13, 9.2, 12.11, 14.10, 15.3, 17.8, 18.4, 20.6, 24.9, 31.17, 33.9, 34.11, 40.4, 46.10) and one instance with *quibus* (32.17). There is just one exception (16.9 *ad quem rex ait*).

Two observations may be made. First, *ad* is used to mark the addressee even when the conversation is private, between equals, and with no suggestion that the voice has to be projected. Second, *ad* is lexically restricted in a rather odd way, in that it is the norm with *ait* but not with *dico*.

#### *Rec. B*

In the second recension of the *Hist. Apoll.* there are only 12 instances of *ad* expressing indirect object, all of them with verbs of saying. There are 29 places where *ad + eum/eam/eos* is eliminated from the A version in B, and some other places where B has either been rewritten more radically or does not preserve passages with the *ad*-construction.

#### 7.2.2. The Vulgate version of the OT and the *Hist. Apoll.*

There are similarities between the practice of the *Hist. Apoll.* (i.e. A) and that of the Vulgate of the OT. A feature of the OT is the frequency with which *ait ad* (or indeed *aio ad*) is used with accusative forms of the pronoun *is*. The usage is not a feature of the NT, as we will see. An oddity of the NT is a variability in the frequency of the *ad*-construction vis-à-vis the dative from book to book. In the Gospel of Matthew, for example, *ad* is very unusual, whereas in the Gospel of Luke it is common. Even in the latter, however, *ad + is* is rare. It is *ille* that is preferred with *ad* in the NT books that allow the construction. The variation between *ad* and the

dative in the Vulgate version of the NT is determined by the Greek version: in almost every case *ad* corresponds to πρὸς, and the dative in the Latin to the dative in the Greek. It is possible that Luke's practice (Greek version) was influenced (as in other respects) by the Septuagint.

In the OT in the expression *ait* (*aio*) *ad* the dependent pronoun is almost invariably *is* rather than *ille*. Here are a few examples from a much larger number:

*ad eum*

(Gen. 8.21, Num. 22.8, 23.27, 1 Sam. 15.28, 28.9, 2 Sam. 1.3, 1.14, 1.16, 2.1, 13.24, 4 Kings 10.15)

*ad eam*

(Gen. 24.45, 2 Sam. 14.5)

*ad eos*

(Gen. 39.14, Exod. 5.4, 19.14, Lev. 10.4, Josh. 4.5, 10.25, Zach. 3.4)

In the NT on the other hand *ait* is used frequently with *ille*, often in the dative (e.g. Matt. 9.15, 11.4, 12.39, 13.11, 13.28, 14.31, 15.3, 15.28, 15.34, 18.32, 19.16), but also with *ad* (see Luke 2.49, 8.22, 9.3, 9.13, 9.50, 9.62, 11.5, 11.39, 15.3, 19.13, 24.17). *Is* in the dative is also found with *ait*, but perhaps not as frequently as *illi* etc. (see e.g. Matt. 16.2, 17.11, 19.4, 19.14). What is striking, however, is the rarity of *ait ad eum*, etc. We have noted a case at Luke 19.9 *ait Iesus ad eum*, but no others on a cursory inspection. Even if some have been missed, *ait ad eum* is an idiom of the OT, not of the NT.

There are also phrasal similarities between the OT and *Hist. Apoll.* For example, the formula *et ait ad eum/eam* is common in the *Hist. Apoll.* (e.g. 8.11, 16.5, 33.6, 33.10, 34.5); cf. e.g. Num. 22.8 *et ait ad eum*, Josh. 4.5 *et ait ad eos*.<sup>3</sup> The subject (name or noun) may follow the pronoun, as at *Hist. Apoll.* 35.5 *et ait ad eam leno*, 41.10 *et ait ad eam Athenagora*, 41.11 *et ait ad eum Tharsia* (so 42.1), 42.5 *et ait ad eam Apollonius*; cf. 1 Sam. 15.28 *et ait ad eum Samuel* (so 2 Sam. 1.14, 1.16), 2 Sam. 14.5 *et ait ad eam rex*. Again, in both texts such expressions may be followed by an initial imperative, as at *Hist. Apoll.* 34.5 *et ait ad eam 'erige te'*, 39.3 *ait ad eum 'dona'*; cf. Exod. 19.14 *ait ad eos 'estote parati'*, Lev 10.4 *ait ad eos 'ite et colligite'* (also Josh. 4.5, 10.25).

<sup>3</sup> The Hebrew equivalent of *et*, ו, is used for forming certain tenses, hence its frequency in such phrases.

## 7.2.3. Further observations

First, in the OT also *cui ait* is found: 1 Sam. 4.16, 4 Kings 2.2, 4.3, 20.9, 20.14, 2 Chron. 18.14, Tobit 5.13, Judith 12.3. However, in contrast to the *Hist. Apoll.*, *cui* is not invariable in the OT with this verb. For *ad quem/quam* see e.g. Gen. 27.13, Josh. 17.15, Dan. 5.13.

Second, in the OT, unlike the *Hist. Apoll.*, *ait* is not only complemented by *ad* + accusative forms of *is*. *Is* also occurs in the dative: e.g. Gen. 15.5, 42.33 and often.

Third, there is a difference between the OT (and the NT) on the one hand and the *Hist. Apoll.* in the use of *dico* and its complements. In neither the OT nor the NT is there any restriction on the use of *ad* with *dico*. For *dico ad* + *eum* etc. in the OT see e.g. Gen. 37.6, 37.13, 39.8, 40.8, 43.11, 47.29, 48.8, Exod. 2.18, 4.2, 4.11, 5.21, 10.3, 12.21, 16.3, 32.2. In Luke in the NT we have noted 25 cases of *dico ad illum*, and 11 of *dico ad eum*.

*Dico* is not restricted in the OT to *ad*-complements: it also occurs with the dative (e.g. Gen. 12.7 *dixit ei*, 12.18).

The variations between dative and *ad* with these verbs in the OT reflect variations in the Hebrew, between one Hebrew preposition לָ, matched by *ad*, and another, לְ, matched by the dative (information from John Lee; see also Sznajder 2012: 283).<sup>4</sup>

## 7.2.4. Explanations

The phrasal similarities between the *Hist. Apoll.* and OT in the use of *ait ad eum* etc. suggest that the author, who adopts a lot of other biblical phraseology (see e.g. Panayotakis 2012: 1, 8, and his index locorum 681–2) even though his story is pagan, had picked up this mannerism from the Vulgate OT and used the phrase as a formula. He may also have taken note of *cui ait*. These phrases apart, he had not studiously examined the biblical uses of verbs of saying and their complements, and thus otherwise fell into contemporary Latin usage when using *dico*.<sup>5</sup> This last remark is made on the assumption that there is not necessarily a Greek original behind the Latin text. If the Latin were a translation of a lost work, the reasons for the syntactic variability with verbs of saying would be impossible to determine.

<sup>4</sup> While Greek had a choice between dative and πρὸς for λέγω and was thus able to reflect a difference between two Hebrew constructions relatively consistently, with διδωμι it had to use the dative, even though the Hebrew alternates between the same two prepositions (see Helbing 1928: 191–3 and 218 for statistics).

<sup>5</sup> For the (imperfect) imitation of salient features and the concomitant neglect of less salient ones in a model text see also Powell (2005) and de Melo (2007: 340, 2010: 88–9).

It would be unacceptable to see in this text evidence for the way in which the spoken language was developing. If an artificial work, the OT, based on Hebrew, was the author's model, there need have been no connection between his syntax in this respect and everyday Latin. The use of *ad* with the pronoun *is* is out of line with a genuine development illustrated above at 3 (and also in real Latin *is* was ousted by *ille*). The shortcoming of taking written linguistic evidence in late Latin (Christian) texts at face value is apparent, and will be a consideration in what follows.

Oddly, the single case of *ad* with a verb of giving (7.2.1(i)) may be historically more significant than the more numerous cases of *ad* with verbs of saying. We will return to this point later (8).

### 7.3. *Hyginus' Fabulae*

The conventional view is that this work (of pagan content) was written before 207 (see [Rose 1933](#): vii), possibly even in the Augustan period (see [Dickey 2012b](#): 27 with bibliography). It is also thought to be based on Greek sources ([Rose 1933](#): viii–xi, [Cameron 2004](#): 34; see also [Dickey 2012b](#): 27).

The dative is the norm, but there are a few instances of *ad* (see [Rose 1933](#): xxiv, [Bourciez 1886](#): 37, 40), usually but not in every case easy to explain. First note:

Iuppiter Tantalō concredere sua consilia solitus erat et ad epulum deorum  
admittere, quae Tantalus ad homines renuntiauit.

(82.2)

*Renuntio* here seems to mean 'broadcast', with the implication of scattering information widely.

Second there is:

quem cum Eumaeus ad mnesteras perduxisset et cum ancillis discumber-  
ent, ait ad illos: 'habetis ecce alterum mendicum qui cum Iro uos delectet.'

(126.6)

One explanation of *ad* here would be that it refers to address of a group. However, the remark is personal and made informally to a small gathering indoors, and is not a public speech. The dative in classical Latin with verbs of saying is not confined to the singular, and a dative would have been expected here. It is impossible to say whether the syntax might have been taken from a Greek source. Verbs of saying are sometimes used with

a preposition in later Greek, but outside the Bible not often, it seems (see below, 7.7 for bibliography).

Even odder is the following:

postquam autem in Thraciam redit, Philomelam mandat ad Lyncaëum regem.

(45.2)

Here *ad* is used with a verb of the semantic field ‘give’. *Mando* ‘hand over, deliver’ is regularly used with the dative. The *OLD* quotes only instances of the dative, and a large number of datives, spread chronologically, can be found at *TLL* 8.261–2. The only example of *ad* there seems to be one in Gregory the Great (262.33), of the late sixth century. It seems inconceivable that *ad* should have been used by a Latin native speaker with such a verb in the early Empire; the one such use we have seen so far (7.2.1 (i)) is in a very late work, and some others, of similar date, will follow. The text has suffered considerable abridgement (see Dickey 2012b: 27), and it is possible that this usage is a late editorial intrusion. Or could it be derived from Greek? We have not however been able to find much sign in later Greek of verbs of giving/handing over construed with πρὸς or εἰς (see Mayser 1933: 241).<sup>6</sup>

The compound *commendo* in the following passage is explicable:

commendauit eum in insulam Scyron ad Lycomedem regem. (96.1)

This is a context in which motion is referred to.

What however is to be made of the following?

cuius beneficio ad sororem Medeam est commendatus. (3.4)

Thanks to whom he (Jason) was presented/entrusted to her sister Medea.

At *TLL* 3.1843.31ff. this and 96.1 above are the only passages cited where the verb is construed with *ad*. The second usage is out of line with Latin of early imperial date.

The oddities here may represent late tampering with the text. This is not a work in which direct biblical influence would be possible (if conventional dating is accepted); *ait ad illos* could only come from that source (if at all) via the hand of a late redactor.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, there is just one case of δίδωμι + πρὸς in the Greek Pentateuch, against a large number of the dative (information from John Lee).

7.4. *Tertullian, Aduersus Marcionem 4*

Tertullian does not use *ad* with verbs of giving, and with verbs of saying usually has the dative. There are a few instances of *ad* with the latter (or with verbal nouns of the same semantic field):

pronuntiatio eius ad populum.

(4.19.2)

Here *eius* refers back to ‘the creator’ (*a creatore*). It is a typical case of address by God (whether of a multitude or of individuals) (see the next passage, and below, 7.9). On the one hand it has earlier Latin antecedents, in the use of *ad* of crowd address (cf. Cic. *Ver.* 1.68 *ad populum loquebatur*, quoted above, 5.1, and also Livy 3.41.1 *dicturos ad populum* and TLL 7.2.1670.22ff., 1.988.68ff.). On the other hand it is widespread in Christian contexts (again not without classical precedents), in that pagan deities may project their voice towards humans or their own kind: see Adams 2013: 282, and above 5.1 on Cic. *Tim.* 40 and note Virg. *Aen.* 9.5 *ad quem sic roseo Thaumantias ore locuta est*). The predominating influence in Tertullian was Christian Latin.

ad Aaronem dicens.

(4.22.15)

The reference is to Numbers 12.5–6. The speaker is again God. It is not clear whether Tertullian’s phrase was a direct quotation of his Vetus Latina version. The Vulgate has the same construction at a slightly different point (*dixit ad eos*), and that might have been so in Tertullian’s source as well.

cum in quodam loco orasset ad patrem illum superiorem.

(4.26.1)

The reference is to Luke 11.1, but this phrase does not occur there. The Christian expression *oro ad* ‘pray to’ is discussed below, 7.13. It displays Greek influence, but projection of the voice comes into it too.

ad Aaronem dicentes.

(4.31.4)

Here the reference is to Exodus 32.1, where the people address Aaron. The LXX has λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, whereas the Vulg. has *populus ... congregatus aduersus Aaron ait*. Tertullian would have been following a Vetus Latina version, but *ad* would be justified in any case from the idea of address by a crowd (shouting towards the addressee). Another factor is that *Aaron* was an exotic name, which did not readily inflect. Here are two examples, the first with dative and the second with genitival function: Hier.

*Epist.* 18A.8, p. 63 *Moysi et Aaron ... sit locutus, Per. Aeth.* 8.2 *statuae ... quas dicunt esse sanctorum hominum, id est Moysi et Aaron*. The name of Moses does inflect, and the case of *Aaron* is conveyed by coordination to the inflected name. *Aaron* was however sometimes used with an accusative inflection, which made it suited to the *ad*-construction.

### 7.5. Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis

This African text is dated to the early third century, within a decade or so of 203 (see [Heffernan 2012: 60–7](#); also [Bremmer and Formisano 2012: 2](#)). There is a Greek version, but current opinion has it that it is a translation of the Latin (see [Heffernan 2012: 79–99](#)).

The constructions with verbs of saying and giving reveal a simple system, which can be traced back to classical Latin.

#### 7.5.1. Verbs of saying

With *dico* the dative occurs 19 times, 14 times with pronouns, and otherwise with names or nouns. The pronouns are usually singular, but the plural occurs five times. *Aio* is used twice with the dative, once of a pronoun and once of a nominal. *Inquam* is used once with a dative, of a name. Several other verbs of saying also have the dative: *promitto*, *refero*, *renuntio*, *repromitto*, *respondeo*.

There are 27 datives with such verbs, mostly of pronouns. The pronouns are often singular, but there was no change of construction with a plurality of pronominal addressees.

#### 7.5.2. Verbs of giving

*Do* is used three times with the dative, twice with pronouns and once with a nominal. *Dono* is used once with a dative, of a pronoun. There are also instances of *reddo* and *trado* with dative pronouns.

There are no verbs of giving with *ad*.

#### 7.5.3. ad

There are three instances of *ad* with expressions of saying, all of them distinctive:

coepi de ipso orationem facere multum et ingemescere ad dominum.  
(7.2)

coniuncto itaque unito gemitu ad dominum orationem fuderunt.  
(15.4)

ad populum uerba iactabant.

(17.1)

Twice the words are ‘poured forth’ et sim. (*fuderunt, iactabant*), and the idea is manifestly one of projecting the voice. In the third passage a crowd, described as *populus*, is addressed (cf. Tert. *Adv. Marc.* 4.19.2, above, 7.4). In the other two prayers are uttered ‘to the Lord’, a common expression in Christian Latin (see 7.4, and further below, 7.9, 7.11), with again an idea of needing to be heard.

### 7.6. Porphyrio’s Commentary on Horace

Porphyrio is dated to the early third century, though his commentary is not thought to be extant in its original form. We have looked at 100 pages of text. *Loquor ad* quite often occurs at the start of a commentary on an ode (pp. 6.10–11 Meyer, 6.18, 11.22, 19.11, 45.17–18, 64.32), with the addressee of the poem dependent on *ad*, e.g.:

in hac ode ad Marcum Brutum loquitur.

(19.10–11)

ad puerum suum de hilaritate loquitur.

(45.17–18)

It alternates with and is exactly equivalent to *adloquor* + accusative (see 15.16–17, 37.11, 38.2–3, 48.31, 54.3–4, 59.19–20, 60.18–19, 67.12–13), for which see e.g.

hac ode Sallustium Crispum adloquitur.

(48.31)

Grammarians were aware that compound + accusative might be equivalent to simplex + *ad* (Servius on *Aen.* 1.147). Both phrases here refer to public address (of someone not physically present) before an audience consisting of readers of the ode. There are subtle distinctions between the complements of *loquor* throughout Latin. In earlier Latin (from Plautus on) the verb often occurs with *cum*, marking the reciprocity of a conversation. Sometimes (in Plautus) the dative is used, of peremptory address (not expecting a reply). *Loquor ad* is different again, neither reciprocal nor peremptory, but formal and public. It is a use with a close connection to *adloquor* ‘address’, and possibly extracted from it. We have seen above (5.1, 5.4, 7.4) that *loquor ad* does sometimes turn up in classical Latin with the same implication.



Forms of *dico* are constant when Porphyrio explains Horace's meaning, 'he says that ...' (e.g. 92.28). There are three examples of *dico ad*. These are in the same context as *(ad)loquor* above, but are passive and fill the gap caused by the deponent form of *(ad)loquor* (see also on Jerome, 7.11).

ad Xanthiam Phoceum haec ode dicitur.

(51.21–2)

haec ad puellam Lycen nomine dicuntur.

(94.21)

haec ad testudinem dicuntur siue ad Mercurium.

(95.32–96.1)

With verbs of saying in other contexts and with verbs of the semantic field 'give', Porphyrio uses the dative.

### 7.7. Bilingual school exercises

In five of the bilingual school exercises (of variable date) edited by Dickey (2012 and 2015), the *Coll. Mon.-Eins.*, *Leid.-Steph.*, *Coll. Steph.*, *Coll. Harl.* and *Coll. Mont.*, verbs of giving and saying with indirect objects are common. The Greek has the same constructions as the Latin, and we cite only two Greek passages.

With *do* the dative occurs 32 times. Most of the datives are of personal pronouns (with four exceptions). There are also other verbs of this semantic field with the dative, such as *commodo*, *faenero*, *porrigo*, *praebeo*, *trado*. There are 41 datives in total, and not a single instance of *ad*.

With *dico* the dative occurs 20 times. There are also nine examples of other such verbs with the dative.

There are just two relevant instances of *ad*. The first, at *Mon.-Eins.* 2q, is with a verb of saying and seems unmotivated by the usual factors: *ad quem dicit*? We have seen *ad quem* in Virgil (*Aen.* 9.5; see above, 7.4), but there *ad* has a special nuance (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.64, quoted by Servius on *Aen.* 1.24 with a note on *ad*, and there is also a short note on 1.64). The Greek has the same construction: πρὸς τίνι λέγει; this part of the text seems to have been reworked in about the third century (information from Eleanor Dickey). The usage is abnormal for secular Latin and might possibly be a Grecism. Πρὸς occurs with λέγω in New Testament Greek (see Bauer, Arndt and Gingrich 1957: 469, 3; 716, IIIe), and there are occasional examples in secular koine, as at *PSI* 4.326.6, of 261 BC (Mayser 1933: 268; see too Jannaris 1897: 341, with bibliography and a generalisation but no examples).

The other is problematic: *Mon.-Eins.* 2n *alii ad subdoctorem ordine reddunt* (ἄλλοι πρὸς τὸν ὑποδιδασκτὴν τάξει ἀποδιδούσιν). Dickey translates: ‘Others produce [their work] in order to the teaching assistant’. On this view we might have a verb of giving, but it seems more likely that the reference is to reciting. Dickey (2012: 144 on 2j) says of *reddo* (and the Greek verb) that ‘it refers to a student’s demonstration that he has successfully completed an assignment’, adding that ‘[u]sually ... this demonstration seems to take the form of the student’s reciting material to show that it has been successfully memorized’ (citing *Celtis* 30b, 40c). Note too *Leid.-Steph.* 8b *alii in ordine reddunt ad distinctum* (translated by Dickey ‘And the others in order produce their [readings] with proper pauses’; the reference is clearly to speech), and particularly *Steph.* 13a–c *et sic coepi reddere quomodo acceperam ediscenda: uersus ad numerum et distinctum et clausulam*, where the reciting of verses is described. The point of *ad subdoctorem* above is probably that the voice is projected towards the teacher.

### 7.8. Historia Augusta

Lessing’s lexicon (1901–6: 7) cites the following relevant uses of *ad*:

sexta die uocatis amicis et ridens res humanas, mortem autem contempnens ad amicos dixit.

(*M. Ant.* 28.4)

iam primum enim Marcus pro ambobus ad milites est locutus.

(*Ver.* 4.3)

extat ipsius epistola missa ad senatum legenda ad populum.

(*Claud.* 7.1)

The last two sentences refer to address of large crowds (for *ad populum* see 7.4, 7.5.3). The first is similar: a meeting is summoned (*uocatis amicis*) and the group addressed. *Ad* with verbs of giving is not cited by Lessing. The use of *ad* in this text is the same as that in the *Passio* above, 7.5.

### 7.9. Lucifer of Cagliari

Lucifer wrote in the second half of the fourth century. Hartel (1886: 352) lists three instances of *ad* with verbs of saying (none with verbs of giving). These are:

legisti deum dixisse ad Moysen et Aaron.

(p. 4.17)

This passage precedes a biblical quotation (Num. 16.21). The Vulgate version introduces the words of God using the same construction (*locutusque dominus ad Moysen et Aaron ait*), and Lucifer must have taken *ad* from his own Vetus Latina source. In a letter Jerome uses the dative in a similar context: *Epist.* 18A.8, p. 63 *Moysi et Aaron ... sit locutus. Ad* was not invariable of address by God but was commonplace (above, 7.4).

nec timuisti, ne fuisset dictum ad deum a nobis de te.

(p. 67.1)

The *ne*-clause is not a biblical allusion, but refers to address of God.

ad filios Israel narrat sanctissimus Moyses ex praecepto dei.

(p. 72.3)

This sentence is followed by a biblical citation (Deut. 1.20–1). Moses' words in the Vulgate version are introduced by *dixi uobis*, but it is possible that Lucifer has taken the syntax from his own, different, source.

These three examples of *ad* are all motivated, referring to address of God, address by God and address of crowds. In addition the mere citing of the Bible may generate *ad* (see below, 7.10).

#### 7.10. Peregrinatio Aetheriae

The evidence of this late fourth-century text is not straightforward. Examples of *ad* for the dative (or supposedly for the dative) are collected by Van Oorde (1929: 22), s.v. *ad* v. These consist of six with verbs of saying (quoted below), and also two with *scribo* and one with *do*. The latter three can all be disregarded here. *Scribo*, of writing letters to be transported over a distance, implies motion, and is often accompanied by *ad* in classical Latin. The one instance of *do* is not a literal verb of giving, and its complement is not an indirect object: 23.10 *de quo loco, domnae, lumen meum, cum haec ad uestram affectionem darem*. This is translated by Wilkinson (1971) as: 'So, loving ladies, light of my heart, this is where I am writing to you', and by Pétré (1948) similarly: 'De là, ... tandis que j'écris ce récit pour votre Charité'. Both take *darem* as equivalent to a verb of writing, addressed to the author's colleagues back in the West, and Pétré interprets *ad* as expressing purpose.

Here are the verbs of saying:

unde scriptum est dixisse Pharaonem ad Ioseph.

(7.9; followed by biblical quotation)

in quo iussit deus ascendere Moysen dicens ad eum.

(10.1; followed by biblical quotation)

sicut scriptum est in Genesi, dicente domino ad Abrahaam.

(20.1; followed by biblical quotation)

et omnia quaecumque scripta sunt Pilatum ad dominum dixisse aut ad Iudaeos.

(36.4)

All five of the expressions with *ad* (there are two in the final passage) are in biblical contexts, and at least two (7.9, 20.1) might have come from the author's Vetus Latina version.

There is just one verb of saying with *ad* outside such a context:

postea ergo quam haec omnia retulit sanctus episcopus, ait ad me.

(19.16)

Väänänen (1987: 32) does not comment on biblical versus non-biblical contexts, stating only: 'On sait que le tour en *ad* gagne du terrain, à basse époque, au détriment du datif d'attribution'. He adds that the dative preserves itself well with pronouns, noting that there are cases of *ad* on the other hand with names (with just one example cited). However, in a small corpus of just six examples two have *ad* + pronoun, and the part of speech of the dependent word does not seem to be the decisive determinant of *ad*. On the other hand five of the six are in biblical contexts. In two places the name is exotic: could that have motivated choice of the preposition (cf. above, 7.4)? The author sometimes uses prepositions with non-inflecting names: e.g. 10.8 *presbyter loci ipsius, id est de Libiade*. One of the names with *ad*, *Abrahaam*, is however inflected in this text. At 20.9 *Abraam* is accusative, but more striking is the genitive form *Abrahae* (20.3, 20.4, 20.5 twice, 20.8), which might also have served as a dative. This name in the genitive usually has the adjective *sancti*, but at 20.5 is without an epithet (*domus Abrahae*). Since *ad* is also used with *dominum* and *Iudaeos*, as well as with pronouns, the non-inflecting character of some names is at best only a partial explanation of *ad* (and *Abrahaam* might have come from the *Vet. Lat.*).

One influence that has to be allowed is the nature of the speech acts referred to. Twice God addresses biblical characters, once Pilate addresses a group (the Jews), and in three cases the speaker is a figure of high authority (the Pharaoh, Pilate). These passages do not relate private remarks between equals.

We would reject as the main factor Väänänen's appeal to a late Latin development. Egeria's usage can only be related partly to living late Latin. She has been influenced by biblical usage when referring to biblical events. Also in evidence is the old Latin use of *ad* to indicate projection of the

voice, not least by persons of authority. We would also allow that once or twice *ad* was convenient with names that did not easily inflect in Latin.

There remains *ait ad me* in 19.16. The context is not biblical. Egeria reports something said to her. The remark (*eamus nunc ad portam*) is private and not authoritative. Could it be for once that Egeria has slipped into a contemporary usage? That is unlikely, given that *ad* is used with a personal pronoun (see below, 7.11). She has probably been influenced in a non-biblical context by the sort of biblical language with which she was familiar, much as was the author of the *Hist. Apoll.* in a pagan novel. Such slippage is however of interest as potentially influencing the language in general (a point to which we will return in the next section and in the conclusions).

The above uses of *ad* are far outnumbered in the text by the dative.

*Dico* + dative occurs 17 times, largely with pronouns (*nobis* eight times, *vobis* once, *mihi* twice, *tibi* once, *ei* three times, *eis* once). The only example with a noun is at 36.1.

*Do* occurs 17 times, seven times with the dative. In six places the dative is that of a personal pronoun, the only exception being at 10.1: *terram ... quam ego do filiis Israhel in possessionem*. This is a biblical quotation. We leave aside 23.10, discussed in the first paragraph. The author does not use *dono*. *Praebeo* is used twice with the dative, of pronouns. *Offero* is used twice with the dative, of nouns.

Exotic personal names do not occur in this text construed as indirect object of verbs of giving.

### 7.11. Jerome Epistles 1–52

In the first 52 letters of Jerome (344 pages of Latin text, in vols. 1–2 of the Budé edition of Labourt, 1949, 1951; page references have been given because of the long sections) we have found 29 instances of verbs of saying construed with *ad* (direct quotations of the Bible are excluded).<sup>7</sup> These comprise 14 cases of *loquor* (15.4, p. 48, 18A.5, p. 59, 18A.13, p. 68, 21.7, p. 90, 21.34, p. 103, 22.1, p. 110, 22.4, p. 114, 22.12, p. 122, 22.25, p. 136, 22.31, p. 146, 35.2, p. 50, 36.3, p. 53, 36.10, p. 57, 36.16, p. 63), 12 of *dico* (18A.11, p. 66, 18B.4, p. 77, 18B.5, p. 77, 21.7, p. 90, 21.13, p. 92, 21.15, p. 95, 21.24, p. 98, 22.1, p. 111, 22.11, p. 121, 22.11, p. 121, 29.3, p. 24, 49.19, p. 147), and three of other verbs (18A.2, p. 56 *populus Israhel ... non suspiravit ad*

<sup>7</sup> Sznajder (2012: 279–80) has a table giving statistics for *ad* versus the dative with *dicere* in the first 125 letters, without providing references. *Ad* occurs just over 30 times.

*dominum*, 21.24, p. 98 *ad eum uirum ... alius locus signaculi demonstratur* (= 'explained to'), 36.2, p. 53 *respondit ad dominum* (the usual construction with *respondeo* is dative of the person: see e.g. 42.3, p. 92, 49.20, p. 148, 49.21, p. 149; other examples of *respondeo ad* are scattered about in this late Latin section)). *Dico* is often in the passive, thus complementing *loquor*, which is only active in meaning (see also above, 7.6).

Of the 29, all but three either introduce or (sometimes) follow biblical quotations, or allude to biblical passages. The exceptions are 22.25: *oras: loqueris ad sponsum* (a definition of prayer: 'you pray, that is you speak to your spouse'), 36.3, of address by a slave to his master (the passage is quoted below), 49.19 *quae et qualia dixerit ad Fortunatum* (a reference to a work of Cyprian). There is a similarity to the practice of the *Peregrinatio*: the *ad*-construction was at home in biblical contexts.

That is not the whole story, however. The dative as well occurs often (but not exclusively) in biblical references. Jerome's letters are mainly expositions of the Bible, and any verb of saying is more likely to be in a biblical context than not. For example, alongside 15.4 *ad Moysen de rubo loquitur* note 18A.8, p. 63 *dominus Moysi et Aaron ad ostium tabernaculi sit locutus* (followed later by a quotation) and 18A.15, p. 71 *Moysi dixit* (introducing a quotation). For further datives in such or similar contexts see e.g. 18A.12, p. 67 *Petro ... dicit*, 22.21, p. 131 *Heremiae dicitur*, 46.8, p. 109 *retinentibus se locutus est dicens*.

We will now consider the nature of complements of the verbs in case there are other determinants of one construction or the other.

Twenty-seven instances of *ad* are either with proper names (13 examples) or nouns (14 examples). Nouns are *dominum* (four times, once of the master of a slave rather than God/Jesus; this last example, at 36.3, is quoted below), *deum*, *sponsam* and *sponsum*, *prophetas*, *discipulos*, *principem*, *uirum*, *animam*, *apostolum*, *filium minorem*. Most are in the singular.

There are just two instances of *ad* + pronoun. These are: 21.7, p. 90 *ad eos ... dicit* (an allusion to Matt. 7.23, where Jesus is the speaker), 22.4, p. 114 *cotidie ad eos ... loquitur deus*. The pronoun is plural, and the address, by God or Jesus, is directed to groups. Such usages could be justified by biblical or classical precedent.

There is a distinction in this corpus between the treatment of nouns and of pronouns. *Ad* (particularly in biblical contexts) was acceptable to Jerome with nouns and names, but far less so with pronouns. The distinction is suggestive of that seen earlier (7.1) in the falconry text (though there with verbs of a different semantic field), which was noted to be anticipatory of a Romance feature (see also 4.2 on hints of such a distinction

much earlier). In the Latin Bible, on the other hand (see 7.2), *ad* is used freely with pronouns, though with variations of frequency across different books, and with not such a high incidence as with nouns (for some statistics see [Sznajder 2012](#): 275, 280–1). Jerome might have been mainly imitating the Bible in his use of *ad* with nouns and names, but the restriction he was placing in the letters on *ad* with pronouns was likely to have been in line with current Latin.

It is possible that we have a hint here of the direction in which real Latin (as distinct from translationese) was moving. If Jerome was following a characteristic of the language in sticking mainly to the dative with pronouns, then his readiness on the other hand to admit *ad* as a complement of verbs of saying with names and nouns (even in the singular, and outside biblical contexts) perhaps reflected a growing tolerance of this usage (see the second point below, and also the conclusions (8)).

Three further comments may be made about the above figures.

First, in this corpus *ad* with names cannot be explained only from the need to use a preposition with a non-inflecting exotic name. In the following places *ad* occurs with an inflecting name in the singular: 15.4, 18A.5, 18A.13, 21.15, 22.8, 49.19. There is also an inflecting name in the plural, which can be interpreted as crowd-address (22.1). Finally, there are some non-inflecting names (21.13, 21.24 *Hierusalem*, which is also a collective, 21.34 *Dauid*, 22.11 *Iob*, 29.3 *Abiathar*, 35.2 (letter of Damasus) *Abraham*, 36.10, 57 *Abraham*). The motivations of *ad* with names are various.

Second, *ad* with common nouns in the singular is not straightforward. God or Jesus is usually the speaker or addressee, a familiar context generating the preposition. Occasionally, however, Jerome admits *ad* outside such contexts: 18B.4 *uocem sponsi dicentis ad sponsam*, 36.3 *loquatur inter uerbera seruus ad dominum*. The second example is of special interest. Immediately before Jerome states: ‘so that what we are saying may be more obvious, let us borrow an example from everyday life’ (*cotidianae consuetudinis ponamus exemplum*). The reference is to a remark made by a slave to his master, in private. Both passages refer to complementary pairs (spouse to spouse, as well as slave/master). Could this be a special context in which *ad* might have been heard in ordinary Latin?

Though *ad eum uirum ... demonstratur* at 21.24 introduces a biblical quotation, *demonstro ad* itself does not seem to have been a biblical construction. It does not occur at all in the Vulgate (the dative is used consistently there). The *TLL* cites only the dative with this verb. Jerome seems to have come up with an expression of his own.

Jerome also sometimes uses *ad* in allusion to a biblical passage, which however in the Vulgate has a different construction. At *Epist.* 36.16, Gen. 27.9 is introduced with the words *loquitur ad filium minorem* (Rebecca is the speaker). In the Vulgate (Gen. 27.6) her speech is introduced by *dixit filio suo*. Her words are private, and there is no special motivation for the preposition, other than the biblical context.

Third, the dative seems far more common with *dico* than with *loquor*. We have noted 26 instances of *dico* + dative, but only seven of *loquor*, two of which (51.2, p. 159, 51.2, pp. 159–60) are in a letter not by Jerome himself though translated by him (the other five are at 18A.8, p. 63, 24.4, p. 12, 46.8, p. 109, 48.4, p. 118, 49.13, p. 135). *Ad* outnumbers the dative with *loquor*, but the dative outnumbers *ad* with *dico*. It is possible that there was a distinction developing between the speech acts referred to by the two verbs, with *loquor* often meaning something like ‘address’ but *dico* something more like ‘say’. That is the implication of the way in which Porphyrio uses *loquor ad* (see above, 7.6).

We turn to verbs of the semantic field ‘give’. With these the dative is ubiquitous, and we have found no cases of *ad*. Here is a selection of verbs with a dative: *concedo* (17.3, p. 53), *dispertio* (22.32, p. 147), *distribuo* (22.33, p. 149), *do* (6.1, p. 19, 15.5, p. 49, 17.4, p. 53, 21.37, p. 105, 21.39, p. 107, 29.3, p. 35, 35.2, pp. 49–50, 37.4, p. 67, 38.5, p. 71, 39.5, p. 81, 50.5, p. 154), *dono* (21.2, p. 86), *erogo* (52.16, p. 191), *largior* (5.2, p. 18, 21.5, p. 89, 21.22, p. 97, 38.4, p. 70, 45.1, p. 96), *offero* (18A.15, p. 72), *praesto* (8, p. 25, 10.2, p. 29), *reddo* (4.2, p. 17, 46.12, p. 112), *trado* (7.2, p. 22, 14.8, p. 21, 24.2, p. 11), *tribuo* (3.5, p. 15, 20.3, p. 81, 47.1, p. 114, 47.1, p. 115, 52.9, p. 184).

There are three features of Jerome’s usage in the letters that we wish to stress in conclusion.

First, a verb of saying is sometimes used with *ad* outside biblical contexts and without any obvious motivation such as the need to convey projection of the voice (most notably at 18B.4 and 36.3; see also below, 7.12). The sheer frequency of prepositional constructions in the Bible and hence in theological texts might have caused their gradual spread to secular contexts among Christians. The influence of Christian Latin on the ordinary language (and thence on the Romance languages) is a topic to which we will return in the final conclusions (8).

Second, *demonstro ad* seems to be an innovation rather than directly based on the Bible.

Third, the avoidance of *ad* with pronouns might be anticipatory of the Romance languages.



7.12. *Jerome's Vitae sanctorum*

Jerome's three *Vitae sanctorum* (*Pauli, Malchi, Hilarionis*) do not offer much evidence, but what there is is of some interest. With verbs of giving the dative is the norm and does not need illustration. As for verbs of saying, in the *Vita Hilarionis* there are two instances of *ad* introducing biblical quotations, both referring to utterances of Jesus addressed to groups: 26.4 *audiuit dictum Saluatoris ad discipulos*, 29.5 *uere illud, quod ad apostolos dictum est*. Of greater interest is the following from the *Vita Pauli*: 11.3 *beatus Paulus ad Antonium sic locutus est*. Here Paul, the subject of the Life, addresses the pilgrim Antonius in private. There can be no shouting, and it is not a biblical quotation that is uttered. The *ad*-construction has been extended beyond its usual context, and could have been replaced by a dative. If there is any slight motivation for the preposition, it might be that Paul is a holy man sought out by the other, who has a slightly subordinate role. The passage does however suggest that *ad* with verbs of saying was such a familiar construction to Christians that they might sometimes lapse into it even beyond biblical contexts (see the conclusions).

Elsewhere in these texts the dative with verbs of saying turns up from time to time.

7.13. *Sulpicius Severus, Vita Martini*

Sulpicius was a native of Aquitaine. His Life of St Martin is dated roughly to the early fifth century.

With verbs of giving the dative is the only construction. Verbs of saying are not numerous, and usually take the dative.

There remain the following:

mox ad angelorum circumstantium multitudinem audit Iesum clara uoce dicentem.

(3.3)

This does not introduce a biblical quotation, but the phraseology is of biblical type, with Jesus addressing a multitude.

'hactenus' inquit ad Caesarem 'militaui tibi; patere ut nunc militem deo.'

(4.2)

This is more difficult to interpret. Martin addresses the emperor Julian. The dative would have been normal, but Martin is displaying his defiance of a superior before a gathering of soldiers, and we possibly have the use of *ad* implying forceful use of the voice.

ait ad eum.

(6.1)

The devil appears before Martin and these words introduce his remark. The language is of biblical type and this is no everyday conversation.

precabatur ad dominum.

(14.4)

A few instances of *precor ad* are quoted at *TLL* 10.2.1159.6ff. (but Livy 38.43.6, cited both there and at *OLD* s.v. 4 with a wrong reference, does not belong; *ad* means ‘at’). Earlier the dative is sometimes found (1158.64ff.), though in classical Latin the verb can also be construed with an accusative. The affiliations of the above usage are obvious (cf. e.g. Hier. *Epist.* 18A.11, p. 66 *dixit ad dominum*), but for the exact line of development see the next example.

orauit ad dominum.

(11.4)

The construction here is comparable to that above, and well established in Christian Latin (*TLL* 9.2.1049.73ff.). Like *precor*, *oro* could be construed (in classical Latin and later) with an accusative (note e.g. Vulg. Matt. 6.6 *ora patrem tuum*), and it is also attested sometimes with a dative (1049.67ff.). Both the dative and *ad*-complements may reflect the influence of Greek, in that εὔχομαι is used in the NT and earlier with the dative and with πρὸς (see Bauer, Arndt and Gingrich 1957: 329 s.v. 1). *Oro* is the typical Christian Latin verb of praying, and the construction with *precor* above was probably modelled on that with *oro*.

Almost all *ad*-constructions in Sulpicius are typical of Christian Latin. The second is not, and is weakly motivated.

#### 7.14. Itinerarium Antonini Placentini

This work, attributed to the second half of the sixth century (Geyer 1898: xxvi), records a journey to Jerusalem. It has attracted far less attention than the *Peregrinatio Aetherae*, which belongs to the same genre, but has linguistic interest. Geyer prints the text in two recensions (here Rec. A and B). B is taken to be a second edition (‘alterius recensionis’), in ‘improved’ Latin.

Note this pair:

ubi etiam et panes erogantur ad homines pauperes et peregrinos.

(27 Rec. A)

ibi etiam erogantur pauperibus panes.

(27 Rec. B)

For *erogo* of giving charitable donations to the poor see *TLL* 5.2.802.38ff. The dative is the normal complement, and this is one of only two examples cited of *ad*. The other is at *Lib. pontif.* p. 151.7 (*inuenit*) *munera eum erogantem ad populum* (but note too in the early medieval *Vita sanctae Euphrosynae* (Boucherie 1871) 1 *multam pecuniam ad pauperes erogans*; this is a text which sometimes has *ad* of the indirect object with nouns/names but usually the dative with pronouns). The dative *pauperibus* is constant in other writers: cf. in this text *erogauit pauperibus* in 34 (A). Here, as in the falconry text (7.1), the *Hist. Apoll.* (7.2) and Hyginus (7.3), is *ad* with a verb of giving, in a context in which the dative is standard (see also the next two sections). The other recension has restored the classical construction.

There is another possible example at 30 (A) (*munera dantes ad seruientes*), but with manuscript variations.

Otherwise (in A) the dative is usual, both with verbs of saying and with those of giving.

#### 7.15. *Anonymus Valesianus II*

This is a narrative text of the sixth century, in substandard Latin that has tended to be regularised by editors.

The dative, of pronouns, nouns and names, is standard with verbs of giving. With *do* it occurs 11 times and with *dono* three times. There are other verbs of the same semantic field with the dative too, such as *concedo* and *trado*.

The dative is also usual with verbs of saying: *dico* six times, *adloquor* twice, *clamo* once, *nuntio*, *promitto*, *renuntio*, *respondeo* once each.

There are two interesting uses of *ad*, the first with *dico*:

et dicit ad eum: ambula Constantinopolim ad Iustinum imperatorem, et dic ei inter alia, ut ...

(88)

This phrase looks to be a prepositional equivalent to the dative use *dic ei* that follows, but there is possibly a point to the preposition. The speaker is the king, who is behaving aggressively ('not as a friend of God but as an enemy of his law'). He summons a priest and issues an order. The idea may be one of 'speaking at' the subordinate. The priest himself will merely transmit the king's instruction. If the preposition is motivated,

it is nevertheless transitional, in that the suggested distinction between *ad* and the following dative is subtle, perhaps over-subtle.

The other is with *do*:

data praecepta ad Euthericum Cilligam et Petrum episcopum secundum  
hunc tenorem.

(82)

In classical Latin when *praeceptum dare* has such a complement it seems always to be a dative (see Cic. *Quinct.* 84, *Ver.* 3.155, Ovid *Ars* 2.745). This is the only case of *ad* cited at *TLL* 5.1.1688.41ff.

This second example may be added to those seen in the *Itin. Anton. Plac.* and the other late texts cited *ad loc.* (above, 7.14), as another isolated use of *ad* with a verb of giving in a context in which the dative had been usual. The example with a verb of saying is in the type of context in which a semantic weakening might have occurred.

### 7.16. Gregory of Tours

Bonnet (1890: 586) states that Gregory does not use *ad* for the dative, citing just one exceptional case: *Hist. Franc.* 5.47, p. 257.13–14 *Gregorius episcopus eam (ciuitatem Turonicam) ad filium Sygiberthi tradere destinat*. Here is a further addition to the late examples referred to in the last paragraph. Gregory, despite claims to the contrary, was a literary stylist, and he must otherwise have made an effort to stick to the classical construction.

## 8. Late Latin: conclusions

### 8.1. Verbs meaning 'give'

In the late corpora discussed here the prepositional construction is far more frequent with verbs of saying than with verbs of giving. Paradoxically the pattern of attestations of *do* (et sim.) + *ad* has a more familiar look to it than that of *dico* (et sim.) + *ad*. We have seen the former in just six corpora (see 7.14 for a partial list, and also 7.15 and 7.16). In all but one of these (7.1) there are just one or two stray instances of the type *do ad*. These six texts have in common that they are very late, from the fifth to tenth centuries. Hyginus looks to be an exception, but the work bearing his name was subject to editorial tampering, and the examples with *ad* might have come in at a late stage. Five of the six texts belong to late antiquity, and in each of these the *ad*-construction is very rare. The sixth (7.1) is

medieval, and in this *ad* is regular with nouns, but replaced by the dative when the indirect object is pronominal. A complementary distribution of *ad* and clitic dative pronouns, of Romance type, is fully established.

The six texts have another shared feature: they are all secular in subject matter, whereas most examples of the type *dico ad* are in Christian texts.

The most obvious interpretation of this distribution is that in late antiquity *do ad* was coming into use in spoken Latin, but was kept at bay in texts by the conservatism of writing, surfacing only occasionally; it was not until some centuries later that it was freely admitted in writing as part of a fully developed system. This is a pattern that is not uncommon. For example, only in early medieval texts do we suddenly find a full-blown, obligatory, definite article (the text about falcons is a case in point). Before that article-like demonstratives are scattered about, but they are usually subject to alternative explanations, and never accompany in a text all or most of the nouns characterised by definiteness. It would be rash to conclude that it was only in the medieval period that the Romance-type usage came into being. It is more likely that it developed over a period in the spoken language and for a long time was all but kept out of literature influenced by the school tradition.

Our texts are only a selection. There are some other writings in late Latin that contain an instance or two of *do ad* (for a mixed bag of examples see *TLL* 1.558.21ff., most of them not relevant here). Note *Mul. Chir.* 454 (another secular text) *item et hoc eis optime facit, si ordeum eius oleo aspersum perungeas et sic ad eos des manducare*. This derives from a Greek source (Apsyrtus), but there is nothing equivalent in the extant Greek (*Corpus hippiatricum Graecorum* 1.33.7, p. 168.8–10).

Another possible medical example is at Anon. *Med.* ed. Piechotta 110: *ad eum qui uenenum uiberit eandem heruam ex uino tritam da abundante uibat*. But is *ad eum* the indirect object of *da*? That is possible (cf. 7.1 for similar contexts containing both dative pronouns and *ad falconem*), but alternatively *ad eum* may be part of a detached heading expressing purpose: the *ad*-construction, usually used of the disease ('for the treatment of': see [Langslow 2000](#): 367), might have been applied to the patient (see again Langslow).

An interesting passage is in the *Confessio* of St Patrick (48), of the fifth century: *etiam ad gentes illas inter quas habito, ego fidem illis praestauī et praestabo*. The verbs at the end are of the semantic field 'give'. There is first *ad* + noun, and then what looks like a resumptive pronoun in apposition to *gentes*, but itself in the dative. If both *ad gentes illas* and *illis* express indirect objects, then we see the distinction that has come up before

between the construction with nouns and that with pronouns. This example is not straightforward, however, because some might prefer to take *ad* in the sense ‘regarding, as regards’.

Appositions or confluations or switches of construction have sometimes been used to argue for the existence of uses of *ad* scarcely if at all attested in literature.

For a possible conflation see Svennung (1935: 337), who cites Diosc. 3 PA p. 421.21–2 *sanitatem prestat a danimalibus* (= *ad animalibus*) *et omnibus* (= *hominibus*), translating ἀνθρώποις καὶ ζώοις. Is this a contamination of *ad animalia* and *animalibus*? That is uncertain, not least because an authoritative edition of the Latin version of this work is lacking. Conflated constructions of this type did however occur. One possible case (but with a verb of saying) in the *Vita sanctae Euphrosynae* (Boucherie 1871) is *dixit ad abbati* (9, 16), unless *abbati* is a deformed accusative.

An apposition is cited by Löfstedt (1956: 1.193) from a sermon published by Rand and Hey (1906), where the manuscript (262, 115 v) has *tenuerunt eum et obtulerunt eum ad Annam et Caipham principibus sacerdotum*. Here the dative *principibus* is in apposition to the *ad*-expression, though the editors change to *principes*. A special factor here might have been the second (exotic) name, which possibly generated *ad* with the names.

A switch of constructions worth citing is at *CIL* 13.2483. The use of the dative (sympathetic/possessive) is not the same as that investigated here, but the inscription does demonstrate that a submerged prepositional use may occasionally rise to the surface in an inadvertent lapse from a traditional dative use: *hic requiescunt membra ad duus fratres Gallo et Fidencio, qui foerunt fili Magno*. Note *ad duus fratres* but then (*fili*) *Magno* with the same function (see Löfstedt 1956: 1.192–3, Adams 2013: 288, with further bibliography).

It is worth mentioning finally that in Merovingian Latin *ad* with verbs of giving is commonplace (see Pei 1932: 238).

## 8.2. Verbs meaning ‘say’

In late Latin we find a profusion of evidence for ‘say’ + *ad*, but it raises more problems than it solves. In one text, for example (7.2), there are numerous instances of the type *ait ad eum*, a phrase containing a verb that does not survive in Romance, a pronoun that was replaced by *ille*, and a prepositional usage where by Romance standards a dative might have been expected. The phraseology we put down to the influence of the Latin Bible, particularly the OT. But the Latin Bible is a translation text

from beginning to end, taken from Hebrew and Greek, and in the NT it is a very literal translation. Nor is it only in the *Hist. Apoll.* that this biblical influence is apparent. Most of the texts here, which are representative of the large quantity of late (Christian) Latin, use the *ad*-construction predominantly in biblical quotations or in biblical contexts. One cannot argue directly from such evidence to the state of the spoken language evolving into Romance. Our texts bring home the fact that the history of a language cannot straightforwardly be based on what is to be found in its literature. Literature is subject to fashions, which at different times may make its language unlike that of the man in the street.

Despite these reservations some things of significance have emerged from the survey. First, it is clear from several pagan texts or texts without a biblical theme that the old use of *ad* to express utterances requiring projection of the voice was still very much alive (so Hyginus 7.3, *Passio Perpetuae* 7.5, Porphyrio 7.6, *Historia Augusta* 7.8). Many biblical uses would also have been perceived by a native speaker as falling into the same category. But there are also some transitional uses, that is, examples that might just be taken as having this function, but without having it unambiguously. Such weakly motivated examples may be found at 7.13 and 7.15. A drift of the longstanding use of *ad* marking crowd/loud address to ambiguous contexts must have been one factor in the spread of *ad* (into Romance) with verbs of saying.

Second, even in some texts that are markedly biblical or theological there sometimes turn up examples of *ad* that cannot be explained either from its old role referred to in the previous paragraph, or from its being in a biblical context, or from its governing of an exotic, non-inflecting name. There are several examples of this type in Jerome's letters (7.11), one in one of his *Vitae* (7.12), and another in the *Peregrinatio* (7.10). These examples seem to show a slippage: a writer thoroughly familiar with such uses in the Bible and accustomed to using them in imitation of the Bible occasionally lapses into one in a secular context where there is no native Latin justification. In other words biblical language has influenced the writer's ordinary language. It is remarkable that the author of the *Hist. Apoll.* imitated biblical usage extensively in a novelistic narrative of a pagan story. Although his uses of *ad* are bizarre and unlikely to be related to real Latin, it is his attitude that is of significance: he was transferring to a pagan setting a prepositional usage found in the Latin OT.

The influence of biblical Latin on everyday Latin and indeed on the Romance languages is a subject that was discussed in some notable pages by Löfstedt (1959: 81–7). He cited some striking cases, none more so than

*parabola*, which produced Romance terms meaning ‘word’ (81–4). Just as remarkable is a case he does not mention, the survival of *feria* for days of the week (accompanied by adjectives such as *secunda*) in Portuguese. Christian writers advocated this usage as a means of avoiding pagan names such as *dies lunae*, *Martis*, and their efforts were successful in the ordinary language of one area (for details see Adams 2007: 347–8).

On this view, the sheer frequency of *ad* with verbs of saying in the Bible might have caused its spread among Christians and then further afield, particularly since one of the Christian uses (of the projection of the voice) had long existed in ordinary Latin as well. Jerome’s use of *ad* with *demonstro* perhaps displays the sort of innovation that may creep in once a stylistic model becomes entrenched in a writer’s consciousness. His familiarity with *ad* in biblical contexts with certain verbs leads him to use it mechanically with another verb (with which it is unattested).

Third, it is possible that in some settings Greek had an influence. In a bilingual school exercise (7.7) we saw an abnormal Latin phrase (*ad quem*) paralleled in the Greek version, and with some parallels in koine Greek. We have however been unable to assess the influence of Greek on the use of *ad*, because we have not found a systematic collection of evidence for prepositions with this function in koine (other than in biblical Greek). Biblical Greek need not have mirrored secular Greek precisely, because the Greek NT was subject to the influence of the Septuagint, and that to the influence of Hebrew. Humbert’s book (1930) on the disappearance of the dative has virtually nothing to say about prepositional uses. Handbooks of later Greek either concentrate on the Bible, or produce small numbers of secular examples in isolation, with no indication of their status versus case usages.

We would refer again finally to Jerome’s habit of using *ad* with nouns and names alongside a preference for the dative of pronouns. This latter feature is a sign of things to come (in the real language), and, given his occasional slippage into the prepositional usage where it seems unmotivated by the usual factors, suggests that he was influenced by various developments that were occurring largely out of sight.

### 9. Final conclusions: ‘submerged’ continuities?

The late appearance of *ad* with verbs of giving has nothing to do with the occasional instances of *ad* with e.g. *dare* in early Latin. The late expression (e.g.) *quantum dedit ad te iuuenis* (7.2) refers to the handing over of something to an individual face to face. By contrast early instances of *dare*



with *ad* refer to the distribution (or dispatch) of quantities of material to large groups, and a single person would not have been doing the handing over; the goods are carried to the recipients (4.1). *Ad* with *dare* in the *Hist. Apoll.* represents a new development, one which turns up a good 600 years after the time of Plautus. It would be implausible to see any real continuity between the two periods in two such different usages. Similarly expressions such as *ait ad eum* in the *Hist. Apoll.* and *nuntio ad* in Plautus are very different, with the latter implying motion. In both semantic fields new developments in the language at a late date have to be allowed. Changes over time are only to be expected. The attempt to find in Plautus early signs of proto-Romance usually turns out to be far-fetched.

We have seen one continuity between republican Latin and the late period, but it was not submerged. Verbs of saying throughout Latin are not infrequently used with *ad* to describe speech acts that might be glossed as speaking 'at' or 'before' a group or even an individual (particularly when there was a difference of status between speaker and addressee). Such usages at least established the currency of collocations such as *dico ad* and *loquor ad*, and we detected signs of slippage, in the form of contexts in which the preposition was weakly motivated. Otherwise we noted some very general or weak foreshadowing of later developments in Plautus, in that certain frequency patterns give a hint of the direction in which the language was likely to move (see 4.1, 4.2).

## CHAPTER 6

# *Variation and change in Latin BE-periphrases: empirical and methodological considerations*

*Lieven Danckaert*

### 1. Introduction: documenting the course of syntactic change

#### 1.1. *Two types of BE-periphrases in Latin*

The empirical focus of this chapter is the diachronic development of Latin periphrastic verb forms involving a BE-auxiliary and a past participle. As is well known, the transition from Latin to the Romance languages witnesses a shift from periphrases involving an auxiliary built on the *infectum* stem (a-sentences), towards patterns where participles are coupled with perfective auxiliaries (b-sentences). Both can occur with passive (1) and with deponent (2) past participles:

- (1) a) si forte aliquid laesum erit  
‘if by chance something shall have been damaged’  
(= Cass. Fel. 29 Rose (29.18 Fraisse))
- b) postquam eruptio fuert facta  
‘after an outburst will have taken place’  
(= Cass. Fel. 21 Rose (21.9 Fraisse))
- (2) a) quo usus est Galenus ad uniuersas tusses et dyspnias  
‘which Galenus used in all cases of coughing and shortness of breath’  
(= Cass. Fel. 41 Rose (41.7 Fraisse))
- b) et sanguinem detrahes quantum causae sufficere fuertis arbitratus  
‘and draw as much blood as you will think suffices for this case’  
(= Cass. Fel. 21 Rose (21.4 Fraisse))

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Table 1. *E- and F-periphrases in passives (perfectum)*

	Old <i>perfectum</i> : E/s-stem	New <i>perfectum</i> : F-stem
Infinitive (perfect)	<i>amatus esse</i>	<i>amatus fuisse</i>
Indicative (perfect)	<i>amatus sum</i>	<i>amatus fui</i>
Indicative (pluperfect)	<i>amatus eram</i>	<i>amatus fueram</i>
Indicative (future perfect)	<i>amatus ero</i>	<i>amatus fuero</i>
Subjunctive (perfect)	<i>amatus sim</i>	<i>amatus fuerim</i>
Subjunctive (pluperfect)	<i>amatus essem</i>	<i>amatus fuissem</i>

Throughout this chapter, I will refer to the old forms as E-periphrases (or simply E), and to the new ones as F-periphrases. The basic patterns are summarised in [Tables 1](#) and [2](#). In the *perfectum*, the forms in the middle column are gradually replaced by the forms in the rightmost column. Later, a similar shift took place in the *infectum*, where the old synthetic forms (E) are replaced by analytic expressions (F).

Aspects of these two developments were discussed earlier by among others Leumann (1921), Muller (1924), Herman (2002), Clackson and Horrocks (2007) and de Melo (2012b). See also Burton (this volume).

### 1.2. *Aims of this chapter*

A first descriptive goal of this chapter is to document the diachronic trajectory of the above-mentioned developments by means of corpus data. More particularly, I will present a number of novel empirical observations that shed some light on (i) the origins of the F-paradigm ([section 3](#)), as well as (ii) on the way this pattern spread from the *perfectum* towards the *infectum* ([sections 4](#) and [5](#)). Concerning the first point, I will show that the development of the F-periphrases is closely related to the Latin tense system ([section 3](#)). My data reveal that in the future perfect the spread of the F-pattern is almost entirely completed by the end of the sixth century (see especially [section 3.2.2](#)). Importantly, the fact that in the future perfect all stages of the gradual evolution from E to F are documented in the corpus can be construed as an argument against the idea that the development from early to late Latin is essentially discontinuous, in the sense that features characteristic of late Latin are present in very early authors (typically Plautus) but absent from the classical language. Secondly, as to the later development of the F-paradigm, I will suggest that the Latin passive perfects of the type *amatus est* are not the predecessors of Romance present tense analytic

Table 2. *E- and F-periphrases in passives (infectum)*

	Old synthetic <i>infectum</i> : E	New analytic <i>infectum</i> : F
Infinitive (present)	<i>amari</i>	<i>amatus esse</i>
Indicative (present)	<i>amor</i>	<i>amatus sum</i>
Indicative (imperfect)	<i>amabar</i>	<i>amatus eram</i>
Indicative (future)	<i>amabor</i>	<i>amatus ero</i>
Subjunctive (present)	<i>amer</i>	<i>amatus sim</i>
Subjunctive (imperfect)	<i>amarer</i>	<i>amatus essem</i>

passives like Italian *sono amato* and French *je suis aimé* (section 4). Evidence for this claim comes from word order facts. In the fifth section of the chapter, I will offer some additional discussion of word order in BE-periphrases, which corroborates the conclusion arrived at in section 4.

A second goal is to make a case for the use of corpus data – coupled with the appropriate statistical methods – when studying phenomena in the grammar of Latin which are subject to (synchronic or diachronic) variation. As this is not standard practice in the field of Latin linguistics, I will first briefly elaborate on why one might want to adopt such a methodology, and how this can be done.

## 2. Latin in diachrony: a ‘variation and change’ perspective

### 2.1. *The study of linguistic variation*

At a methodological level, the present chapter is to be situated in the ‘variation and change’ approach to grammar, as initiated by Labov (1966) and Weinreich, Herzog and Labov (1968) (see also Kroch (1989) and Pintzuk (2003) for further background on variationist approaches to language change). An important property of this paradigm is its strong emphasis on the use of empirical data, which very often are quantitative in nature and therefore require appropriate statistical treatment before they can be interpreted. Most work in this tradition has focused on sociolinguistic correlates of synchronic and diachronic variation. I hasten to add that taking into account sociolinguistic factors goes well beyond the essentially descriptive aim of this chapter. However, what I do want to show is how a corpus study can be useful in documenting patterns of variation and change in Latin. For additional discussion on this topic (with particular reference to word order in BE-periphrases), the reader is referred to Brookes (2014).

A crucial observation is that the distribution of two or more competing linguistic forms (whether allophones, lexical items, word order patterns or whatever) is typically not correlated with a single discriminating factor, but rather the result of the complex interplay of a number of variables. Consider for instance the following case study which is to some extent comparable to the Latin data which are the focus here. In Dutch, past participles in compound tenses with *BE* (not illustrated here) and *HAVE* can either precede (3a) or follow (3b) the auxiliary:

- (3) a) dat Jan geslapen heeft  
       that Jan slept has  
       b) dat Jan heeft geslapen  
       that Jan has slept  
       'that Jan has slept'

In the literature, it has been shown that this alternation is subject to both diachronic (Coussé 2008) and synchronic (de Sutter 2005) variation. Crucially, the distribution of these two minimally different variants is governed by multiple factors, many of which can – in a broad sense – be called ‘usage-based’: they include factors such as register, information structure and prosody. On the basis of a corpus study where dialectal and register variation were controlled for by only considering Southern Dutch journalistic prose, de Sutter (2009: 229) lists nine factors that can be shown to influence the choice between the order ‘past participle – auxiliary’ and the order ‘auxiliary – past participle’ in Dutch embedded clauses (Table 3).

In order to arrive at detailed results such as the ones summarised in Table 3, a number of methodological guidelines have to be respected. First, whenever one builds an argumentation based on quantitative (corpus) data, one has to work with a corpus which is sufficiently large. Drawing conclusions on the basis of small samples (one author for a synchronic stage, a handful of texts for the whole of Latinity) will almost certainly yield inaccurate or even wrong results, as one cannot conclude with any confidence with which factor(s) (time, genre, any syntactic factor, lexical frequency, etc.) a given observed effect (difference in ‘raw’ counts) is correlated. Second, in order to assess the relative weight of a number of significant factors (say the extent to which they (dis)favour one word order pattern over the other), one has to be equipped with a set of tools which are sufficiently powerful to distinguish meaningful patterns from accidental quirks in the data. The statistical tool that I will use in this chapter is

Table 3. *Factors influencing the alternation between the orders 'past participle - HAVE' and 'HAVE - past participle' in Southern Dutch journalistic prose*

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1.	Distance between previous clause accent and participial accent (# of accented syllables)
2.	Distance between following clause accent and participial accent (# of accented syllables)
3.	Morphological structure of participle [ $\pm$ separable]
4.	Presence vs. absence of extraposed constituent
5.	Length of the 'middle field'
6.	Definiteness of the last preverbal constituent
7.	Inherence of the last preverbal constituent
8.	Type of finite verb [ $\pm$ copular]
9.	Syntactic persistence [ $\pm$ previous VPAux]

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the one which is very often used in sociolinguistics, namely logistic regression (the nature of which will be explained in due course). Here too the 'small sample' issue arises: running this kind of analysis on small data sets is simply impossible. In any event, whenever one makes use of quantitative arguments, one should never ever draw conclusions on the basis of raw frequencies (absolute counts or percentages) only. I take this last point to be entirely uncontroversial.

Note finally that the above discussion is not to be interpreted as a plea for reducing historical (socio)linguistics to number crunching. However, what I do claim is that when one does not adopt a methodology similar to the one defended here, one risks ending up explaining non-existing data.

## 2.2. *A Latin prose corpus*

A full description of the Latin text corpus that I will be using here is provided in Table 4.

As indicated in the rightmost column, the texts that I have used were either drawn from the online database available at [www.brepolis.net](http://www.brepolis.net), or from the morphosyntactically annotated corpus available on the CD-ROM 'Hyperbase – Latin'. For reasons of space, I cannot here provide a full list of the text editions used, but I refer to the information available on the Brepolis website as well as to Brunet and Mellet (n.d.) for full details. Similar considerations prevent me from justifying why I included the texts I did, and why I did not take into account others.

Table 4. *Description of the corpus used (ca 210 BC–AD 590)*

	Author (work(s))/text	Period	# words	Source
1.	Plautus (comedies)	ca 200 BC	165607	Brepolis + lexicon*
2.	Terence (comedies)	ca 165 BC	49939	Brepolis + lexicon*
3.	Cato ( <i>De agricultura</i> )	ca 160 BC	16026	Hyperbase
4.	Cicero (selection of speeches)	ca 60 BC	471530	Hyperbase
5.	Caesar ( <i>De bello civili</i> , <i>De bello Gallico</i> 1–7)	ca 50 BC	79058	Hyperbase
6.	Varro ( <i>Res rustica</i> , <i>De lingua Latina</i> )	45 BC	75619	Brepolis
7.	Sallust ( <i>Bellum Jugurthinum</i> , <i>De coniuratione Catilinae</i> )	ca 40 BC	32360	Hyperbase
8.	Hyginus ( <i>De astronomia</i> )	ca 20 BC	22288	Brepolis
9.	Vitruvius ( <i>De architectura</i> )	AD 0	58630	Brepolis
10.	Livy ( <i>Ab urbe condita</i> ; for passive BE-periphrases only books 1–2, 21–2, 31–2 and 41)	ca AD 5	514370 (105794)	Brepolis
11.	Celsus ( <i>De medicina</i> )	ca AD 30	104017	Brepolis
12.	Seneca ( <i>Epistulae ad Lucilium</i> , <i>De clementia</i> , <i>De beneficiis</i> , <i>Dialogi</i> , <i>Apocolocyntosis</i> )	ca AD 50	247708	Hyperbase
13.	Columella ( <i>De agricultura</i> )	ca AD 55	109177	Brepolis
14.	Petronius ( <i>Satyrice</i> )	ca AD 60	31093	Hyperbase
15.	Frontinus ( <i>Strategemata</i> , <i>De aquaeductu urbis Romae</i> )	ca AD 90	30391	Brepolis
16.	Quintilian ( <i>Institutio oratoria</i> )	AD 95	174237	Brepolis
17.	Pliny the Younger ( <i>Epistulae</i> , <i>Panegyricus</i> )	AD 95–110	85073	Brep./Hyp.
18.	Tacitus ( <i>Germania</i> , <i>Dialogus de oratoribus</i> , <i>Agricola</i> , <i>Historiae</i> , <i>Annales</i> )	ca AD 110	165345	Hyperbase
19.	Suetonius ( <i>Vitae Caesarum</i> )	AD 119–20	72000	Brepolis
20.	Gaius ( <i>Institutiones</i> )	ca AD 170	43676	Brepolis
21.	Tertullian ( <i>Adversus Marcionem</i> 1–5)	ca AD 210	83601	Brepolis
22.	Cyprian ( <i>Epistulae</i> 1–76, except 4, 57, 61, 64, 67, 70 and 72)	ca AD 255	54151	Brepolis
23.	<i>Historia Augusta</i>	ca AD 320?	109199	Brepolis
24.	Palladius ( <i>De agricultura</i> , including the <i>De ueterinaria medicina liber</i> )	ca AD 350	50119	Brepolis
25.	<i>Itinerarium Egeriae</i>	AD 385	17552	Brepolis
26.	Hieronymus ( <i>Epistulae</i> 1–30, 60–80)	ca AD 390	81391	Brepolis
27.	Augustine (Selection of 80 <i>Sermones</i> : 1–10 (without 4A), 101–13A, 201–23E, 301–13A (Verbraken 1976))	ca AD 400	127118	Brepolis

(continued)

Table 4. (*cont.*)

	Author (work(s))/text	Period	# words	Source
28.	Vulgate (Old Testament: Genesis, Samuel 1-2, Isaiah; New Testament: Mark, Matthew, Luke, John, Acts, Apocalypse)	ca AD 405	83580 (OT); 83844 (NT)	Brepolis
29.	<i>Gesta conlationis Carthaginiensis</i>	AD 411	55002	Brepolis
30.	Vegetius ( <i>Epitoma rei militaris</i> , <i>Mulomedicina</i> )	ca AD 420	73428	Brepolis
31.	Cassius Felix ( <i>De medicina</i> )	AD 447	29673	Brepolis
32.	Victor of Vita ( <i>Historia persecutionis Africanae prouinciae</i> )	ca AD 490	19777	Brepolis
33.	Pompeius Maurus ( <i>Commentum Artis Donati</i> )	ca AD 500	79364	Brepolis
34.	Caesarius of Arles ( <i>Sermones</i> 1-80)	ca AD 520	91753	Brepolis
35.	Anthimus ( <i>De obseruatione ciborum</i> )	ca AD 535	4479	Brepolis
36.	Iordanes ( <i>Getica</i> , <i>Romana</i> )	ca AD 550	38039	Brepolis
37.	Gregory of Tours ( <i>Historiae</i> )	ca AD 590	122003	Brepolis

\* For Plautus and Terence the relevant lexica (Lodge 1924–33 and McGlynn 1963–7 respectively) were also consulted.

### 2.3. Further methodological remarks

As is well known, Latin BE-periphrases are often ambiguous between a genuine verbal reading and an adjectival one (see for instance de Melo 2012b: 88–9).<sup>1</sup> In the present context, only truly verbal passives are of interest. Unfortunately, systematically distinguishing between these two broad classes of passives in a corpus study is a very difficult task. To control for this problem, I have adopted the following methodology (which is essentially the same as in the Hyperbase corpus, as well as in specialised *indices uerborum*, where a distinction is made between *esse* as a copula (*ui copulatiua*) and as an auxiliary (*ui auxiliari*), such as Lodge (1924–33) and McGlynn (1963–7)). First of all, I excluded all clear-cut adjectives, such as comparatives and superlatives of past participles, all past participles appearing with the negative prefix *in-*, as well as *-to* adjectives which do not have any verbal counterpart (like *barbatus* ‘bearded’). In addition, I left out a number of cases where there was no strictly objective criterion to classify a given expression as an adjectival passive, but where the

<sup>1</sup> Distinguishing verbal from (various types of adjectival) passives is actually quite difficult: see Gehrke (2013, 2015) for relevant discussion and references to further literature.



interpretation left little room for doubt (for instance, the expression *syllaba producta est* clearly means ‘the syllable is long’, not ‘the syllable was lengthened’).

In any event, as a result of this conservative way of counting, a fair number of adjectival passives have found their way into the sample, which inevitably gives rise to some noise in the data. Crucially however, adjectival passives appear in both the E- and the F-pattern, so this potentially confounding factor can be expected to add ‘noise’ to both groups. In addition, there is no *a priori* reason to assume that the availability of adjectival passives is in any sense subject to diachronic variation. In sum, we can hope that this problem is – at least to some extent – orthogonal to the main point at issue, viz. the transition from E to F.

Finally, to avoid inaccurate average values estimated on the basis of small samples (cf. the word count per author/text provided in Table 4), I only took into account the data for a given author or text if that text contained at least 10 passive and 10 deponent BE-periphrases (a decision which excludes Cato and Anthimus from the corpus).

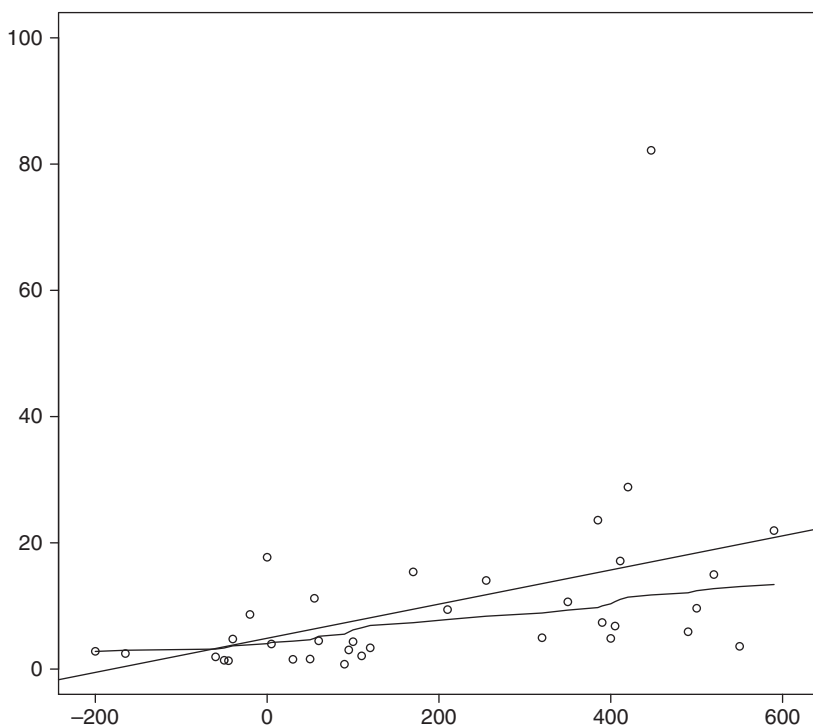
All data analysis was carried out in the statistical environment of R 3.1.0.

### 3. The origins of the F-paradigm: a description

#### 3.1. The descriptives

Although F-periphrases are well represented from the earliest text in the corpus onwards, there seems to be a real – albeit mild – increase in frequency as time goes by. The overall diachronic development of the F-periphrases is diagrammed in Graph 1, where each data point represents the relative frequency of the F-pattern (compared to the E-pattern) for a given author or text. In addition, I have plotted two so-called regression lines: a straight one, which tries to optimally characterise the overall trend in the data by means of a single straight line, and a ‘smoothed’ one, which is sensitive to more local trends. We immediately see that both of these lines go up, but that there is one data point which is clearly different from all others in exhibiting an extremely high proportional frequency of the F-pattern.

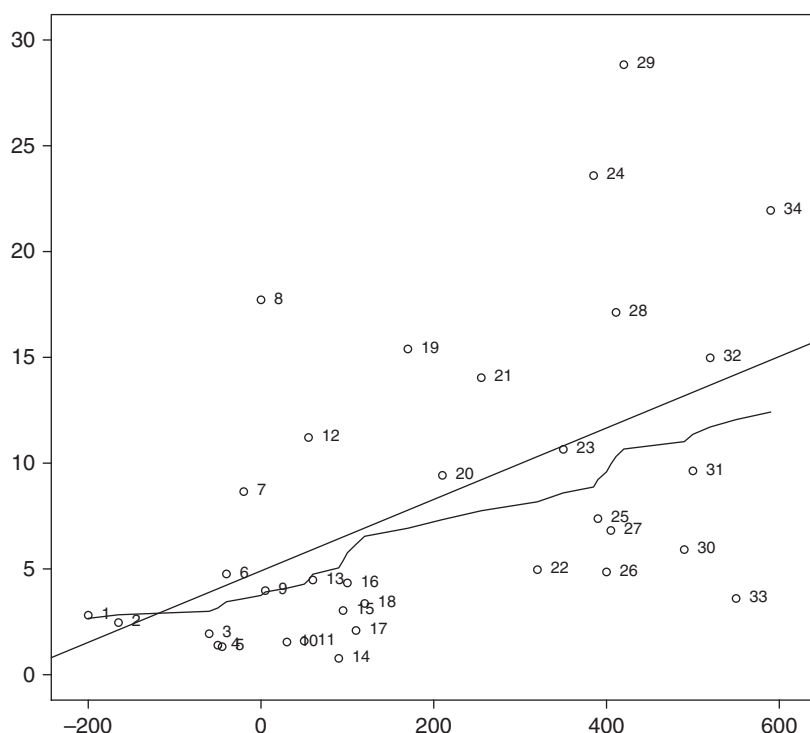
Note first of all that the one text in which F-periphrases outnumber E-periphrases is Cassius Felix’s *De medicina*: I will postpone a discussion of why this author behaves so differently from any other Latin author, late or otherwise, until the next section. For now, suffice it to say that even without the ‘leverage’ induced by this highly influential data point, we can still



Graph 1: The proportional frequency of F-periphrases in diachrony

observe a rise in frequency of the F-pattern in our corpus, at least in absolute terms. [Graph 2](#), where Cassius Felix is not taken into account, shows that without this one outlying observation, we still obtain a regression line with a positive slope. Additional details as to the identity of the individual data points are provided by means of case labels.

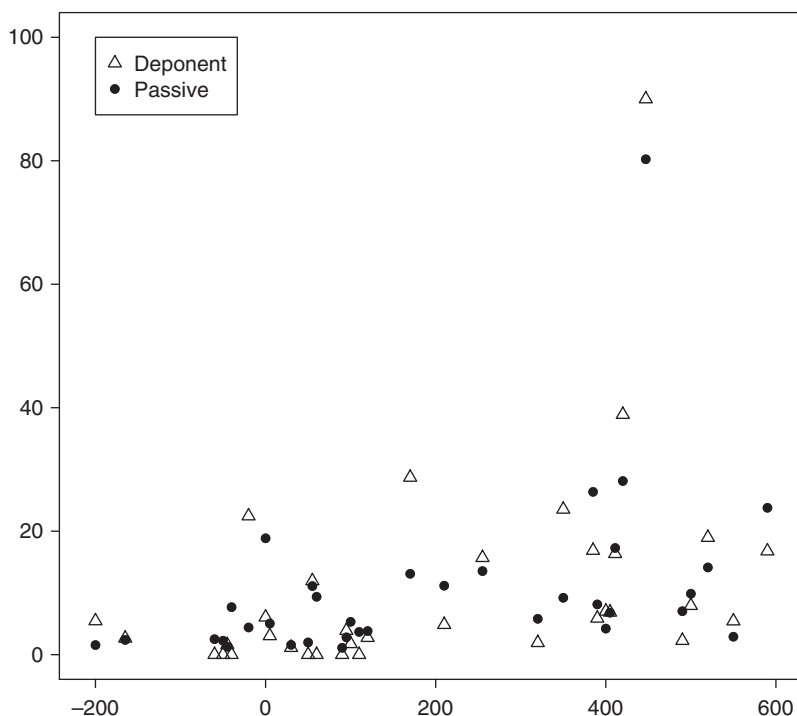
In the light of what we have said earlier about multivariate data distributions, we should at this point try to find out with which factors the shift from E- to F-periphrases is correlated (on top of the factor ‘Time’, that is). In the literature on the topic, a number of candidates have been mentioned, most notably the tense and voice (passive vs. deponent) of the periphrastic expression involved, as well as the type of clause (main vs. embedded) in which the pattern occurs (see [Leumann 1921](#) and [de Melo 2012b](#)). In the following section, I will briefly demonstrate how one can empirically assess whether or not a given factor is in any meaningful way correlated with the distribution of the two types of BE-periphrases.



Graph 2: The proportional frequency of F-periphrases, without Cassius Felix. Case labels: 1= Plautus, 2= Terence, 3= Cicero, 4= Caesar, 5= Varro, 6= Sallust, 7= Hyginus, 8= Vitruvius, 9= Livy, 10= Celsus, 11= Seneca, 12= Columella, 13= Petronius, 14= Frontinus, 15= Quintilian, 16= Pliny, 17= Tacitus, 18= Suetonius, 19= Gaius, 20= Tertullian, 21= Cyprian, 22= *Historia Augusta*, 23= Palladius, 24= *Itinerarium Egeriae*, 25= Jerome, 26= Augustine, 27= Vulgate, 28= *Gesta conlationis Carthaginensis*, 29= Vegetius, 30= Victor of Vita, 31= Pompeius Maurus, 32= Caesarius of Arles, 33= Iordanes, 34= Gregory of Tours

### 3.2. Factors influencing the choice of F over E

In order to evaluate to what extent a (level of a) given covariate favours the use of one competing variant over the other, one has to split up the entire data set according to the levels of the independent variable under consideration. In what follows, I will proceed in two stages: I will first look at the 'raw' data, which I will visualise by means of a graph (tables with counts and/or percentages being rather difficult to parse). Next, for reasons elaborated on above, I will check whether an observed difference is statistically significant or not. For this, I will build a so-called logistic



Graph 3: Relative frequency of deponent and passive F-periphrases (in percentages) over time

regression, which models the influence of one or more independent variables (in this case ‘Voice’, ‘Tense’, ‘Clause type’, ‘Time’, etc.) on a binary outcome variable (which for us is the factor ‘E vs. F’). I will start by looking at the factor ‘Voice’.

### 3.2.1. The distinction between deponents and passives

It was observed at least as early as Brix (1901: 36–7) that in Plautus, F-periphrases occur more frequently with deponent verbs than with passives. More recently, in de Melo (2012b) the distinction between deponents and passives was taken to be of diachronic importance, in the sense that the facts from Plautus are considered to be indicative of a more general tendency for early Latin F-periphrases to be deponent rather than passive. However, it is doubtful whether this last view is correct. If we look at the role of this factor in the entire corpus, it turns out that despite some (fully

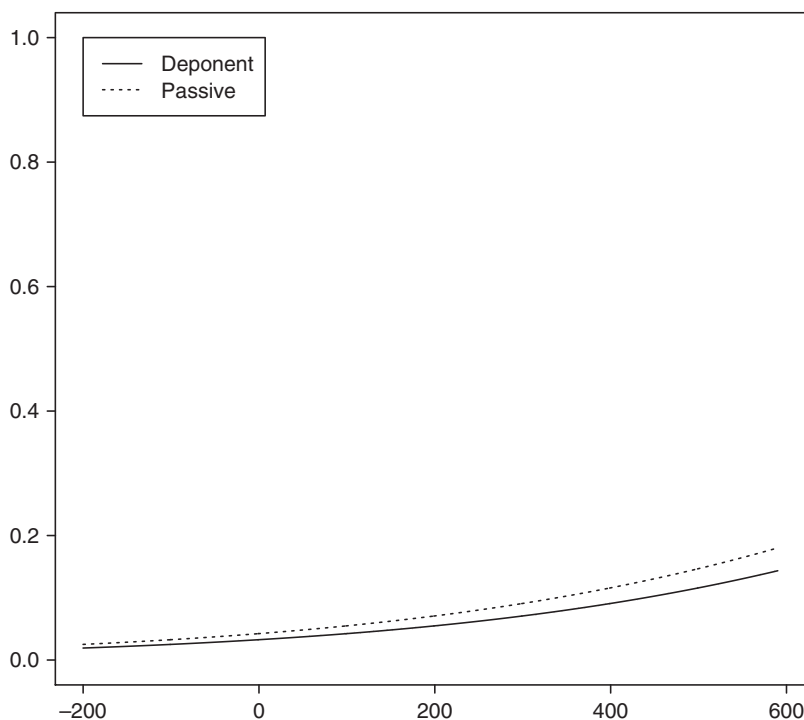
random) variation, passives and deponents behave more or less the same, at all stages of the language (Graph 3).

As can be observed, the triangle representing Plautus' deponent F-periphrases is indeed situated higher than the dot providing data on Plautine F-passives. Proportionally, as the two data points are located at the very low end of the scale, the difference between the two average values is certainly striking.<sup>2</sup> However, I do not think that we are at this point in any position to conclude that the observed difference (7 passive vs. 19 deponent F-periphrases in de Melo's sample, 16 vs. 25 according to my apparently more conservative counting) is an effect of time, and thus that these data shed special light on the origins of the F-periphrases. First and foremost, it is simply not warranted to extrapolate findings from a single author (Plautus) to an entire language system (early Latin), as there is no reason whatsoever to assume that tendencies observed in Plautus are representative of the whole of early Latin.<sup>3</sup> Second, given what we have said earlier about multivariate data distributions, it might be worth considering whether any other factors are correlated with the high incidence of deponent F-periphrases in Plautus: for instance, the observed difference might well be an effect of the frequency of individual lexical items (such as *perfectum* forms of *obliuiscor* 'forget', which occur six times in the F-pattern), or of any other synchronic variable (completely) unrelated with the factor 'Time'.

As Jim Adams (p.c.) points out to me, the data from Plautus might be related to the fact that in early Latin (semi-)deponent past participles often appear to have a stative meaning (e.g. *confisus* 'trusting' rather than 'having trusted', or *uectus* 'travelling' rather than 'having travelled'), a reading which does not seem available in later periods (for critical discussion of stative ('present') readings of deponent past participles in Cicero, see Laughton 1964: 13). Such a 'stative deponent periphrasis' (my terminology) would yield a structure more akin to an adjectival than to a genuinely verbal passive and, as such, would constitute a likely environment for F-periphrases to originate, since changing the tense of the auxiliary would be the only way to express temporal anteriority. However, in order for this set of facts to lend support to the view that F-periphrases originated with deponents and not with passives, it would

<sup>2</sup> To be precise, 16 out of 983 Plautine passives are of the F-type (1.63%), compared to 25 out of 457 deponents (5.47%). This difference is highly statistically significant (Fisher's exact test (two-tailed),  $p = 0.0001$ ).

<sup>3</sup> The scarcity of additional comparative early Latin material is of course very unfortunate (for instance, all 66 BE-periphrases from Cato that I extracted from the LASLA database are of the E-type), but there is obviously nothing one can do to remedy this state of affairs.



Graph 4: The effect of Voice (deponent vs. passive) on the likelihood of a BE-periphrasis to be of the F-type (probabilities over time)

have to be demonstrated that in early Latin there is a stage where stative (adjectival) participles – which are arguably the historical source of all genuinely verbal past participles in Latin, deponent and passive alike (Joffre 1986) – were more frequently used in deponent than in passive environments. As far as I can tell, no evidence to this effect is at present available: there only seem to be indications that stative readings of (some, cf. Laughton 1964: 13) deponent *-to* adjectives were lost over time. As mentioned earlier, the availability (and incidence) of adjectival passives might very well be diachronically stable.

When we then look at the plotted coefficients of a regression model predicting the E/F alternation, with the factors ‘Voice’, ‘Time’ and an interaction term between these two as independent variables, it is confirmed that the role of the voice distinction is very close to that of a complete null effect (the passives scoring a bit higher than the deponents, even in early

Latin). In [Graph 4](#), the values on the Y-axis are to be interpreted as probabilities on a scale from 0 to 1, where 0.5 is chance level (more technically, they are converted log odds: see [section 3.2.3](#) on this last notion).

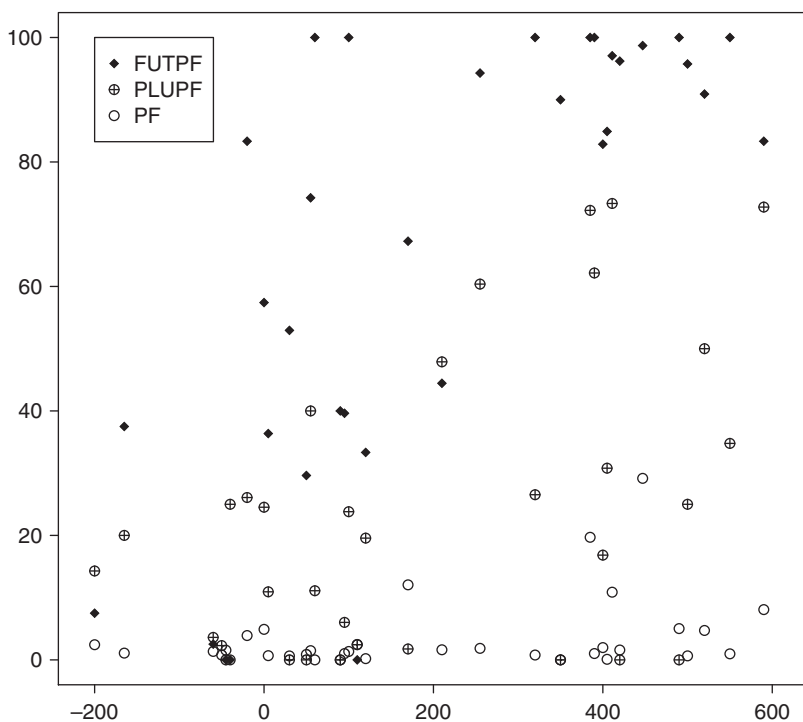
As we will see in [section 3.2.3](#), this slight difference between two types of voice does not turn out to be significant in a richer regression model.

To sum up, my own corpus findings suggest that the distinction between deponents and passives is not in any meaningful way related to the diachronic development of the F-paradigm. Moreover, given our present state of knowledge, an agnostic stance as to why Plautus produced more deponent than passive F-periphrases is perhaps the only defensible one.

### 3.2.2. The role of the tense system

I now turn to a second, and much more interesting predictor, namely tense. The role of this factor has occasionally been pointed out (see [de Melo 2012b](#) and references cited there), but no full description of the relevant facts has ever been offered.

Before we look at the data, a short methodological parenthesis is in order. Undoubtedly the most problematic issue when trying to characterise BE-periphrases as ‘perfect’, ‘pluperfect’ or ‘future perfect’ is distinguishing future perfects from perfect subjunctives in the F-paradigm, which can only be told apart on morphological grounds in the first person singular. However, I do think that systematically annotating every single token is to be preferred over lumping the two categories together, which (at least for late Latin) is the option taken in [de Melo \(2012b\)](#). First of all, many cases are fairly unproblematic: perfect subjunctives appear in indirect questions and adverbial clauses referring to past events, and future perfects in clauses embedded under plain future tenses and imperatives. Problems of disambiguation are mainly restricted to certain *si*- and *cum*-clauses with unclear (or – perhaps more accurately – underspecified) time reference, of the type ‘when(ever) X, one should Y’, which one often finds in technical prose. When judging such cases, I took into account whether or not a given author (frequently) uses subjunctives in comparable non-perfective environments. Second, it is unlikely that the two categories were indeed conflated at the level of the (late Latin) language system, as such a diachronic development would involve the merger of non-adjacent cells in an inflectional paradigm: elsewhere in the system, subjunctives are still distinct from indicatives, and at least in the first person singular, future perfects remain distinct from perfects (and it is obviously not the case that all late Latin perfects can be interpreted as future perfects). Instead, I take it that the morphological quasi-identity of the two categories is accidental, and



Graph 5: Relative frequency of F-periphrases across three types of tense (in percentages, over time)

that treating them as distinct is the only linguistically defensible option. In actual practice, this inevitably gives rise to some unwelcome noise in the annotated data. However, as we will see shortly, there is every reason to assume that tense distinctions are crucially related to the rise of the F-pattern, which is why I think this is a price one should be willing to pay.

This being said, consider the data in [Graph 5](#).

Just like [Graph 3](#), this plot shows the relative frequency of F-periphrases in a number of discrete conditions. We immediately see that the data points are scattered over a much wider space. Crucially however, the dispersion is not random: we see three distinct zones, which become even more clearly separated in late Latin. Low down we see most of the data points for the perfect tenses. Especially perfect indicatives are very rare throughout most of the period under investigation. For those (late Latin) data points where we observe frequencies higher than 10 per cent, it is mainly perfect infinitives of the type *amatus fuisse* which are more or less



productive.<sup>4</sup> In contrast, F-periphrases in the pluperfect and the future perfect seem fully productive from the first century AD onwards. Late Latin future perfects of the F-type are the norm.

The diachronic trajectory of the future perfects is of particular interest. Although we are missing a bit of the lower tail of the curve (i.e. the stage where the type *amatus fuerit* is completely absent is not documented), it seems clear that this pattern follows the characteristic ‘S-shaped’ distribution which is often found when a new linguistic form gradually replaces an older one (see for instance Kroch 1989). To the best of my knowledge, this is the first time ever that such an instance of (morpho)syntactic change in Latin has been documented in its entirety by means of corpus data. Importantly, the spread of the F-future perfects provides a nice case study of a perfectly regular pattern of language change, which in turn strongly suggests that the corpus described in section 2.2 can be considered to be representative of how the ‘real’ language naturally evolved.

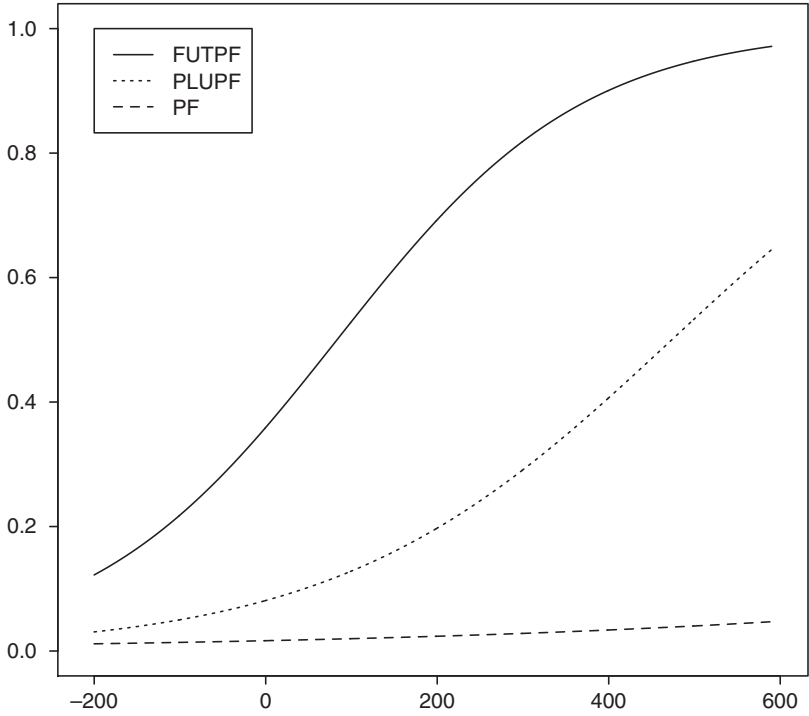
To conclude this section, Graph 6 visualises the results of a regression with ‘Time’, ‘Tense’ and an interaction term between the two as predictors. Observe that the modelled data hardly deviate from the observed data shown in Graph 6.

Before we proceed, let me just point out that we can now make sense of the remarkable behaviour of Cassius Felix in Graph 1 in section 3.1. As it happens, this text exhibits a very high frequency of analytic future perfects, namely 77 out of a total of 102 BE-periphrases. All but one of these are of the F-type, whence the very high proportional frequency of F-periphrases in this author. In all likelihood, this is in the first place to be understood as a genre effect rather than anything particular about the grammar of Cassius Felix, future perfects being much more common in technical treatises than in for instance historical narratives.

### 3.2.3. A full model

For the sake of completeness, I will conclude this first case study by showing the results of a (fairly simple) multivariate regression model with the factors ‘Clause type’ (main vs. embedded) and ‘Mood’ (indicative, infinitive or subjunctive) as additional predictors (on top of ‘Tense’ and ‘Date’, as well as a number of meaningful interaction terms). Unsurprisingly,

<sup>4</sup> This distinction is not shown in Graph 3. Plautus seems to be an exception here: of the 34 perfect F-periphrases in his works, 26 are indicatives (compared to one infinitive and seven subjunctives). As Jim Adams (p.c.) points out to me, it is not entirely clear whether a Plautine *amatus fui* has the same interpretive characteristics as a late Latin one. I leave this issue for future research.



Graph 6: The effect of tense on the likelihood of a BE-periphrasis to be of the F-type (probabilities over time)

the factor ‘Voice’ did not turn out to be significant in a sufficiently rich model, neither as a main effect nor in any interaction term. The results are summarised in [Table 5](#).

The figures in this table are to be interpreted as follows. The first column lists the independent variables taken up in the model. For each categorical variable, it is indicated which level is taken as the reference category (baseline). The strength of a given predictor can be read off from the estimates, so-called log odds, given in the second column. The sign of this value indicates whether the presence of a particular variable favours (positive value) or disfavours (negative value) a BE-periphrasis to be of the F-type. The further away from zero, the stronger the effect. Finally, a p-value is provided which indicates to what extent we can be confident that the reported log odds are an accurate estimate.

The model summarised in [Table 5](#) exemplifies the multivariate type of set-up which allows us to evaluate the role of a predictor X in explaining

Table 5. Summary of a logistic model predicting the probability for a BE-periphrasis to be of the F-type

		Log odds	p-value	Significant?
(Intercept)		-0.4495481	1.08e-06	***
Date		0.0073501	< 2e-16	***
Tense (baseline: FUTPF)	PF	-3.2176144	< 2e-16	***
	PLUPF	-1.7578817	< 2e-16	***
Mood (baseline: indicative)	infinitive	-0.2959081	0.1826	
	subjunctive	-0.2923973	0.0187	*
Clause type (baseline: embedded)		-1.1326310	< 2e-16	***
Date*Tense_PF		-0.0062751	< 2e-16	***
Date*Tense_PLUPF		-0.0028250	2.34e-08	***
Date*Mood_infinitive		0.0058249	< 2e-16	***
Date*Mood_subjunctive		0.0027603	1.66e-13	***
Date*Clause type		-0.0025125	3.29e-09	***

Significance levels:  $p < 0.001 = \text{'***'}$ ;  $p < 0.01 = \text{'**'}$ ;  $p < 0.05 = \text{'*'}$ ;  $p < 0.1 = \text{'.'}$ .

the distribution of two (and potentially more) competing linguistic variants, and at the same time to compare its predictive power with that of other covariates. If properly used, this routine constitutes a very powerful tool to describe and analyse complex and intricate data sets. Note that many other factors could be added to the mix we already have, including sociolinguistic ones. However, given the (for historical data exceptionally) good model fit we have now (ROC score (Area Under the Curve): 0.9124 (a value which corresponds to a so-called classification accuracy of over 91 per cent), Tjur's Coefficient of Discrimination: 0.4260041), we can assume that at least descriptively, the rise of F-periphrases is basically a matter of two predictors, namely Time and Tense.

### 3.3. Intermediate conclusion

The main result arrived at in the past section is that the origins of the Latin F-periphrases are to be sought first and foremost in the tense system, and more particularly in the future perfects. It was also suggested that one factor occasionally mentioned in the literature, namely the distinction between deponents and passives, cannot be shown to be of diachronic interest. However, it is clear that these generalisations are only descriptive, and in need of further explanation. One particular question is whether, and if yes, to what extent, early E and F-periphrases were functionally equivalent. Did they set out as free variants, or did they originally have a

different function? Addressing these questions unfortunately lies beyond the scope of this chapter.

In the next section, I turn to a second topic related to the alternation between E and F in the history of Latin, namely the loss of synthetic passives in the *infectum*.

#### 4. The genesis of Romance analytic present tense passives: insights from word order

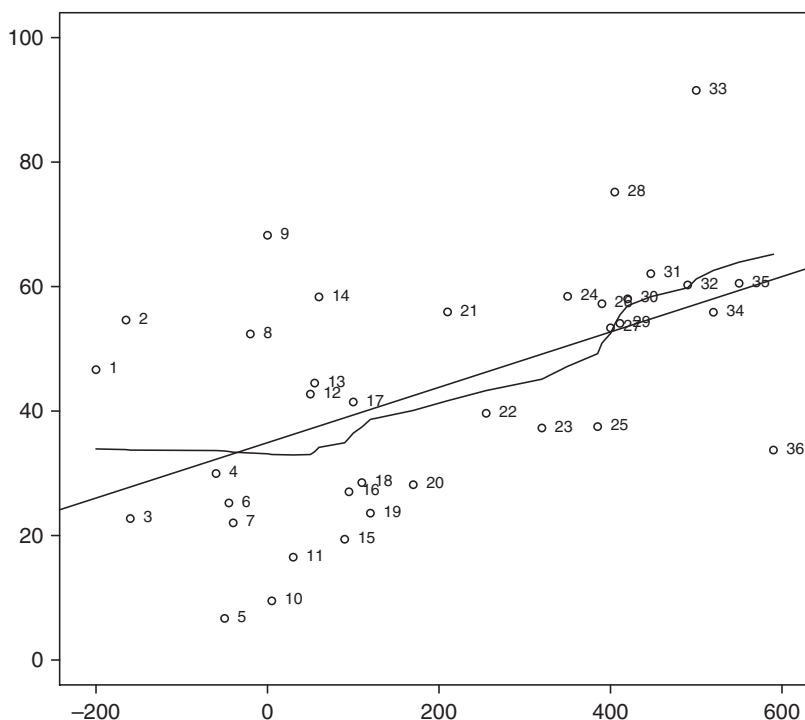
##### 4.1. A remarkable discrepancy

As is well known, in the evolution from Latin towards Romance, a major change concerning the relative order of auxiliaries and dependent non-finite verbs takes place. In Latin, these two elements can be linearised in either order, whereas in present-day Romance languages, the head-initial order ‘auxiliary – non-finite verb’ is the only available option. There is good evidence to assume that the shift towards this new system was already going on in Latin. For instance, in clauses with the modal auxiliary *possum* and an infinitival VP-complement, we can see a clear rise in head-initiality (i.e. the order ‘*possum* – infinitive’) in our corpus (for the sake of simplicity, I am lumping cases where the auxiliary and the non-finite verb are contiguous together with cases where they are not).

Despite the fact that, during the entire extended period of some eight centuries, there is a good deal of synchronic variation (the exact nature of which remains to be better understood), it is clear that the overall trend is one towards more head-initiality (witness the quasi-identical trajectories of the two regression lines), which is perfectly in line with what we know about the old and present-day Romance languages.

However, no such increase in the order ‘BE – past participle’ can be observed in the case of E-periphrases. Rather, late Latin texts exhibit a remarkably uniform preference for the order *amatus est*, in contrast with earlier periods, where more variation seems to be the norm.

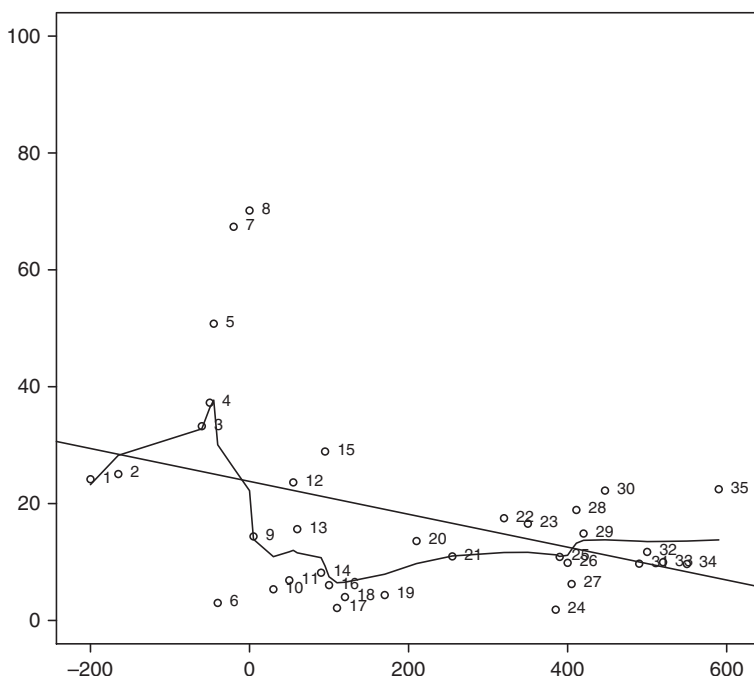
Even upon very superficial inspection, it is obvious that the actual facts are in strong contrast with claims commonly found in the literature. Compare for instance Bauer (2006: 294): ‘A statistical overview of the occurrence of *factus est* in a number of Latin texts from different periods shows a steady decline of the left-branching sequence.’ This clearly cannot be correct. However, what we can also not say is that there is a real decline of the head-initial (right-branching) order, despite the straight regression



Graph 7: Relative frequency of the order 'possum – infinitive' (in percentages) over time. Case labels: 1 = Plautus, 2 = Terence, 3 = Cato, 4 = Cicero, 5 = Caesar, 6 = Varro, 7 = Sallust, 8 = Hyginus, 9 = Vitruvius, 10 = Livy, 11 = Celsus, 12 = Seneca, 13 = Columella, 14 = Petronius, 15 = Frontinus, 16 = Quintilian, 17 = Pliny, 18 = Tacitus, 19 = Suetonius, 20 = Gaius, 21 = Tertullian, 22 = Cyprian, 23 = *Historia Augusta*, 24 = Palladius, 25 = *Itinerarium Egeriae*, 26 = Jerome, 27 = Augustine, 28 = Vulgate, 29 = *Gesta conlationis Carthaginensis*, 30 = Vegetius, 31 = Cassius Felix, 32 = Victor of Vita, 33 = Pompeius Maurus, 34 = Caesarius of Arles, 35 = Iordanes, 36 = Gregory of Tours

line going down. As the smoothed line suggests, there simply is no single linear trend in these data. To the extent that any generalisation can be made, it seems to be the case that the language evolves from a system with more to a system with less variation.

Note in passing that in the earlier period the highest frequencies of the order *est amatus* (including quite a few cases of *est ... amatus*) are found in Vitruvius and Hyginus, with Varro in third place. It is of course very tempting to hypothesise that the observed tendencies are related to the fact that the authors involved wrote technical treatises, a genre which can be assumed to require a less literary style than certain other texts from



Graph 8: Relative frequency of the order 'BE – past participle' in E-periphrases (in percentages) over time. Case labels: 1 = Plautus, 2 = Terence, 3 = Cicero, 4 = Caesar, 5 = Varro, 6 = Sallust, 7 = Hyginus, 8 = Vitruvius, 9 = Livy, 10 = Celsus, 11 = Seneca, 12 = Columella, 13 = Petronius, 14 = Frontinus, 15 = Quintilian, 16 = Pliny, 17 = Tacitus, 18 = Suetonius, 19 = Gaius, 20 = Tertullian, 21 = Cyprian, 22 = *Historia Augusta*, 23 = Palladius, 24 = *Itinerarium Egeriae*, 25 = Jerome, 26 = Augustine, 27 = Vulgate, 28 = *Gesta conlationis Carthaginiensis*, 29 = Vegetius, 30 = Cassius Felix, 31 = Victor of Vita, 32 = Pompeius Maurus, 33 = Caesarius of Arles, 34 = Iordanes, 35 = Gregory of Tours

the same period. Although it remains to be seen how such a correlation would have to be interpreted, these data would constitute a case where a synchronic factor like 'Genre' is correlated with the distribution of a given linguistic variant. Note however that the strength of this effect (if real) is certainly not to be overestimated: other technical writers such as Columella, Celsus and Frontinus (who were all active one or two generations after the previous set of authors) display a different behaviour. In any event, such considerations illustrate the type of issues that deserve to be looked into in more detail in future research.

Interestingly, we obtain a very different picture when we look at word order preferences in F-periphrases (Graph 9). Observe that this data set

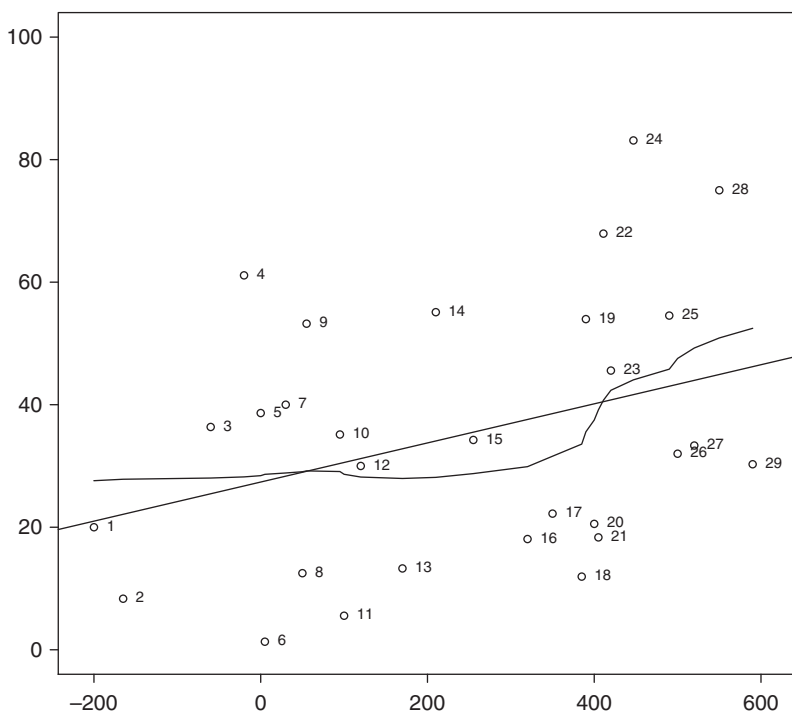
contains fewer authors/texts than the previous one: once again in order to control for inaccurate estimates stemming from small sample sizes, I only took into account data from authors/texts containing at least 10 F-periphrases, which excludes Caesar, Varro, Sallust, Petronius, Frontinus and Tacitus.

Although we can presumably not say that the F-periphrases behave exactly like the ‘*possum* + infinitive’ combinations reviewed earlier, it is quite clear that there is a strong contrast between E-periphrases on the one hand, and *possum* and the F-periphrases on the other. More particularly, only the latter display the kind of behaviour that we expect from structures that are evolving from Latin towards the Romance languages, as witnessed by the slow but unmistakable increase of head-initial (‘auxiliary – non-finite verb’) word orders.

Note that it is very unlikely that the pattern observed in [Graph 6](#), viz. the ‘fossilisation’ of the order *amatus est* in late Latin, is to be ascribed to language external factors, like for instance normative pressure, resulting in ‘mechanical’ imitation of earlier word order habits. Under such a scenario, one would expect the extent to which a given author imitates older models to co-vary with sociolinguistic variables, such as his/her level of education, or the intended audience. However, no such variation seems to emerge, at least not in any obvious fashion. Rather, the late Latin texts in the corpus all display a very similar behaviour (witness the dense cloud of dots in the lower right corner of [Graph 6](#)), which is perhaps all the more surprising given the very heterogeneous character of the text corpus, not least in terms of the geographical origins (place of composition) of the individual texts. Moreover, under this view the contrast between E-periphrases and modals/F-periphrases remains entirely mysterious (why wouldn’t the latter be subject to normative pressure?). Finally, and most importantly, as we will see in [section 5.2](#), the conditions under which the order ‘auxiliary – past participle’ in E-periphrases is favoured over the reverse order change over time, suggesting that the late Latin system is also qualitatively different from the earlier grammar. As a result, I will stick to the null hypothesis and assume that the facts observed in the corpus accurately reflect the real evolution of the Latin language.

#### 4.2. A diachronic hypothesis

In order to account for the discrepancy between word order preferences in E-periphrases on the one hand, and all other (monoclausal) environments involving an auxiliary and a non-finite VP-complement on the



Graph 9: Relative frequency of the order 'BE – past participle' in E-periphrases (in percentages) over time. Case labels: 1 = Plautus, 2 = Terence, 3 = Cicero, 4 = Hyginus, 5 = Vitruvius, 6 = Livy, 7 = Celsus, 8 = Seneca, 9 = Columella, 10 = Quintilian, 11 = Pliny, 12 = Suetonius, 13 = Gaius, 14 = Tertullian, 15 = Cyprian, 16 = *Historia Augusta*, 17 = Palladius, 18 = *Itinerarium Egeriae*, 19 = Jerome, 20 = Augustine, 21 = Vulgate, 22 = *Gesta conlationis Carthaginensis*, 23 = Vegetius, 24 = Cassius Felix, 25 = Victor of Vita, 26 = Pompeius Maurus, 27 = Caesarius of Arles, 28 = Iordanes, 29 = Gregory of Tours

other, I would like to propose that late Latin E-periphrases exhibit the behaviour they do because they were on their way out from the language. For this reason, they did not take part in a particular type of syntactic change which otherwise affected the entire language system, namely the shift towards a strictly head-initial Tense node (i.e. a grammar that only generates the order 'auxiliary – non-finite verb'). In Danckaert (2015), it is argued that the syntactic and phonological corollaries of this evolution are to be understood in terms of phonological weakening of the BE-auxiliary. I shall not further elaborate on the details of this analysis here.

The main consequence of this line of reasoning is that *amatus est* type structures cannot be the source of Romance formations like French *je*



*suis aimé* and Italian *sono amato* (i.e. present tense passives which one could consider F-periphrases in the *infectum*), contrary to what seems to be the *communis opinio* on the topic (see for instance Winters 1984: 450–1, Hewson 1997: 315, Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 280 and de Melo 2012b: 84 for explicit claims along these lines). The standard account relates the formation of the Romance pattern to the well-known fact that the original Latin *amatus est* periphrases were from the earliest stages ambiguous between a genuine verbal reading yielding an analytic perfect tense and an adjectival copular construction where the tense of the auxiliary exhaustively determines the tense of the entire expression (cf. section 2.3). Once the F-periphrases entered into competition with, and gradually took over from, the perfect tense *amatus est*, the latter disappeared, without this evolution affecting the adjectival *amatus est* structure. Rather, the latter reading survived, and was then ‘recycled’ to form a set of *infectum* passives, which in turn gradually ousted the pre-existing synthetic forms. The mechanism by which the extension from *perfectum* to *infectum* is driven is argued to be ‘analogical leveling’ of the verbal paradigm (on the role of analogy in bringing about this evolution, see Kravar (1966), Clackson and Horrocks (2007: 280) and de Melo (2012b)).

My main problem with this account is that it leaves the word order facts reviewed in the previous section entirely unexplained (as it happens, in the literature on this topic, word order is simply never discussed). In addition, note that at no point is any independent evidence for the putative extension from an adjectival present tense passive towards a verbal passive ever offered. The semantics of these two structures are clearly very different, and although the proposed shift does not seem *a priori* unlikely, one would want some additional details about how exactly this evolution proceeded.

As an alternative, I take the Romance present tense passives to be new formations, created by analogical extension of the already existing F-periphrases in the *perfectum* half of the paradigm. In other words, I do not dispute the claim that analogy plays an important role in bringing about the relevant evolution, but I reject the view that one and the same object was ‘transformed’ and given a new function (or more accurately, that the range of meanings/functions of one and the same object was broadened).

An advantage of this slightly different approach is that we now have a handle on the word order facts. The earliest F-periphrases in the *infectum* seem to date from the fourth century (cf. de Melo 2012b). We can assume these new formations to inherit the word order probabilities of the structure they were modelled on, namely the older *perfectum* F-periphrases. As

a result, they regularly take part in the general changes that affect late Latin, including the shift towards generalised head-initiality characteristic of the present-day Romance languages. Moreover, we do not run into the problem of the semantics just mentioned: one verbal passive was modelled on another verbal passive, and adjectival formations do not enter the picture.

## 5. Towards a better understanding of word order in BE-periphrases

In this final section, I would like to take the discussion in [section 4](#) one step further, by applying the same type of analysis that I used in [section 3](#) to study the origins of the F-paradigm, namely multivariate logistic regression, to the issue of the word order alternation ‘BE – past participle’ – ‘past participle – BE’. Although the facts in this empirical domain are clearly much more complex, some interesting patterns arise. One factor that can be shown to be a good predictor for this alternation is whether or not the auxiliary involved is monosyllabic.

### 5.1. *An interesting testimonium*

I will start the discussion by looking at a very interesting passage from the grammarian Sacerdos, who in all likelihood lived in the third century AD (cf. [Kaster 1988](#): 352–3).<sup>5</sup> In the second book of his *Artes grammaticae*, the author discusses, among other things, prose rhythm (starting at *GL* 6.492.25). He begins by observing that, in his day, the aesthetic preferences in this domain are different from what was customary earlier (the point of reference being Cicero). More particularly, earlier authors are said to have been reluctant to sacrifice the expressive power or rhetorical effect of a given word order pattern for the sake of ‘euphonic’ considerations of prose rhythm. According to Sacerdos, the rules governing clausula composition cannot be so overridden in his own days.

Interestingly, as a specific example of a word order pattern which is no longer tolerated in his day, Sacerdos mentions monosyllables occurring in clausulae. All the examples he uses involve monosyllabic BE-E auxiliaries (*GL* 6.493.11–20):

quod in primis est uidelicet nostro tempore uitiosum, Tullius non dubitauit uerbo monosyllabo finire structuram, ut ‘ab istius petulantia conseruare non licitum est’ et ‘quae cum his ciuitatibus C. Verri communicata sunt’

<sup>5</sup> Many thanks to Jim Adams for pointing this passage out to me.

et 'quod P. R. iam diu flagitat, extincta atque deleta sit'. hae compositiones demutatae facient nostri temporis structuram sic, ex tribrachy et ditrochaeo 'ab istius petulantia non est licitum conseruare', ex trochaeo et dactylo et ditrochaeo 'quae sunt C. Verri cum his ciuitatibus copulata', ex trochaeo et bacchio a longa 'id quod P. R. iam diu flagitat, extincta sit atque deleta'.

'Tullius did not hesitate to end a period with a monosyllabic word, which in our time is clearly a major offence. We thus find "*ab istius petulantia conseruare non licitum est*", "*quae cum his ciuitatibus C. Verri communicata sunt*" and "*quod P. R. iam diu flagitat, extincta atque deleta sit*". When altered, in our days these compositions will produce structures such as the following: one consisting of a tribrach and a ditrochee, like "*ab istius petulantia non est licitum conseruare*", a trochee followed by a dactyl and a ditrochee, yielding "*quae sunt C. Verri cum his ciuitatibus copulata*", or a trochee and a bacchius starting with a long syllable, as in "*id quod P. R. iam diu flagitat, extincta sit atque deleta*."'

Importantly, the three examples from Cicero that Sacerdos considers *uitiosum* all involve the sequence 'past participle – BE-auxiliary' (*licitum est*, *communicata sunt* and *deleta sit*). So how do we interpret this passage, given what we have seen in the previous section? First of all, note that it is not entirely clear whether the author refers to all monosyllabic words (verbs, nouns, adjectives, etc. alike), which would be the case if we interpreted the phrase *uerbo monosyllabo finire structuram* literally, or whether it narrowly refers to monosyllabic forms of *esse* only, which one could hypothesise on the basis of the examples that Sacerdos gives. In any event, observe that what the author refers to is clearly not a categorical ban on the order 'past participle – auxiliary': rather, he only states (or at least implies) that in his time, the relevant order is (strongly) dispreferred if (i) the auxiliary involved is monosyllabic and (ii) the entire sequence appears at the end of a period or colon, where it is subject to the prescriptive rules on clausula formation. Note in passing that in his own writings, Sacerdos does not seem to avoid the order 'past participle – BE'. In his *Artes*, we find a total of 71 BE-periphrases. In line with what we have seen earlier, word order preferences here are correlated with whether a given periphrastic expression is of the E or of the F-type. Out of a total of 60 E-periphrases, 52 (86.7 per cent) appear in the order 'past participle – BE'. Conversely, less than half (5 out of 11, i.e. 45.5 per cent) of the F-periphrases appear in this order. This difference is statistically very significant (Fisher's exact test (two-tailed),  $p = 0.0055$ ). Finally, note that the grammarian rewrites the Ciceronian passages not by simply reversing the order of the participle and the auxiliary (which would only remove the latter from the very last position of the structure, but not

from the clausula altogether). The third rewritten example even contains the ‘head-final’ sequence *extincta sit*.

To conclude, the main lesson we can draw from this passage is that it might be very interesting to study the interaction between prose rhythm and word order in BE-periphrases. Although a comprehensive study of this topic is clearly a very complex enterprise which goes well beyond the scope of this study, what we can do is test whether on top of (or perhaps even instead of) the two factors governing word order in BE-periphrases that have been taken into account up to this point (namely (i) time and (ii) the distinction between E and F-periphrases), the phonological shape (monosyllabic or otherwise) of the auxiliary also plays a role. In the next section, I will show that this factor does indeed have explanatory power, albeit not quite in the way that one could expect on the basis of Sacerdos’ prescriptions.

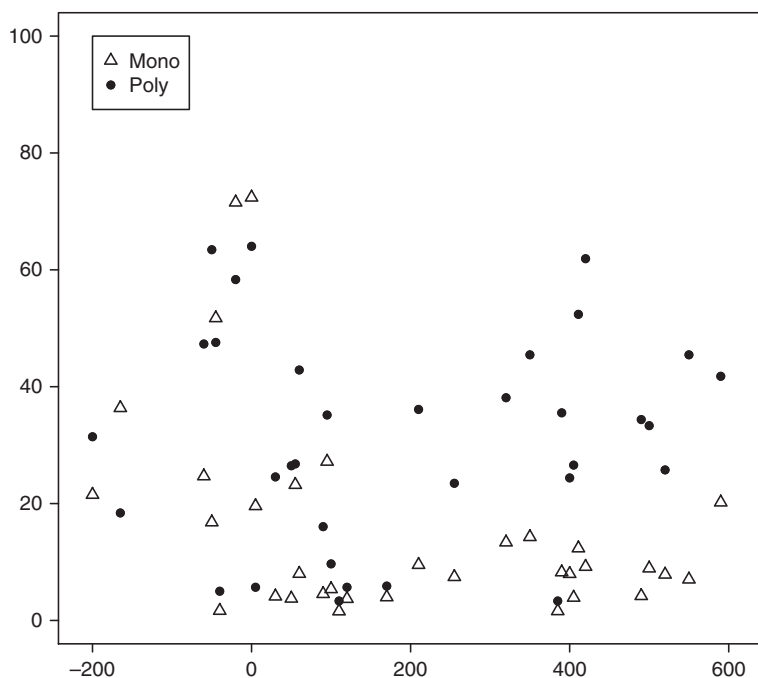
### 5.2. *Predicting word order in BE-periphrases: a first attempt*

Let us first have a look at the raw data. In [Graph 8](#), the data set summarised in [Graph 6](#), which reported on the overall diachronic development of word order preferences in E-periphrases, is split up into two subgroups, distinguishing monosyllabic and polysyllabic BE-auxiliaries.<sup>6</sup>

What we see is that, without a single exception, late Latin authors show higher frequencies of the order ‘auxiliary – past participle’ if the auxiliary involved is polysyllabic. No such thing is true in early and classical Latin, where there is once again more variation. At this point, we can provisionally conclude that the *testimonium* of Sacerdos discussed in the previous section does not pose any major threats for the conclusion arrived at the end of [section 4](#). Although it remains to be seen whether or not late Latin texts which pay attention to prose rhythm do indeed avoid the sequence *amatus est* at the end but not in the middle of a period (which as I said would indeed be very interesting to investigate systematically), there clearly is no such thing as a general late Latin aversion to the sequence ‘past participle – monosyllabic auxiliary’. Quite the contrary: periphrases with a monosyllabic auxiliary heavily favour the head-final order (that is, when we average over *in pausa* and non *in pausa* environments).

However, at this point a more interesting question arises, namely whether the facts just reviewed make the story developed in [section 4](#)

<sup>6</sup> Needless to say, in F-periphrases the auxiliary can never be monosyllabic, which is why only E-patterns are considered here.



Graph 10: Relative frequency of the order 'auxiliary – past participle' in E-periphrases over time: Monosyllabic and polysyllabic auxiliaries compared

concerning the interaction between word order and the distinction between E and F-periphrases, superfluous. Given that monosyllabic BE-auxiliaries only occur in E-periphrases (alongside bi- and trisyllabic ones), and never in F-periphrases (where the auxiliary always counts two, three or four syllables), one can rightfully ask the question whether the putative different word order preferences between E and F-periphrases is not just an artefact of the number of syllables of the auxiliaries involved. In other words, if much of the observed variation, and more particularly the unexpected late Latin preference for the head-final order, can be accounted for by distinguishing monosyllabic and polysyllabic auxiliaries, the distinction between E and F-periphrases might well be dispensed with. Some frequency facts suggest that this might actually be true: out of 27,545 BE-periphrases in my corpus, in the vast majority (20,048 to be precise) of the cases, the auxiliary is monosyllabic. Much of the late Latin head-finality could therefore be purely an effect of this factor, in whatever terms it is to be further explained.

Table 6. *Summary of a logistic model predicting the probability of obtaining the order 'BE – past participle'*

	Log Odds	p-Value	Significant?
(Intercept)	-0.6050179	< 2e-16	***
Date	-0.0006961	8.40e-06	***
Negation (Baseline: Affirmative)	0.2081590	0.195167	
Monosyllabic Auxiliary (Baseline: Polysyllabic)	-0.7579604	< 2e-16	***
E vs. F (Baseline: E)	-0.2820330	0.002917	**
Date*Negation	0.0017328	0.002180	**
Date*Monosyllabic	-0.0015821	< 2e-16	***
Date*E/F	0.0008890	0.001128	**
Negation*Monosyllabic	0.7344238	0.000532	***
Date*Negation*Monosyllabic	0.0039825	1.33e-07	***

Significance levels:  $p < 0.001 = \text{'***'}$ ;  $p < 0.01 = \text{'**'}$ ;  $p < 0.05 = \text{'*'}$ ;  $p < 0.1 = \text{'.'}$ .

In order to verify whether the factor 'E vs. F' has any explanatory power in predicting word order preferences alongside the factor 'Monosyllabic vs. polysyllabic auxiliary', one has to evaluate the role of both of these in one and the same – once again multivariate – model. In order to increase the accuracy of the results, I included a number of other independent variables in the model building procedure, such as 'Mood' (the distinction between indicatives, subjunctives and infinitives), 'Clause type' (main versus embedded clauses) and 'Negation' (presence of absence of the sentential negator *non*). Only those authors/texts were taken up which contain at least eight negated BE-periphrases. As a result, data from Caesar, Sallust, Hyginus, Petronius, Frontinus, Pliny, Tacitus, Suetonius, Palladius, the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, Vegetius, Cassius Felix, Victor Vitensis and Iordanes were not included (which still leaves us with a total of 22 authors/texts). In addition, all 'contracted' forms of the type *amatust* from Plautus and Terence were excluded. The results obtained are summarised in Table 6.

First of all, the model summarised here cannot be considered optimal in terms of goodness of fit (ROC score (Area Under the Curve): 0.6918; Tjur's Coefficient of Discrimination: 0.07838583; compare the much higher values obtained for the model discussed in section 3.2.3). In all likelihood, this is at least partly because I only took into account one factor related to how BE-periphrases interact with clausula rules, namely (one aspect of) the phonological make-up of the auxiliary involved. To arrive at a better understanding of the relevant phenomenon one would also have

to look at (i) the phonological properties of the participle and (ii) the linear position (*in pausa* or otherwise) of the entire BE-periphrasis. Moreover, I did not make any distinction between contiguous BE-periphrases (cases where the auxiliary and the past participle are linearly adjacent) and non-contiguous ones. Many additional factors worth investigating come to mind (as always, sociolinguistic variables are expected to add to our understanding of the data).

Secondly, and most importantly, we see that the ‘E vs. F’ factor does indeed survive in this richer model (both as a main effect and in an interaction term with time), which suggests that there is no reason to reconsider the conclusion arrived at in [section 4](#). Note however that it is clear that its weight is less strong than the predictor concerning the number of syllables of the auxiliary (witness the more extreme log odds estimated for the latter, cf. the values in the shaded cells).

Third, as can be seen in [Table 6](#), the model includes a main effect of negation, as well as a number of interaction terms including this predictor. The factors ‘Mood’ and ‘Clause type’ did not turn out to be significant and were therefore left out. As it happens, the presence or absence of sentential negation is actually a very strong predictor for word order, and it interacts in a very interesting way with the factor ‘Number of syllables’. In addition, the role of negation is subject to an interesting diachronic development (cf. the significant interaction term with ‘Time’), which for reasons of space cannot be discussed here. However, we now see very clearly that the conditions under which one is likely to obtain or not obtain the order ‘BE – past participle’ in earlier centuries are very different from the ones governing this alternation in late Latin, which can be considered compelling evidence against the view that the predominance of late Latin *amatus est* is a matter of ‘mechanical’ imitation of earlier, ‘classical’ models (see also [section 4.1](#) above). On the contrary, there is every reason to assume that the syntax of late Latin BE-periphrases is both qualitatively (influence of negation, effect of number of syllables, E vs. F) and quantitatively (more vs. less variation) different from that of early and classical Latin.

## 6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed a number of aspects concerning the diachronic development of BE-periphrases in Latin. As shown in [section 3](#), the data on the origin and spread of the F-pattern constitute a clear case where the course of syntactic change is characterised by ‘overt’ rather than

‘submerged’ continuity, as texts from the classical era canonically represent an intermediate stage between early and later sources. At a technical level, this was shown to be true by adding the continuous variable ‘Time’ to a regression model predicting the alternation between E and F-periphrases in a large corpus of texts, and by observing that this variable has significant predictive power. As discussed in [section 4](#), data on word order in clauses with an auxiliary (BE in F-periphrases, or the modal *possum*) and a non-finite verb also suggest that language change in Latin follows an entirely continuous path.

On the other hand, word order in E-periphrases was shown to be more problematic: especially in early and classical Latin, the alternation between the orders *amatus est* and *est amatus* is still poorly understood. Enriching the model discussed in [section 5](#) with factors such as information structure (does the information conveyed by the participle convey salient information or not?), as well as the register and genre of a given text, can be hoped to add to our understanding of the variation observed. As pointed out, it would also be interesting to look into the role of prose rhythm.

Finally, although it is clear that quantitative corpus data should always be gathered and interpreted with great care and caution, I hope to have shown that the type of methodology presented and applied in this chapter can be a very useful tool to formulate detailed and robust *explananda*. Assuming the extant body of Latin texts to be a reliable source of both synchronic and diachronic variation, we can hope that future corpus studies will further enhance our understanding of syntactic and sociolinguistic variation in Latin.



## CHAPTER 7

# *Analytic passives and deponents in classical and later Latin*

*Philip Burton*

### 1. Introduction

“History is a plot.” Discuss.’ The old examination question may serve as a useful place to begin our discussion of one particular historical problem in Latin. ‘Good’ histories, of whatever subject, are traditionally accounts of change, in which the earlier events contain within themselves the seeds of the later, though of course in ways which are not so obvious as not to need the historian to reveal them, nor so abstruse as to be unconvincing when they are revealed. While any sort of overt teleology may be rejected as ‘Whig historiography’, it is nonetheless remarkably difficult to construct a good story without it. Historical continuities present a different sort of problem again; it is hard to imagine a historical account in which not much happens. Where historians refer to them it is usually as a backdrop to the more engaging changes; yet, given that each derives its interest from the other, there is no *prima facie* reason why we should not be equally concerned with both.

The same issues arise in Latin historical linguistics. It is somewhat unsatisfactory to be told that this or that phenomenon in sub-literary Latin ‘anticipates later developments in Romance’, or similar. At the same time, it is hard not to look at the speech of Petronius’ freedmen, or at Pompeian mural inscriptions, without half an eye to Egeria or the Strasbourg Oaths. This chapter aims to address a small area of Latin linguistics which seems to me to exemplify this problem, namely the use of periphrastic passive and deponent forms in classical and later Latin, and in particular the distribution of auxiliary verbs from the *es-* and *fu-* roots. We shall begin with a consideration of the accounts given in the standard manuals of Latin of the origin, distribution and later development of these constructions, and of the historical processes underlying them. We shall then consider how far these accounts are accurate in their synchronic descriptions of classical and later Latin. What is attempted here is not an exhaustive consideration of all the evidence, but rather a test sample from

the late first century BC, followed by another from the late fourth century AD, with some consideration of later material. We shall then consider how to interpret these data; both what they can and cannot tell us, and how far they bear out the standard accounts.

## 2. Standard accounts

We may begin with the accounts given in four standard manuals of Latin linguistics from the last half-century or so. First, Leumann, Hofmann and Szantyr's summary in their *Lateinische Grammatik* (1963: 342):<sup>1</sup>

Aus der Umschreibung mit *sum* bildet sich die Umschreibung mit *fui* heraus: *amātus fui*, *fuerim* usw.; *factei sunt fueruntve* Lex agr. 77. Im späteren vulgären Latein ist dies die üblichere Forme.

Now, the account by Herman in his *Latin vulgaire* (1975: 77):

en d'autres termes, le type *laudatus sum*, de parfait, est devenu présent à la place de *laudor*, et c'est ainsi que nous avons en fr. un présent de passif du type *je suis loué*, etc. ... Les fonctions latines de *laudatus sum*, *laudatus eram*, etc. ... sont reprises par des formes que la grammaire classique ignorait en principe, des formes du type *laudatus fui*, *laudatus fueram* (fr. *je fus loué* ou *j'ai été loué*) ...

And here is the version of events given by Väänänen (1981: 129):

Aussi s'est-il produit dans le système du passif un déplacement de temps qui a eu pour résultat final l'élimination des formes synthétiques de cette voix verbale. Le point de départ était donné par le double sens des tournures comme *domus clausa est*: 1) 'la maison fut fermée' (fait passé) et 2) 'la maison est (actuellement) fermée' (résultat acquis).

And lastly, that of Clackson and Horrocks (2007: 279–80):

In Romance languages the analytic forms have spread at the expense of the synthetic, with apparent shift in the time references of the earlier perfect passive ... The shift can be explained by the fact that formations of the type *clausum fuerat*, *clausum fuerit* and, more rarely, *clausum fuit* existed in the earlier language alongside the pluperfect *clausum erat*, future perfect *clausum erit* and the perfect *clausum est* ... a natural slippage between reference to actions and resulting states ... led to the adoption of [forms such as] *clausum fuit* as the sole marker of the passive past. By analogy to this the periphrasis *clausum est* was felt to be 'present', and in turn ousted *clauditur*.

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller and more nuanced account, see the edition of 1972: 322.

These are all, of course, highly respected accounts, and on the face of it they all tell a similar story. Constructions of the kind *amatus est* come to be analysed as present tense forms. This leads to the loss of synthetic forms such as *amatur*; the rise of constructions of the *amatus fuit* type is also implicated in this process. On closer examination, however, we may detect differences. Herman and Väänänen see the reanalysis of constructions of the type *domus clausa est* as present tenses as setting off a drag chain in which *domus clausa fuit* comes to be the unmarked perfect tense. Leumann *et al.* apparently go further and seem to see *domus clausa est* as the model on which *domus clausa fuit* was originally formed. In Clackson and Horrocks, on the other hand, it is the adoption of *domus clausa fuit* as the sole form of the past tense which leads to the reanalysis of *domus clausa est* as present. In order to assess the value of these various claims, we need to look first at a sample of classical Latin data.

### 3. The classical Latin data

Modern learners of Latin are taught that the perfect passive was construed with the present tense of the auxiliary verb; *amatus sum* 'I was loved, I have been loved'. Despite this, we will not be surprised when we encounter phrases in Latin such as Ovid's *pars adaperta fuit, pars altera clausa fenestrae* (*Am.* 1.5.3). We may be tempted to regard *adaperta* here as an adjective rather than a perfect passive participle, and hence to think that the whole syntagm is a special case; for reasons we will come on to, this is not an entirely satisfactory explanation.

How common are constructions of this type in classical Latin, and what constraints, if any, can we identify on their use? The data collected in Neue and Wagener's *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache* are, despite their relative antiquity, still impressive and useful. Neue and Wagener (1897: 135–45) devote ten and half pages to examples, from Plautus to Seneca, of periphrastic passives involving *fu-* auxiliaries, in various tenses. A few examples will illustrate something of the range of material (again, we suspend discussion for now of whether and how to distinguish 'participial' from 'adjectival' forms). First, with the perfect indicative auxiliary:

Plautus, *Trin.* 1087, quorum causa fui hac aetate exercitus;

Cicero, *De Orat.* 1.187, omnia fere quae sunt conclusa nunc artibus, dispersa et dissipata quondam fuerunt;

Quintilian 1.10.17, grammaticae quondam et musice iunctae fuerunt

Next, with the perfect subjunctive auxiliary:

Cicero, *Top.* 1.4, dum fuimus una, tu optimus testis es, quam fuerim occupatus;

Livy 25.4.2, ... Camillum, cuius exsilium ruina urbis secuta fuerit;

Ovid, *Pont.* 2.5.7, fuerim quamuis modico tibi iunctus ab usu

Now with pluperfect indicative auxiliary:

Plautus, *Mos.* 820, eo pretio empti fuerant olim;

Cicero, *Brut.* 93.320, ... studium ... quo a puero fuerat incensus;

Livy 38.36.4, inter horam tertiam ferme et quartam tenebrae obortae fuerant

And lastly, with the pluperfect subjunctive:

Cicero, *Ver.* 4. 116, ... portum Syracusanorum, qui tum ... clausus fuisset;

Livy 37.25.9, ... Massinissam in Syphacis, a quo ante expulsus fuisset, regnum imposuisse;

Ovid, *Tr.* 3.4.13, si monitor monitus prius ipse fuissem ...

The simple existence of these examples draws attention to one notable feature of the four 'standard' accounts listed above; namely, that they are very vague on the chronology of the changes involved. Without quite stating as much, they either imply or are at least compatible with the school-book account of *amatus sum* as the one correct form of the Latin perfect passive indicative (except, of course, with 'adjectival' past participles). It seems clear rather that *fu-* type auxiliaries were found from an early date. It has been suggested also that they are particularly common with the past participles of deponent verbs (Martin 1976: 191, on Terence, *Ad.* 603), but are not wholly confined to this.

We may at this point look further at the evidence of individual authors. Some are simply unrevealing; we have no *fu-*type passives in the Elder Cato's *De agri cultura*, though this may be partly because the past tense verbs are generally unusual in this work. The *Bellum Hispaniense*, on the other hand, yields one example of an *amatus fui* type of construction, and three of the *amatus fuisset* type. Thus we find:

20, hoc praeterito tempore in oppido quod fuit captum, seruus est prensus in cuniculo quem supra demonstraui;

13, cum nostri equites pauci in statione fuissent a pluribus reperti, de statione sunt deiecti et occisi tres;

37, quod imparati a Carteia profecti sine aqua fuissent;

38, cum Caesaris praesidio fuisset conspectus dominum iugulasse; is uiuus est combustus;

It should be stressed that these are heavily outnumbered by *es*-type passives, of which I count 69 *amatus sum*, seven *amatus esse* and one *amatus eram*.

If we consider a very different work, namely Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, we encounter a considerable number of *fu*-type constructions, with 15 instances of the pluperfect indicative and nine of the subjunctive alongside six perfect indicatives, two perfect subjunctives and one perfect infinitive:

- 1.70, quae pressa diu fuerant caligine caeca;
- 1.358, si sine me fatis erepta fuisses;
- 2.468–9, iam puer Arcas ... fuerat de paelice natus;
- 2.259, cuique fuit rerum promissa potentia;
- 2.529, si conata fuisset; 2.666, confusaque uerba fuerunt;
- 3.228, ille fugit per quae fuerat loca saepe secutus;
- 4.72, inque uices fuerat captatus anhelitus oris;
- 4.571–2, num sacer ille mea traiectus cuspide serpens ... fuerat;
- 4.683, si non religata fuisset;
- 5.465, ea ni mutata fuisset;
- 5.571–2, ut sol, qui tectus aquosis/nubibus ante fuit;
- 6.156, si non sibi uisa fuisset;
- 6.158–9, fuerat ... uaticinata;
- 6.551, quo fuit accinctus, uagina liberat ensem;
- 7.145, at complexa fuisses;
- 7.660, fuerit mutatus;
- 8.221, fuerant Delosque Parosque relictæ;
- 8.458, ille diu fuerat penetralibus abditus imis;
- 8.569, fuerat dignatus;
- 9.528, scripta 'soror' fuerat;
- 8.678, edita forte tuo fuerit si femina partu;
- 10.632, nollem tibi uisa fuisset;
- 11.699, nec mors discreta fuisset ;
- 12.126, frustra fuerat gauisus Achilles;
- 12.194–5, sed iam aut contigerant illi conubia matris/aut fuerant promissa tuae;
- 13.396, qui prius Oebalio fuerat de uulnere natus;
- 14.283, qua modo pocula parte/sumpta mihi fuerant;
- 14.797–8, porta ... fonte fuit praestructa nouo;
- 15.19–20, nam fuit Argolico generatus Alemone quidam/Myscelus;
- 15.287, fluctibus ambitae fuerant Antissa Pharosque;
- 15.290–1, Zancle quoque iuncta fuisse/dicitur Italiae;
- 15.522–3, ni rota ... fracta ac disiecta fuisset

Ovid and the author of the *Bellum Hispaniense* between them represent a wide range of Latin literary styles. While it is true that this author cannot simply be dismissed as a writer of 'vulgar' Latin (Gaertner 2010: 251 aptly

describes this as ‘not a sub-standard, but a “pre-standard” work’), it is fair to say his stylistic reach exceeds his grasp on many occasions; and while Ovid is certainly a very ‘literary’ author, much of the linguistic appeal of the *Metamorphoses* comes from the interplay between the elevated and the colloquial. Moreover, the metre prevents confusion between *fuērunt* and *fuērant*, occasionally a problem in other texts. The examples that we have considered are enough to suggest that *fu*-type passives and deponents are very much at home in Latin of the first century BC. To break these data down further, we may ask whether we can identify any patterns first in the specific verb forms used, then in the syntax of the clause in which they occur, then in the semantics of the verbs involved.

In the examples we have seen, it is clear that most of the possible tenses and moods are attested. There are plenty of examples of the auxiliaries *fuit*, *fuērat* and *fuisse*; some of *fuērit* (sometimes apparently future perfect, sometimes perfect subjunctive, so far as these can be distinguished), and a few of *fuisse*. There are very few examples of first- or second-person endings; this is probably a function of the texts considered, and the fact that passive verb forms are less common generally in conversational than in third-person accounts. What we may note, certainly in Ovid, is the prevalence of the pluperfects *fuērat* and *fuisse*. While metrical convenience may be a factor here (as also, given Ovid’s vast output, a tendency to redeploy certain phrases and features already used elsewhere), it is hard to feel that this is a full and sufficient explanation in a writer of his technical virtuosity. We note also that the author of the *Bellum Hispaniense* also uses three *fuisse*-type forms to one *fuit*, though the sample is small.

Second, the syntax of the clause in which these forms occur. It is hard to say much about the pluperfect subjunctive forms. These are always likely to occur in *cum*-clauses or in unreal conditionals. The indicatives *fuit* and *fuērat* may occur in a range of contexts, and sometimes alongside *es*-forms, as in the example from *B. Hisp.* 20.3, *hoc praeterito tempore in oppido quod fuit captum, seruus est pressus in cuniculo quem supra demonstraui dominum iugulasse; is uiuus est combustus*. How do we make sense of *fuit captum* alongside *est combustus*? It is hard to think of a convincing semantic explanation; in formal terms, *fuit captum* occurs in a relative clause whereas *est combustus* is a main clause; and while this in itself is hardly a conclusive explanation, it is at least thinkable that in pragmatic terms the *fu*-verb provides context for or background to the *es*-verb. In this connexion, we may note Leumann’s observation that Livy regularly prefers *eram* as his pluperfect auxiliary in main clauses and *fuēram* in relatives (Leumann 1921: 193), and that the auxiliaries *fuēram*, *fuisse*, *fuero*,

and *fuisse* are distinguished not by their temporal deixis but by their association with subordinate clauses. We may note also that the phrase *factei createiue sunt fueruntue* (CIL 12.585) probably occurred in another relative clause. While this is in some sense a problematic source, in that the phrase is clearly a legalistic attempt to cover all possibilities, and as such perhaps not representative of current Latin of its day, this does not, however, preclude the possibility that Latin legalese may preserve usages obsolete in the contemporary language (see more generally Powell 2011: 464–5).

It may be relevant also that in the initial 12 examples of *fu*-constructions we considered from Neue and Wagener, six contain the temporal adverbs *tum*, *olim*, *quondam*, *prius*, or *ante*, while most of the others contain some sort of expression of time. If this is correct, then constructions such as *captum fuit* may be distinguished from *combustus est* in their degree of saliency within the sentence. But if this distinction exists, it seems in classical Latin to be more of a tendency than a rule. Blase (1903: 221) adduces Cicero, *Att.* 5.1.3 *ex quo ego ueni ad ea quae fueramus ego et tu inter nos de sorore in Tusculano locuti* alongside *Fam.* 1.8.7 *expectabantur litterae tuae, de quibus eramus iam cum Pompeio locuti*, noting that it is difficult to see any distinction of meaning.

A similar and perhaps related observation is made by Riemann (1885: 215–17) on the subject of constructions like *amatus fui* in Livy. These, he suggests, typically mark not a past action, but a state which existed in the past, sometimes with the idea that this state has ceased, sometimes without this idea ('non pas une *action* passée, mais un *état* qui a existé dans le passé, tantôt avec l'idée que cet état a cessé, tantôt sans cette idée'). This is perhaps an overstatement, as in the cases Riemann cites, it seems that while the emphasis is on the state, it is a state which clearly arises from an action; as at e.g. Livy 1.19.3, *bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit*. As for the suggestion that the state may no longer exist, it is certainly the case that the perfect tense in Latin can mark a state of affairs that emphatically no longer exists, even if we know Cicero's notional *uixerunt* only through Plutarch's Greek, or if we regard Virgil's *fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium* as a special case. However, it is not clear from Riemann's data whether it merely happens to be the case that a given state of affairs no longer obtains, or whether this is indeed the conditioning factor in the choice of auxiliary. We may, however, accept a toned-down version of his observation, and say that these types of construction with *amatus fui* are true preterites, describing what was the case without any specific reference to whether the situation is still the case (and in this respect unlike true perfects).

Thirdly, we turn to the semantics of the verbs involved. We have noted above that passives with *fu-* auxiliaries are sometimes treated as special cases, with the past participles treated as adjectives rather than primarily verbal forms. There is certainly a case for this approach where the semantics of the participle/adjective involved are sufficiently remote from those of the base verb as to obscure the link between them (e.g. *altus* and *alo*, or *certus* and *cerno*), or where the base verb is significantly less common in finite forms (e.g. *armatus* and *armo*), or where it is regularly given degrees of comparison (as with e.g. *notus/notior/notissimus*), or where a privative prefix is attached, or where the word is used alongside and as an equivalent to an adjective (as at Ovid, *Met.* 2.544, *dum uel casta fuit uel inobse-ruata*); this is not an exhaustive list and other, pragmatic factors will be relevant in individual cases. But it is clear that not all can be hived off so neatly. If we consider just Neue and Wagener's first paragraph, listing perfect passive indicatives of the type *amatus fui*, we find the following list of past participles:

aduorsatus, apertus, armatus, assuetus, clausus, coeptus, comparatus, con-sociatus, constitutus, creatus, dedicatus, deditus, dispersus, dissipatus, exer-citus, factus, fixus, grauatus, incisus, inclusus, iratus, iunctus, occupatus, pactus, paratus, prohibitus, promulgatus, propositus, retentus, saeptus, solitus, subiectus, superimpositus, uectus

Granted that many of these (e.g. *deditus*, *iratus*, *iunctus*) may be seen as more adjectival than participial, this will not be equally true in all cases. Rather, we may see such forms as examples of two general principles. From a historical perspective, of course, they are in origin simply adjectives in *-tos*. As such, they are best considered not as pieces of purely verbal morphology in the sense that (say) an infinitive or active participle is; they are not available as suffixes to all verbs, nor even in practice to all transitive verbs; at other times they are found with active meanings, as in *ῥυτός*, 'flowing'. Likewise in Germanic they form the past participles for weak verbs, but not strong. In Sanskrit the meaning is sometimes active (Sihler 1995: 622). Moreover, as Joffe (1986: 211–12) argues, they may in early Latin be applied to nominal bases (as in *hones-tus*, *faus-tus*). To regard them as passive participles which have somehow slipped their moorings and become adjectival is to ignore this historical dimension. To be sure, they are at an early stage strongly associated with verbs, and it is hard to dispute the fact that in classical Latin they may usually be seen as participles; but their essentially 'hybrid' nature (Joffe's phrase) is never lost.



Secondly, it is more or less by definition the case that any verbs other than the strictly stative will possess some degree of telicity; they are orientated towards the fulfilment of a certain goal. Telicity is not necessarily an on/off switch, and we may allow for degrees of it (even strongly telic verbs such as *nascor* or *morior* may exist in continuous forms, as e.g. in Propertius' *nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade*); equally, verbs which are not so strongly telic may none the less be used with a degree of telicity. The most purely non-telic verbs in Latin, the stative verbs, are typically intransitive (*tepeo*, *frigeo*, *calleo*, etc.). Yet even these have perfect tense forms, some of which belong to the passive/deponent system: *ausus sum*, *gausus sum*, *placitus sum*. In the examples we have considered, the actions in question are recognisably accomplished and show no sign of changing in the near future. This being so, there is no reason why they should not be construed with *fui* rather than *sum*; as indeed they often are.

To conclude this section, the standard account, whereby reanalysis of constructions such as *amatus sum* as presents creates a vacuum in the past tense which is then filled by *amatus fui*, is hard to verify from the evidence. While examples of this construction in classical Latin are not numerous, it certainly existed; while we may suggest contexts in which it is preferred, it is hard to suggest ones in which it is definitely excluded. In any case, in the absence of explicit statements on the subject, arguments on the unacceptability of the construction must necessarily be based on silence. Certainly there is evidence to suggest that the pluperfect forms are more acceptable than the indicative; some writers appear to have felt the *amatus fui* construction appropriate in providing background information in a sentence. Herman's formulation that classical Latin 'ignorait en principe' the type of passive with *fu-* is elegant and probably true in general terms, but not the whole story. I have not been able to consult Madvig's dissertation on the theme that 'good and old writers always observed the distinction between *amatus sum* and *amatus fui*' (*discrimen formarum amatus sum et amatus fui a veteribus et bonis scriptoribus constantissime servatum*), but the phrasing of the proposition strongly suggests that at least the *minus boni* may not have been conscious of a strong distinction.

#### 4. Later Latin

For a perspective from later Latin, we turn first to the Vulgate Bible, a valuable source for various reasons. In the first place, while we associate

it with the name of Jerome, and while Jerome is the main translator certainly in the Old Testament, his is not the only hand at work; large portions of the deuterocanonical books and the New Testament were either not his work at all, or only lightly revised by him. Thus we are dealing with the work of a range of authors. Secondly, as we have noted, we can from time to time compare the work of more than one biblical translator, thus giving us a sense of the range of linguistic options at any given point. Thirdly, while close translation can lead to interference phenomena, the fact we have a Hebrew or Greek source text for comparison may help us to assess what the translator is trying to express. In the Vulgate, then, as in classical Latin, we have a range of verbs used with *fu-* auxiliaries. What is notable is not so much their existence as – with one notable exception – their frequency. I count 202 examples of constructions of the type *amatus fuerat*, 49 of *amatus fuisse* and around 50 of *amatus fuerit*. Taking the example of *amatus fuisse*, we may consider briefly both the semantic range of the verbs involved, and the distribution of the alternative *amatus esset* construction. Listed below are all the verbs occurring in *amatus fuisse* constructions:

ablatus, absconditus, adductus, adustus, celebratus, consummatus, datus, egressus, exaltatus, exhortatus, expletus, factus, ingressus, intuitus, locutus, mortuus, natus, ortus, praepositus, repulsus, reuersus, roboratus, subiectus, succensus, uiduatus, uocatus

Some of these, it is true, might better be regarded, on the criteria suggested above, as adjectival; perhaps in particular *exaltatus*, *praepositus* and *uiduatus*, where the participial forms are more common than the finite ones. However, this is not a wholly satisfactory explanation in all cases. I suggested earlier that telicity might be a factor in the choice of such constructions in classical Latin. Compared to the examples in classical Latin, there is a general similarity in that a level of telicity seems to be involved in most cases (*consummatus* and *expletus* are obvious examples), but this is not a strong requirement. What is striking is not the discontinuity with classical Latin, but the high level of continuity.

We should, of course, compare both the frequency and the distribution of *amatus fuisse* constructions with the ‘classical’ *amatus esset* type. We have, as noted, some 49 examples of *amatus fuisse* constructions, as against approximately 130 of *amatus esset*. We might expect some verbs to collocate with *fuisse* and some with *esset*, presumably on semantic grounds. This does not, however, appear to be the case. Even where the

main verbs might be expected to have a high degree of telicity, they may be construed with *es-* verbs or *fu-* verbs. Thus we find:

Judith 7.11, *cumque ista custodia per XX dies fuisset expleta*;  
 2 Macc. 1.31, *cum autem consummatum fuisset sacrificium*; both alongside  
 Gen. 17.22, *cumque finitus esset sermo*;  
 Gen. 21.15, *cumque consumpta esset aqua*;  
 Nehemiah 13.10, *quoniam partes Leuitarum non fuissent datae* ; alongside  
 Exod. 8.15 *quod data esset requies*

In these six cases it is notable that the *fu-* forms represent essentially Vetus Latina texts, revised slightly or not at all by Jerome, whereas the *es-* forms are Jerome's work. But even in Jerome's work, there are various occasions where we see the same verbs, or at any rate verbs from the same root, likewise construed with both *es-* and *fu-*:

2 Chron 31.2, *cumque ingressi fuissent* ; alongside  
 Judith 16.18, *quam cum esset ingressus* ;  
 Josh 7.17, *quae cum ... esset oblata* ; alongside  
 Num 9.7, *cumque ablata fuisset nubes*

The picture that emerges is one where both constructions effectively share the same territory. There is, however, one curious feature of distribution which does distinguish them. Constructions of the *amatus esset* type tend to be used in particular in *oratio obliqua* clauses introduced by *quod*:

Gen. 6.5, *videns autem deus quod ... cuncta cogitatio cordis intenta esset ad malum* ;  
 Gen 31.33, *ignorabat quod Rahel furata esset idola*;  
 Exod. 32.25, *videns ergo Moyses populum quod esset nudatus*

This effect is so marked that, of the first 36 examples of *amatus essem* type constructions in the Vulgate, 15 are of this type (plus a further three introducing indirect questions, and three more introducing *eo quod* clauses). This is not a definite rule, as Jerome is prepared also to use *fuisset* constructions in similar contexts:

2 Sam. 3.37, *et cognovit omne vulgus et universus Israhel in die illa quoniam non actum fuisset a rege*;  
 2 Sam. 17.23, *Ahitofel videns quod non fuisset factum consilium suum*

– but these are notably rarer than *esset* in introducing direct questions. We will see below further evidence from Sulpicius Severus that the *esset* type of construction remains current as a more 'literary' alternative to *fuisset*.

So much for the subjunctive. We turn now to the indicative, to constructions of the *amatus fui* type in the Vulgate. Here we note immediately that these are far rarer than their subjunctive counterparts. These are clearly attested in the Vulgate; I identify 16 examples. Some of these fit easily into the category of adjectival uses, according to the criteria outlined above:

Josh 18 :1, et fuit eis terra subiecta;  
1 Chron 27.29, armentis ... praepositus fuit Setrai

This is particularly notable in the case of Joshua 18.1 where Jerome's use of the bare dative *eis* suggests that *subiecta* should be understood as adjectival. Other cases, however, are less easily analysed as adjectival. For example in the following cases the participles might traditionally be analysed as adjectives, with the action of hiding or taking offence in all these cases being seen as a sort of semelfactive event bringing about a state, with the past participle then to be understood as an adjective:

Psalt. rom. 98.8, quadraginta annis offensus fui generationi illi (cf. *infensus fui* when quoted at Psalt. hebr. 3.10);  
2 Chron 22.12, fuit ergo cum illis in domo dei absconditus;  
Col 1.26, mysterium quod absconditum fuit;  
Jer 16.17, non fuit occulta iniquitas eorum

But there are cases where this analysis seems forced, as for example:

1 Sam. 20.23, de verbo quod locuti fuimus;  
Psalt. rom. 72.14, et fui flagellatus (cf. Psalt. sec. hebr., *ibid.*);  
Psalt. sec. hebr. 43.18, et non sumus obliti tui nec mentiti fuimus in pacto tuo;  
Jer 52.5, et fuit civitas obsessa;  
Dan. 3.94, non esset adustus et sarabara eorum non fuissent inmutata;  
Matt 22.46, neque ausus fuit quisquam ... eum amplius interrogare

It is, I think, hard to put a strongly 'adjectival' interpretation on any of these, according to the criteria outlined above, and in some cases such an interpretation would seem obviously wrong. We may set aside *fui flagellatus* (Greek ἐγενόμην μεμαστιγώμενος) as a special case; but it is hard to do the same with *locuti fuimus* or *ausus fuit*, which are clearly just equivalent to *locuti sumus* and *ausus est*. The most notable cases are Psalt. sec. hebr. 43:18, *non sumus obliti tui nec mentiti fuimus* and Daniel 3.94, *non esset adustus et sarabara eorum non fuissent inmutata* (Theodotion, ἐφλογίσθη ... ἡλλοιώθη); in these cases the *es-* and *fu-* forms are to all appearances identical in meaning. It is even possible that they are being used alongside each other as a form of *variatio*.

By way of comparison to the Vulgate, it may be useful to look the *es-* and *fu-* forms in a handful of other later Latin texts. Data are taken from the *Peregrinatio Egeriae*, the *Vita Sancti Martini* of Sulpicius Severus, the first book of Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum* and the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*:

*Peregrinatio Egeriae*

<i>amatus sum</i>	<i>amatus eram</i>	<i>amatus essem</i>	<i>amatus sit</i>	<i>amatus esse</i>
209	2	1	10	5
<i>amatus fui</i>	<i>amatus fueram</i>	<i>amatus fuisset</i>	<i>amatus fuerit</i>	<i>amatus fuisse</i>
2	8	6	47	4

*Vita Martini*

<i>amatus sum</i>	<i>amatus eram</i>	<i>amatus essem</i>	<i>amatus sit</i>	<i>amatus esse</i>
47	0	9	1	1
<i>amatus fui</i>	<i>amatus fueram</i>	<i>amatus fuisset</i>	<i>amatus fuerit</i>	<i>amatus fuisse</i>
0	4	3	1	4

*Historia Francorum book 1*

<i>amatus sum</i>	<i>amatus eram</i>	<i>amatus essem</i>	<i>amatus sit</i>	<i>amatus esse</i>
63	3	1	1	2
<i>amatus fui</i>	<i>amatus fueram</i>	<i>amatus fuisset</i>	<i>amatus fuerit</i>	<i>amatus fuisse</i>
4	3	4	2	2

*Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*:

<i>amatus sum</i>	<i>amatus eram</i>	<i>amatus essem</i>	<i>amatus sit</i>	<i>amatus esse</i>
69	1	0	0	1
<i>amatus fui</i>	<i>amatus fueram</i>	<i>amatus fuisset</i>	<i>amatus fuerit</i>	<i>amatus fuisse</i>
5	1	1	7	1

A tabular presentation of the data naturally conceals many details, and certainly some of the forms classed here as passives might no less be regarded as adjectival; thus *Mart.* 20.1, *ut est nostrorum aetas temporum, quibus iam deprauata omnia atque corrupta sunt*. Equally, there are clear examples of *es-* and *fu-* constructions used in contexts which appear indistinguishable; again from the *Vita Martini*, we find at 21.3 *quisnam hoc casu affectus fuisset* alongside 6.4, *cum ... multis [...] suppliciis esset*

*affectus*. Taking the data as a whole, however, the most obvious feature is the preponderance of *fu-* over *es-* auxiliaries in all forms but the perfect indicative; this will be discussed shortly. However, we may also note some other phenomena. Thus, in the *Peregrinatio* especially, and to a lesser extent in the *Itinerarium*, *amatus fuerit* type constructions are prominent. While these are well attested in earlier Latin, they are probably reinforced in Christian writers by their frequent occurrence in biblical Latin, often translating Greek aorist subjunctives (e.g. Matt 26.13, *ubicumque praedicatum fuerit hoc euangelium* = ὅπου ἔσται κηρυχθῆναι), arguably becoming a feature of the Christian style of writing. Notable also is the distinctly higher frequency of *amatus essem* in the *Vita Martini*; Sulpicius Severus is a fastidious stylist, and this presumably is a piece of mild conservatism.

### 5. Interpretations

Before we venture to offer more general conclusions, two specific questions on the interpretation of these data must be considered. First, how far can we trust them? The answer, of course, depends on what we trust the data for. They are, by definition, taken from written sources, and so cannot offer direct evidence of patterns of spoken Latin. How far they offer indirect evidence is another matter. The striking rarity of *amatus fuit* constructions, even in later Latin, when they are (according to the manuals) in the ascendant, calls for comment. We can probably say with some certainty that *amatus fuit* was, by the late fourth century, entirely ‘grammatical’ as a form. If in classical Latin it is construed with complements that are more adjectival than verbal, the same is not self-evidently true in cases such as the Vulgate Matthew 22.46, *ausus fuit* (Greek ἐτόλμησεν). The construction, then, appears to have been largely avoided even in contexts where there is no obvious motivation for this. If we may proceed by analogies, then this phenomenon may be similar to avoidance of the verb ‘to get’ in English which is, or was till recently, often instilled in school. Here the rationale usually given – that of polysemy, and hence possible ambiguity – is plainly a fallacy; plenty of words are polysemous, and in any case it is hard to see that there is any special risk of ambiguity here. Rather it is a shibboleth, meaningful precisely because of its arbitrariness. Indeed, while we have suggested above that this construction is ‘entirely “grammatical”’, that is in itself a problematic description; the grammaticality or otherwise of any given form may, from one perspective, be seen as resting on the extent to which it can readily be processed by individual speakers by analogy to other forms and in accordance with innate human

preferences, and from another, as equivalent to its acceptability within a language community. In the use of those speakers educated enough to write, *amatus fuit* remains on the borders of acceptability; for some, such as Sulpicius Severus, it apparently lies outside these borders.

We must bear in mind also the fact that these later writers are not simple neutral representatives of the language of their time. Any linguistic usage that is not a complete neologism is, by definition, ratified by the convention of previous speakers; in this respect the ‘Saussurean Firewall’ (to borrow a phrase from [Paul Kiparsky 2014](#)) between synchrony and diachrony is not an absolute one, as current states of language exist in reference to previous ones. This is most evidently true in the case of archaisms, which derive their effect by exaggerating this fact, which is usually below most speakers’ threshold of awareness. This becomes relevant in that the same outward phenomena in a text of the first century may have a very different effect in a text of the fourth; thus, for instance, the use of *fuert* as an auxiliary is, as we have noted, not new in such fourth-century writings as the *Peregrinatio Egeriae*, being frequently attested from the second century AD onwards; but to Egeria and her readers it is likely to have appeared as distinctly ‘biblical’ in a way it could not to (say) Apuleius. In other words, the same data may call for different interpretations.

I turn now to our second question. Do the data we have considered support any of the standard models we have considered, and if so, how far? The account given by Leumann *et al.*, that the *fu-* constructions were modelled on the *es-* ones and became the usual ones in ‘later, vulgar Latin’, is tenable only in parts. The first observation is not demonstrably correct, and the second is, as we have seen, correct of forms other than *amatus sum/fui*; but of course these are numerically more frequent than the rest put together. Herman’s account elides a very large amount of data in taking as its endpoint such French constructions as *je suis loué*; it is hard to avoid the sense that elision arises from an overtly teleological approach to historical linguistics in this case. Väänänen’s account likewise focuses on what he calls the ‘résultat final’ rather than the processes. A fuller account than that given here would evaluate his claim that the double sense of *domus clausa est* provides the motivation for the loss of *domus clauditur*. For the present it is enough to say first that *domus clauditur* and *domus clausa est* manage to coexist through classical Latin, even in strongly subliterate texts, without apparent difficulty; and it is far from certain that the process of analogy is necessarily the best explanation for the loss of the synthetic forms (for different views on the data and how to interpret them, see [Muller 1924](#) and [Green 1991](#)). Clackson and Horrocks

too begin with the Romance languages, and, while they note that *clausum fuit* occurred ‘more rarely’ than *clausum fuerat/fuerit*, the extent of the difference is somewhat underplayed – almost completely so in the statement that *clausum fuit* ‘becomes the sole marker of the passive past’. While ‘*clausum fuit*’ is, in context, probably shorthand for ‘Romance reflexes of *clausum fuit*’, it still calls for qualification; in Italian, for instance, any of the forms *era chiuso*, *fu chiuso*, *veniva chiuso* or *venne chiuso* might be used in this function (discussed in Sansò and Giacalone Ramat 2015).

It is perhaps unfortunate that the perfect indicative has been taken as the locus *par excellence* for slippage between the *es*- and *fu*- forms. Other candidates may be considered. Thus we have noted on various occasions the fact that constructions of the *clausum fuit* type readily lend themselves to ‘adjectival’ rather than ‘verbal’ interpretations. The same is true, however, of *es*- type constructions such as that at *Vita Martini* 13.2, *arbor ... esset daemioni dedicata*, which clearly refers to a state rather than an event (‘was dedicated’). If the author here had intended to focus attention on the action (‘had been dedicated’) instead, he could easily have written *fuisset dedicata*. But if there is any causal relationship between the rise of constructions such as *fuisset dedicata* and the temporal displacement of constructions such as *esset dedicata*, it is very difficult to establish which caused which; the data may be taken to support either view.

## 6. Conclusions

We began with the observation that the so-called ‘Whig view of history’ – the tendency to see later states as the condition to which earlier states aspire, and which they eventually attain – is not unknown in linguistics. Nor should it be; the desire to create narratives and to see causal relationships seems innate, universal and useful. But in linguistics as in other forms of historiography, it may be problematic. Seeing the Latin of the fourth or fifth centuries as an intermediate stage between Cicero and twentieth-century French has an obvious appeal, but equally such an approach will cause us to concentrate on some details and overlook others. In the data we have considered, there is clear evidence of innovation; for instance, the rise of constructions such as *amatus fuerat* and (especially) *amatus fuerit*, the latter not so much displacing existing constructions as carving out a new role for itself. The *amatus fuisset* construction is also increasingly commonly attested, but does not quite oust *amatus esset*, which apparently remains available as a marker of educated use (though



this is not to suggest that *fuisset* is at all non-literary). *Amatus fuit*, on the other hand, seems to remain stalled; *amatus est* remains the usual perfect, and the synthetic *amatur* – notionally under pressure from a reanalysed *amatus est* – is likewise widely used in our sources. It is possible to take a range of positions on the value of these written texts as a source for spoken Latin (itself a diverse entity); but whatever view we take, we would expect to find a diversity of uses, and we do; language change is seldom likely to be linear.

*On the use of habeo and the perfect  
participle in earlier and in later Latin*

*Gerd V. M. Haverling*

**1. Introduction**

In early and classical Latin we sometimes find *habeo* + the perfect participle in what appears to be a resultative function which seems to be connected to the much later development of such expressions into the periphrastic perfect of the Romance languages. Exactly when such constructions started to be used to indicate current relevance – and thus to compete with the synthetic perfect – is, however, a matter of some dispute. It is clear that the final step in this change, the grammaticalisation, was not taken in Latin but in Romance. Nevertheless, several examples from early to late Latin have been interpreted as competing with the synthetic perfect.

According to Thielmann (1885), there is an increase in the use of such constructions with *habere* and the past participle from early to classical Latin. Then, from the second century the development seems, somewhat surprisingly, to take a pause in order to start again in the fifth and sixth centuries and especially in Gaul. He found examples of this construction being used in the function of the synthetic perfect in Gregory of Tours and this has then been mentioned in numerous later handbooks (e.g. Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: §178.c.β; Väänänen 1981: §300; Bourgain 2005: 35; and Haverling 2010: 373). In Merovingian texts from the seventh and eighth centuries he found an increasing number of examples of this development. Adams (2013: 615–51) observes that a new collection of data, based on modern tools such as the Library of Latin Texts, is needed in order to check Thielmann's description of the development in post-classical Latin and he disagrees with his interpretation of the use of the passages in for instance Gregory of Tours: in his opinion, there is no certain example of *habeo* + the perfect participle competing with the synthetic perfect before the eighth century. Pinkster (2015: 478–81) disagrees with Adams

on some points and interprets some of the relevant late Latin passages as competing with the synthetic perfect. Using modern tools Tàra (2014) has been able to add more data to the already considerable collection assembled by Thielmann (1885) and in the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (TLL *habeo* 2452 l. 65 ff.). Like Adams he concludes that there are no clear indications of the periphrasis competing with the synthetic perfect before the eighth century. His study does not contradict Thielmann's view that there was a decrease in the use of this construction in the post-classical and earlier late Latin periods, but he has not been working as much on the texts from those centuries as he has on later authors such as Augustine, Gregory of Tours and Fredegar.

There are similar developments of 'have'-perfects in other Indo-European languages: the earliest examples are from Hittite (e.g. Cambi 2007: 91–105) and from ancient Greek (Aerts 1965: 128–83) and 'have'-perfects are particularly common in Western and Northern Europe (Drinka 2003: 1–11). It has therefore even been suggested that the Latin development is due to the influence from Greek (e.g. Drinka 2003: 11–20; 2007; 2013: 605–12); but it has also been suggested that the development of 'have'-perfects in later Greek was partly due to influence from Latin and later on from Romance (e.g. Horrocks 1997: 228–9, 273) and that the parallel development was the result of similar internal tendencies of development (e.g. Bruno 2012).

An important problem in the description of this development is to what extent the constructions with *habeo* and the perfect participle in earlier Latin – and in particular in early and classical Latin – could be regarded as anticipations of the Romance usage; and to what extent they differ from the usage met with in the texts from the period of transition from Latin to Romance. Accordingly, I shall now discuss the development of this construction from early to late Latin against the background of other changes in the Latin verbal system.

## 2. *Habeo* + the perfect participle and the early Latin verbal system

The active/stative structure of early Proto-Indo-European developed into the transitive/accusative structure met with in the attested languages and as a result there is no common Indo-European verb meaning 'to have', but such verbs developed in the individual languages (e.g. Baldi 2002: 71–2, 362–4; and Ernout and Meillet 1985: 287–8). In early Latin *habeo* occurs



- b) Cornelia Nep. frg. 2: quos (*sc.* deos) uiuos atque praesentes relictos atque desertos habueris  
 ‘the gods whom you have regarded as possible to abandon and neglect although they are alive and present’

Sometimes the early Latin construction seems to be close to the use of a simple verb, but the focus is then on the state of affairs rather than on the action; and *habet despicatam* (7a–b) is more equivalent to the construction with the final dative (7c; cf. *contemptum habere* ‘regard with indifference’ in e.g. Catul. 60.5; see Adams 2013: 638–40):

- (7) a) Pl. *Cas.* 186–89: pessumis me modis despiciatur domi/ .../ .../ uir me habet  
 pessumis despiciatam modis  
 ‘he despises me in an appalling way at home ... he shows his contempt for me in an appalling way’  
 b) Ter. *Eu.* 383–4: nos nostramque adulescentiam/ habent despiciatam  
 ‘they show contempt for me and my youth’  
 c) Pl. *Men.* 693: Quando tu me bene merentem tibi habes despiciatui  
 ‘when you despise me, although I deserve well of you’

*Habere* often occurs with the perfect participle in the sense ‘keep’, ‘hold’ or ‘have’ in a certain state, as ‘keep in fetters, hold in bonds’ (8), ‘keep hidden’ (9) and ‘keep confined’ (10; see Adams 2013: 618–20). There is here an overlap with for instance *adseruare* (Pl. *Bac.* 750 *ut uinctum te adseruet domi* ‘so that he will keep you fettered at home’):

- (8) Leg. XII 3.4 in Gel. 20.1.45: qui eum uinctum habebit  
 ‘who shall hold him in bonds’  
 (9) Pl. *Mer.* 360: nequiquam abdidi, abscondidi, abstrusam habebam  
 ‘in vain I hid her and kept her concealed’  
 (10) Ter. *Ph.* 744: conclusam hic habeo uxorem saeuam  
 ‘I keep my savage wife confined here’

Other expressions of this kind are *habeat ... coctum cibum* ‘she shall keep the food ready’ (Pl. *Mer.* 398), *si agrum consitum habeas* ‘if your land is planted’ (Cato *Agr.* 3.1) and *conuersam habeat* and *coctum habeat* (11):

- (11) Cato *Agr.* 143.2: uillam conuersam mundeque habeat, focum purum circumuersum cotidie ... habeat ... cibum tibi et familiae curet uti coctum habeat  
 ‘she must keep the farm clean by sweeping, she must keep the hearth clean by sweeping round it every day ... she must keep a supply of cooked food on hand for you and the servants’

The Proto-Indo-European aorist and perfect merged into the Latin perfect, which could express both the past tense function of the aorist and the current relevance of a past action of the perfect (e.g. Baldi 2002: 366–7; and Meiser 2003). As opposed to the Latin perfect, the Greek perfect indicated resultativity, i.e. that a state is a result of a prior action (e.g. Humbert 1972: §250; cf. Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 63–8). In Latin, the analytical passive voice of the perfect often expresses current relevance, but sometimes it indicates resultativity, as in Caesar’s famous statement when crossing the Rubicon (Suet. *Jul.* 33 *Iacta alea est* ‘The die is cast’), which is actually a quotation of an expression in the passive perfect imperative used by Menander (Plutarch *Caes.* 32.8 ἀνεπρίφθω κύβος! ‘Let the die be cast!’). In the active voice, we sometimes find the construction with *habeo* and the perfect participle in this function (Haverling 2010: 356–62). This is often the case with verbs indicating physical acquisition, such as *parare* (12), *parere* (13) and *emere* (14). There is sometimes an overlap between *habeo* and other verbs, e.g. with *possidere* (Cic. *S. Rosc.* 15 *patrimonium domestici praedones ui ereptam possident* ‘the robbers in his household are in control of his fortune which they got hold of with the help of violence’). The focus is entirely on the state:

- (12) Pl. *Men.* 581–4: sollicitos patronos habent/ .../ .../ qui aut faenore aut peiuriis habent rem paratam  
 ‘they keep their patrons who possess a fortune acquired by usury or perjury in a state of anxiety’
- (13) Pl. *Trin.* 346–7: uirtute ... et maiorum et tua/ multa bona bene parta habemus  
 ‘thanks to our forbears and yourself, we’re well supplied with well-earned means’
- (14) Pl. *Ps.* 1187–8: Mea quidem haec habeo omnia,/ meo peculio empta  
 ‘I have all this, it has been bought with my money’

Another expression of this kind is *hasce aedis conductas habet meu’ gnatus* ‘my son has this house on hire’ (Pl. *Cist.* 319; cf. Cic. *Ver.* 3.93).

Early examples of the use of *habeo* + the perfect participle in expressions indicating intellectual acquisition are *reperitam haberent* in Plautus (15) and *exquisitum habeam* in Cato (16a); in the latter case there is a corresponding use of the participle with *esse* and the dative in Plautus (16b; see Adams 2013: 620–6; cf. also Thielmann 1885: 516):

- (15) Pl. *Mil.* 885–6: nam ego multos saepe uidi/ regionem fugere consilii priu’ quam reperitam haberent  
 ‘for I have often seen many men flee the land of good advice before it was discovered and they possessed it’

- (16) a) Cato *Fil. frag.* 1 in Plin. *Nat.* 29.14: Dicam de istis Graecis ... quid Athenis exquisitum habeam ...

'I shall tell you what I have found out about the Greeks when I was in Athens (and now know about them)'

- b) Pl. *Capt.* 638: satis istuc mihi exquisitumst fuisse hunc seruum in Alide ...?  
'is it absolutely clear that this fellow was a slave in Elis ...?'

There is some connexion between this type and an expression like *numeros habet* in Plautus (17; see Adams 2013: 622–3; and Tàra 2014: 93).<sup>1</sup>

- (17) Pl. *Poen.* 594: his trecentos nummos numeratos habet  
'he has 300 sesterces counted out'

The tense is in all these cases indicated by the finite verb and not by the combination of that verb with the participle. In (18) in Plautus it is the form *habui* which places the action in question in the past (Adams 2013: 629).<sup>2</sup>

- (18) Pl. *Bac.* 550–1: Ill', quod in se fuit, accuratum habuit quod posset mali/ faceret in me  
'as far as he was able, he had whatever evil he could do against me arranged'

The resultative use of the perfect participle in some early Latin passages with *habeo* + the perfect participle in e.g. (11) is probably related to the use of the perfect participle with certain verbs in early Latin. With *uolo* and similar verbs Plautus mostly has the perfect participles *monitum* (19a; cf. *Capt.* 53, 309, *Cist.* 299) and *seruatum* (20a; cf. *Aul.* 677, *Cur.* 335, *Men.* 1120, *Poen.* 917, *Trin.* 1076), but in a few cases he uses the present infinitive (19b, 20b; cf. *Poen.* 1079 *moneri* ... *neu*; e.g. Bennett 1910: 438–9; Kühner and Stegmann 1955: §§127 Anm. 4; Ernout and Thomas: 1953: §293.a; and Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: § 209c). The expression *te* ... *monitum* (19a) has a somewhat different function than *monere te* (19b):

- (19) a) Pl. *Cist.* 299: eo te magi' uolo monitum  
'for that reason I want you to be warned the more'

- b) Pl. *P.* 915: At hoc uolo, monere te  
'But what I want is to remind you'

<sup>1</sup> There is a close parallel to (17) in a passage in Augustine (*Conf.* 4.14 *cuius* ... *capillos tu, domine, numeratos habes* 'whose hairs you, Lord, have counted and know how many they are').

<sup>2</sup> There is a superficial resemblance between (18) and Mar. Victorin. *Rhet.* 1.18 (Ippolito) *nihil splendidum nihil diligenter accuratum habere debemus*, where *accuratum* is parallel to the adjective *splendidum*.

(20) a) Pl. *Aul.* 677: di me saluom et seruatum uolunt  
 'the gods want me to be safe and preserved'

b) Pl. *Aul.* 87: araneas mi ego illas seruari uolo  
 'I want those cobwebs to be preserved'

In the later periods there is an increasing tendency to use the present infinitive with *uolo*, but some of these expressions still occur in classical Latin (e.g. Cic. *Catil.* 2.27 *monitos ... uolo* 'I want them to be warned'). In the late period we encounter a limited number of examples of the construction *monitum uolo* in archaists like Symmachus (*Epist.* 6.42), but not in for instance Augustine, who uses the present infinitives *moneri* and *seruari* with *uolo* (e.g. *In Psalm.* 6.6 and *Cathech. rud.* 19).

There is a similar early Latin use of the perfect participle with causative verbs like *do* (21a), *reddo* (21b), *curo* (21c) and *facio* (21d). There are quite a few examples involving *do* in this function in Plautus and Terence and then in Sallust (*Jug.* 59.3) and Livy (8.6.6) and in poetry (*OLD do* 24b). *Facio* occurs also in the phrase *missum facio* 'pass over, disregard, abandon, set free, release' (22a–b; e.g. Bennett 1910: 438; Kühner and Stegmann 1955: §137.2.d; Ernout and Thomas 1953: §289; Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: §209c; and *OLD do* 24b, *reddo* 17, *curo* 6b, *mitto* 3a, 4a and 5 and *facio* 17):

(21) a) Pl. *Cist.* 595: perfectum hoc dabo negotium  
 'I shall see to it that this matter will be done'

b) Pl. *Ps.* 530: effectum hoc hodie reddam  
 'I shall see to it that this will be done today'

c) Ter. *An.* 684–5: inuentum tibi curabo et mecum adductum/ tuom  
 Pamphilum  
 'I shall find and bring with me your Pamphilus'

d) Pl. *Ps.* 223–4: haec omnia/ facis effecta quae loquor  
 'you see to it that all that I say is done (executed)'

(22) a) Pl. *Am.* 1145: missum facio Teresiam senem  
 'I disregard the old Teresias'

b) Ter. *An.* 680: me missum face  
 'let me go/set me free'

The use of the perfect participle with *do*, *reddo* and *curo* becomes rare in classical and post-classical Latin, but the use of the perfect participle with *facio* remains more common: it seems to be particularly frequent in early and in late Latin, where we find periphrases with *fio* and *facio* in for instance medical texts (*TLL* 6, *facio* col. 119 ll. 58 ff.). However, where



Chiron uses a construction with *facio* (Chiron 390 *munitos facies et fasciabis* ‘you shall cover and bandage it’), the more elegant Vegetius chooses a simple verb (*Mulom.* 2.54.3 *munies et fasciabis*). The reasons for the occurrence of the participles with *facio* are, however, likely to be somewhat different in early and in late Latin: Plautus’ use of the participle in (21d) has a resultative function, whereas for Chiron it is more connected to his use of expressions like *sanus fieri* (Chiron 61) instead of *sanari* (Veg. 2.14.1; see [Svennung 1935](#): 459–60).

The tendency to indicate resultativity encountered for example in (11) is related to this tendency to use resultative expressions with *uolo* and with causative verbs, but probably also to the early Latin co-occurrence of the perfect infinitive in a formulation like *nequid emisse uelit insciente domino* ‘he must not buy anything without his master knowing it’ (Cato *Agr.* 5.4), which clearly had a very archaic character for the speakers in the classical period (e.g. [Ernout and Thomas 1953](#): §274; and [Hofmann and Szantyr 1972](#): §193.a).

This resultative construction with *habeo* + the perfect participle is very different from the use of ἔχω + the active perfect or aorist participle which is attested in Greek from the eighth to the fifth century BC. In fifth-century Greek this usage, which ceases after the classical period, is connected to the change in the function of the synthetic Greek perfect from resultativity to current relevance ([Aerts 1965](#): 128–60; and [Bruno 2012](#): 367–70, 372; cf. [Haug 2004](#)).

### 3. *Habeo* + the perfect participle in classical and post-classical Latin

In the classical period, the actional system of expressing the *Aktionsarten* with the help of suffixes and prefixes (e.g. *caleo* ‘I am hot’ vs. *calesco* ‘I am warming up’ vs. *concalesco* ‘I become hot’) is still functioning; and the system of indicating tense relationships with particular precision (e.g. the use of the future perfect or pluperfect to indicate that an action is completed before another) reaches its peak. However, towards the end of the post-classical period (around AD 200), the actional difference between e.g. *conticui* ‘stopped talking’ and *tacui* ‘was silent’ becomes blurred, the system of indicating tense relationships had grown less precise and there were changes in the modal functions of the tenses in the subjunctive ([Haverling 2010](#): 288–340, 377–405, 413–37).

In some of the passages discussed above, the subject of *habeo* is not identical with the agent of the participle (2–4), which is sometimes

indicated by an instrumental ablative (23a) and sometimes by a prepositional phrase (23b):

- (23) a) Cic. *Ver.* 5.60: habetis ... auxilium amissum ac uenditum pretio  
           ‘you have a situation where the military protection ... has  
           been lost and sold for money’

- b) Vitruv. 6.1.10: habent exsuctas ab sole animorum uirtutes  
           ‘they have the strength of their minds drained by the sun’

There is no such identity in the above-mentioned examples with *scriptos* (3) and *dictum* (4), although examples with identity between the two arguments are to be found, as in Vitruvius (24) and in Cicero and Apuleius (25a–b). The focus in both cases is on the state of affairs and not on the agent (Adams 2013: 634; and Tàra 2014: 103–5):

- (24) Vitruv. 9.1.14: quemadmodum de ea re supra scriptum habemus  
           ‘as we find written on the subject above’

- (25) a) Cic. *Phil.* 5.52: Quae cum ita sint, de Caesare satis hoc tempore dictum  
           habebo  
           ‘Accordingly, I shall take it that enough will have been said  
           at this time about Caesar’

- b) Apul. *Apol.* 87: Sed de epistulis satis dictum habebo, cum hoc unum  
           addidero  
           ‘But I shall think that enough has been said, when I have  
           added this one thing’

*Habere* often occurs with the perfect participle in the sense ‘keep’, ‘hold’ or ‘have in a certain state’, as in ‘keep hidden’ (26; cf. ex. 9) and ‘keep confined’ (27a–b; cf. ex. 10; see Adams 2013: 618–20):

- (26) Sal. *Cat.* 23.4: Fulvia ... tale periculum rei publicae haud occultum habuit  
           ‘Fulvia did not keep such a danger to the state secret’

- (27) a) Liv. 22.4.5: clausum lacu ac montibus ... habuit hostem  
           ‘he had his enemy enclosed by the sea and the mountains’

- b) Col. 9.11.1: triduo fere clausas habere  
           ‘keep them shut in for roughly three days’

Other expressions of this kind are *semper habeo id compositum* ‘I always keep that made up’ (Larg. 98), *si iam arborem sitam habueris, scillam ... serito* ‘if you already have a tree planted, sow a squill’ (Col. 5.10.16) and *putationem aequinoctio peractam habeto* ... ‘see to it that the pruning is done by the time of the (spring) equinox’ (Plin. *Nat.* 18.241) from the

post-classical period. This usage too remains productive in for instance juridical texts (28a–b: see [Adams 2013](#): 619, 635–7; and [Târa 2014](#): 122–3):

- (28) a) Gaius *Dig.* 8.2.6: si ... ego per statutum tempus fenestras meas praefixas habuero uel obstruxero  
 ‘if I keep an obstruction in front of my windows and keep them blocked for the prescribed period’
- b) Julian. *Dig.* 8.2.32.1: si ... ita per statum tempus aedificatum habuero  
 ‘if I will keep it in this (higher) position for the prescribed period’

From early Latin onwards we find *habeo* with the perfect participle with verbs indicating physical acquisition, such as ‘acquire’ (29a–b; cf. ex. 13) and ‘buy’ (30a–b; cf. ex. 14). The focus is entirely on the state ([Adams 2013](#): 620–1, 624, 627):

- (29) a) Cic. *Prov.* 3: mitto quod eas ita partas habent ii qui nunc obtinent  
 ‘I pay no heed to the fact that those who now have them have got them in such a way that ...’
- b) V. Max. 8.7.1: cumque eloquentia magnam gloriam partam haberet  
 ‘although he had great glory won with the help of his eloquence’
- (30) a) Cic. *Tul.* 16: eum (*sc. fundum*) emptum habebat cum socio Cn. Acerronio  
 ‘he had bought the farm and he had it together with his companion G. A.’
- b) Gaius *Dig.* 18.1.35.1: quanti uelis, quanti aequum putaueris, quanti aestimaueris, habebis emptum  
 ‘you will have it bought and owned by you for the price that you want, for the price that you consider fair and for the price that you consider it worth’

Another expression of this kind is *in ea prouincia pecunias magnas conlocatas habent* ‘they have big investments in that province’ (Cic. *Man.* 17; see [Adams 2013](#): 624). In the juridical texts there seems to be a certain overlap between *emptum habere* (30b; also e.g. *Dig.* 48 tit. 8.2.6) and *emptum possidere* (e.g. *Dig.* 41 tit. 1.4).

The function of the construction with *habere* and the perfect participle seems to be resultative also in several examples with verbs indicating perception or the acquisition of knowledge. The increasing use of the construction with *habere* seems to be a result of the general tendency for *habere* to replace the older construction with *esse* and the

dative: this is exemplified in (16a–b), where we have *habeo* and the perfect participle of *exquiro* ‘find out’ in Cato and the participle with *esse* and the dative in Plautus (Thielmann 1885: 516). In the classical period we find the expressions *exploratum habere* (31a–c), *compertum habere* (32a–c), *expertum habere* (33) and *uisa aut audita habere* (34; see Târa 2014: 97):

- (31) a) Cic. *Fam.* 6.1.2: nec tamen is ipse a quo salus petitur habet explicatam aut exploratam rationem salutis suae  
 ‘and he himself from whom you are seeking safety does not have the plan for his own safety clear and ascertained’
- b) Cic. *Fam.* 10.12.1: nec quo progredi uelles exploratum satis habebat (*sc.* senatus)  
 ‘the senate did not know well enough where you wanted to go’
- c) Cic. *N. D.* 1.51: (*sc.* deus) habet exploratum fore se semper cum in maximis tum in aeternis uoluptatibus  
 ‘he knows well that he will always enjoy the highest as well as eternal pleasure’
- (32) a) Cic. *Font.* 29: cum ea dicimus iurati quae comperta habemus, quae ipsi uidimus  
 ‘when we say that under oath which we know for certain and have seen with our own eyes’
- b) Sal. *Cat.* 58.1: Compertum ego habeo, milites, uerba uirtutem non addere  
 ‘I am well aware, soldiers, that words do not supply valour’
- c) Larg. 106: omnia ... auxilia ... quae ex usu prodesse eis comperta habemus  
 ‘all the remedies which we have found out from experience to benefit those conditions’
- (33) Plancus ap. Cic. *Fam.* 10.24.3: Quantum autem in acie tironi sit committendum nimium saepe expertum habemus  
 ‘We have seen only too often how much reliance can be placed on raw troops in battle’
- (34) Liv. 40.8.15: Romanis ... exemplis, quae aut uisa aut audita habebam  
 ‘the Roman examples which I knew about either because I had seen them myself or because I had heard about them’

In (32c) and (33) it is difficult not to use the English perfect in a translation because of the presence of the expressions *ex usu* ‘from experience’ and *saepe* ‘often’, but there are also passages like (32a) and (35a) which indicate that there was a difference in nuance between *habeo* + a perfect

participle and the synthetic perfect (Adams 2013: 622–4). In (35a–c) *cognitum habere* has a resultative function ('to have got to know and have full knowledge of') as opposed to the synthetic form *cognouit* in (35a) which indicates current relevance. A comparable expression is *perspectum habeo* 'I have perceived and have full insight' (35b). The participle is in these cases often related to a noun and in this function we find parallel expressions like *geometriam ... ceterasque disciplinas penitus habere notas* 'to know well geometry and the other disciplines' (Vitr. 1.1.17) and *philosophorum ... percepta habuit praecepta* 'he knew well the teachings of the philosophers' (Nep. Att. 17.3):

- (35) a) Cic. Att. 15.20.4: Rationes Erotis ... ex litteris eius et ex eo quod Tiro cognouit prope modum cognititas habeo  
'I know Eros' plans utterly well from his letter and from what Tiro has found out'
- b) Cic. Ad Brut. 6.1: Clodi animum perspectum habeo, cognitum, iudicatum  
'I understand and know Clodius and I have a clear opinion about him'
- c) Cic. Fin. 4.11: cum cognitum habeas quod sit summi rectoris ac domini numen, quod consilium, quae uoluntas  
'when you have acquired the knowledge of – and thus realise – what the will, purpose and design of the supreme god is'

The expressions of the *habeo cognitum* type often encountered in, among others, Cicero have been regarded as crucial for the development towards a new analytic perfect (e.g. Thielmann 1885: 544; and Adams 2013: 621). In these examples the object constituent can only be understood as related to the participial element and they are particularly interesting when a complement clause is involved, such as an infinitive construction (ex. 31c, 32b–c) or an indirect question (ex. 31b, 33, 35c; see Pinkster 2015: 479). These expressions are particularly frequent in Ciceronian Latin, but we encounter them also in e.g. Pseudo-Sallust (*cognitum*, Rep. 2.1.3), Pliny the Elder (*cognitum*, Nat. 2.246), Columella (*cognitum*, 1 praef.; *compertum*, 3.10), Suetonius (*compertum*, Iul. 66.1) and Apuleius (*compertum*: Apol. 63, 85; *cognitum*: Apol. 30, Met. 7.9).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This interpretation has recently been questioned by Herzenberg (2015), according to whom the *habere* + the perfect participle is used as a periphrastic perfect already in early Latin (e.g. in my examples 4, 5 and 16a) and is a phenomenon due to a reanalysis of *habere* + the perfect participle of other verbs (e.g. my examples 8, 9 and 10). I disagree with several of her translations (e.g. of my examples 4, 5 and 16a) and am inclined to attribute some importance to the *habeo cognitum* type for the development of the compound perfect.

There is some connection between the *habeo cognitum* type and expressions like *habes subductum* in Cicero (36; cf. ex. 17; see Adams 2013: 622–3; and Tjāra 2014: 93) and *edita ... habent* in Livy (37). According to Pinkster (2015: 479–80) *edita ... habent* in (37) comes close to the function of the synthetic perfect, but Adams (2013: 633) is more cautious and observes that it is probably not a mere alternative to *ediderunt* and that the form implies that there is still danger because of the unfinished agenda of the Bacchants:

36) Cic. *Att.* 5.21.13: Hoc quid intersit, si tuos digitos noui, certe habes subductum  
‘you have the difference already reckoned up’

37) Liv. 39.16.3: Necdum omnia in quae coniurarunt edita facinora habent  
‘They have not yet all the crimes for which they have conspired made known to others’

In my opinion, what is at stake in (37) is the difference between current relevance (*ediderunt* ‘they have revealed’) and resultativity (*edita habent* ‘they have them revealed and known to others’). Another example is *cum habeatur explicatum* ‘since it has been made clear’ (Vitr. 2.5.1; cf. ex. 31a), where the passive use of *habere* corresponds to the use of *esse* (i.e. *cum sit explicatum*).

Other examples are found with verbs meaning ‘to decide, make a decision’, such as *constituo* (38), *statuo* (39) and *delibero* (40):

38) Cael. ap. Cic. *Fam.* 8.5.2: hac de re puto te constitutum, quid facturuses, habere  
‘I think you have made up your mind about what you would do about that’

39) Cic. *Fam.* 4.2.4: si habes iam statutum, quid tibi agendum putes  
‘if you have already settled what you think you ought to do’

40) Cic. *Ver.* 3.95: sic habuisti statutum cum animo ac deliberatum  
‘you have it so settled and decided (= it is your firm resolution)’

Several of the uses of *habeo* + perfect participle already found in early Latin continue in the classical and post-classical periods. The most significant development concerns the expressions indicating intellectual acquisition, which now occur with complement clauses. Thielmann’s (1885) idea that the development comes to a halt in the post-classical period still has to be confirmed: the use of the expressions *cognitum habeo* (35) and *compertum habeo* (32) does, however, seem to be somewhat less frequent in the post-classical period.

In some literary Greek texts from this period (e.g. Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch) there is a similar use of ἔχω + the passive perfect participle, which seems to be influenced by this Latin expression. It was avoided by the more severe atticists and disappears in the second century AD, but it becomes more common again after the ‘Latin’ conquest of Constantinople in 1204 (Aerts 1965: 163; Horrocks 1997: 77–8, 228–9, 273; and Bruno 2012: 370–1).

#### 4. *Habeo* + the perfect participle in late Latin

In the late Latin period, the actional system does not function as before and the dynamic suffix *-sc-* and the telicising prefix *con-* lost their functions: as a result *calesco* may now have the sense ‘I am hot’ rather than ‘I am warming up’ and *comedo*, which had the telic sense ‘I eat up’ in the classical period, now tends to replace the unprefix form *edo* in the sense ‘I eat (of something)’. When old kinds of word formation thus lost their functions, new words were created to replace the old ones, so that, for example, *senesco* and *inueterasco* were replaced by the intransitive *inuetero* in the sense ‘I grow old, am aging’. When previously non-dynamic unprefix perfect tense forms replace such prefixed forms and indicate change of state, there is a tendency to choose the imperfect rather than the perfect to describe a past situation; and the imperfect of other verbs as well now often replaces the perfect in indicating an overview of a past situation. There are also changes in the way in which tense relationships are indicated (e.g. in the use of the future perfect and the pluperfect, but also in indirect discourse) and in the modal functions of the tense forms. As a result of a very strong and conservative literary tradition, there are, however, considerable differences between different kinds of texts and sometimes also between texts written by the same author (Haverling 2010: 321–40, 394–405, 428–37, 476–99).

In some of the passages discussed above the subject of *habeo* is not identical with the agent of the participle (2a, 3, 4a, 23). In a substantial number of the examples from the later periods we find this lack of identity between subject and agent. There are striking instances from, for instance, Ulpian (41a), Augustine (42a) and Gregory of Tours (42b, 43; see Tăra 2014: 124, 192–3). Against the background of (41a) we must interpret (41b), where there might be an identity between the subject of *habeo* and the agent of the participle (cf. *ibid.* *militi licet plura testamenta facere* ‘the soldier is allowed to make several wills’), as resultative (cf. Adams 2013: 630–1, 637):

- (41) a) Ulp. *Dig.* 43.12.1.21–2: iubetur is, qui factum uel immissum habet, restituere quod habet ... Haec uerba ‘factum habes’ uel ‘immissum habes’ ostendunt non eum teneri, qui fecit uel immisit, sed qui factum immissum habet ‘but he who has something that has been done or introduced is ordered to make good what he has. The words “you have what has been done” or “you have what has been introduced” show that he is not liable who did or introduced something, but he who possesses what has been done or introduced’
- b) Ulp. *Dig.* 29.1.19 pr.: si miles qui habebat iam factum testamentum, aliud fecisset  
‘if a soldier who had a will already made, had made another’
- (42) a) Aug. *In psalm.* 76.4: sic habes scriptum in libro Iob  
‘you find it written thus in Job’s book’
- b) Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 6.15 p. 285 l. 7: Habemus scriptum in canonibus ... non posse quemquam ad episcopatum accedere, nisi ...  
‘we find it written in the regulations that no one can become a bishop unless ...’
- (43) Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 5.19 p. 226 l. 18: Thesaurum ... Narsitis reconditam habeo  
‘I have Narses’ hidden treasure’

The ambiguous status of the participle is of importance for the interpretation of some passages with *expressum* in Jerome. In (44a) Jerome is discussing the translation of St Paul’s letter to the Ephesians, which was not done by him but by another, and it is therefore clear that *habemus expressum* means ‘we find translated’. In (44b), however, it is not unlikely that Jerome is actually discussing his own translation (as he indeed frequently does), but he is probably not referring only to his own practice but also to that of other translators and therefore I do not think that we should translate ‘which we have not translated’ (Pinkster 2015: 479 ex. f) but ‘which we do not find translated’ (Thielmann 1885: 541; and Tăra 2014: 105). When he is clearly referring to his own work, Jerome uses the normal synthetic perfect form – both as a past tense form (45a) and as a perfect indicating current relevance (45b):

- (44) a) Hier. *In Eph.* 12.41: πρόθεσις, id est propositio quam nos genere neutrali propositum habemus expressam ...  
‘πρόθεσις, i.e. proposition which we find translated with the neutral form *propositum*’ (cf. Eph. 1.11)



- b) Hier. *Epist.* 26.1: Nuper ... quaesisti quid ea uerba quae ex hebraeo in latinum non habemus expressa, apud suos sonarent curque sine interpretatione sint posita, ut est illud: alleluia, amen ...

‘Recently you asked what the words which we do not find translated from Hebrew mean in their original language, for example the following: alleluia, amen ...’

- (45) a) Hier. *Adv. Rufin.* 1.7: in libris Περὶ Ἀρχῶν simpliciter quod in Graeco habebatur expressi, non ut crederet lector his quae interpretabar, sed ne crederet illis quae tu ante transtuleras

‘in the books Περὶ Ἀρχῶν I simply translated what there was in the Greek, not in order to make the reader believe in what I was translating, but in order to prevent him from believing in what you earlier had translated’

- b) Hier. *In Mich.* 2.6 l. 368: hucusque iuxta Hebraicum ... expressimus  
‘so far we have translated according to the Hebrew’

The sense of *habeo* is sometimes ‘regard, consider’ (5–7). There are more examples of this category from the later periods, e.g. *excusatum habere* ‘consider excused’ (46a–b; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 4.1.2 and Mart. 2.79.2), *perditum habeo* (47) and *exosas habebat* (48; see [Țâra 2014](#): 47, 124–6, 170–1):

- (46) a) Aug. *Serm.* 112 l. 25: habe me excusatum  
‘consider me as excused’

- b) Greg. M. *In evang.* 2.36.4: rogo te, habe me excusatum  
‘I ask you, consider me as excused’

- (47) Aug. *In psalm.* 38.12 l. 46: perditum habeo quod non uideo  
‘I consider that which I do not see as lost’

- (48) Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 6.46 p. 320 l. 9: causas pauperum exosas habebat  
‘he hated the cause of the poor people’

*Habere* often occurs with the perfect participle in the sense ‘keep’, ‘hold’ or ‘have in a certain state’ (8–11, 26–9). There are late such examples too, e.g. ‘keep hidden’ (49). This usage remains productive as well for instance in juridical texts (28a–b), but also in e.g. Augustine (50; see [Adams 2013](#): 619, 635–7; and [Țâra 2014](#): 122–3):

- (49) *Lex Visig.* 9.1.1: Si quis ... fugitium celatum habuerit ... si uero ... celauerit  
‘if someone has kept a run-away (slave) hidden ... if he has hidden’

- (50) Aug. *In evang. Ioh.* 39.3 l. 8: cor clausum habent quia clauim fidei non habent  
 ‘they have their hearts closed, because they do  
 not have the key of faith’

From early Latin onwards we find *habeo* with the perfect participle with verbs indicating physical (12–14, 29–30) or intellectual acquisition (15–16, 31–5). In the later periods we encounter such constructions in, among others, Lactantius (*cognitum: Inst.* 1.5.2), Ambrose (*compertum: Epist.* 7.52.1, 10.73.8) and Augustine (*compertum: C. acad.* 2.7, *Lib. arb.* 1.12; *cognitum: Conf.* 4.2, *Trin.* 10.1), and sometimes they occur with subordinate constructions (51):

- (51) Aug. *Lib. arb.* 1.12 l. 7: ita istuc dicis quasi liquido compertum habeas numquam nos fuisse sapientes  
 ‘you say so as if you knew for certain that we have  
 never been wise’

In Augustine we also find a number of examples of *teneo + cognitum* (*Lib. arb.* 2.2, *Epist.* 120.2, *Trin.* 4 proem., 13.1, *Anim.* 1.2.2).

Formulations like *experimentata habuimus* (52) and *probatum habeo* (53a; e.g. also Aug. *Quaest. Hept.* 1.143 and Greg. M. *Epist.* 2.50 l. 37) resemble the use of *exploratum habeo* and similar expressions in classical and post-classical Latin (31–3). What is new, however, is the use of *probatum* without agreement in (53b; cf. *Comp. Luc.* S 21–22), but a similar overlap between the singular and the plural of the neuter is known from other late Latin texts (e.g. Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: §232.C.b; and Adams 2013: 645):

- (52) Alex. Trall. 1.5: ea tantum tradimus, quae experimentata habuimus (ὧν πεῖραν ... εἴληφα)  
 ‘we only pass on those which we know well from experience’
- (53) a) Lucif. *Athan.* 1.29 l. 38: quem tu iam probatum habebas sacrilegum  
 ‘whom you already knew to be a heretic’

- b) Oribas. *Syn.* 7.48: haec omnia probatum habemus  
 ‘we have tested all this (τούτου πεῖραν εἴληφαμεν)’

*Audire* is a verb indicating perception, which occurs in the *habeo* + a perfect participle construction already in classical Latin (34). In late Latin there are more examples: in (54a) the resultative function is implied by the fact that a phrase with the Greek present participle is translated. In (54b) too, we are probably dealing with a resultative use. In the early medieval period, however, this phrase overlapped with the synthetic

perfect; this is indicated by the fact that a post-Carolingian author replaced it with the synthetic perfect (55a–b; see [Bourgain 2005](#): 164–5; and [T̃ara 2014](#): 48):

- (54) a) Vulg. Gal. 1.23: tantum autem auditum habebant ‘Qui persequebatur nos aliquando, nunc euangelizat fidem ...’  
 (μόνον δὲ ἀκούοντες ἦσαν ὅτι διώκων ἡμᾶς ποτε νῦν εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν πίστιν)  
 ‘they were just hearing that who was persecuting us is now preaching the faith’

- b) Aug. *In evang. Ioh.* 52.13: cum aliquid ueri auditum habetis, credite in ueritatem, ut renascamini in ueritate  
 ‘when you have heard (and thus know) something of truth, believe in the truth, so that you will be reborn in truth’

- (55) a) *Liber historiae Francorum* 41 (ca 730): ‘Mentitos uos! Delerare formidatis cum Chlothario uobiscum habere dicitis, quia nos eum mortuum auditum esse habemus’  
 ‘You are lying! You are so afraid that you are talking nonsense when you are saying that you have Chlotharius with you, because we have heard that he is dead’

- b) Adémar de Chabannes *Chron.* 1.40 (ninth century): ‘Mentitos uos! Deliratis cum Chlotharium uobiscum habere dicitis, quia nos eum mortuum audiuius’  
 ‘You are lying! You are talking nonsense when you are saying that you have Chlotharius with you, since we have heard that he is dead’

The fact that this category of verbs remains productive in the *habeo* + a perfect participle construction and the use of it in (55a) seems to confirm the view that it was of importance for the development towards the Romance perfect (e.g. [Vincent 1982](#): 84–5, and cf footnote 3 above).

Other examples are found with verbs meaning ‘to decide, make a decision’, such as *statuo* (56a; cf. ex. 39) and *delibero* (56b; cf. ex. 40) in Gregory of Tours:

- (56) a) Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 10.28 p. 512 l. 12: ‘Promissionem quam in nepotem meum Childebertum regem statutam habeo, non omitto’  
 ‘I do not give up the promise that I have made to king Childebert, my nephew’
- b) Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 7.22 p. 342.17: ‘Deliberatum’, inquit, ‘habui, ut si me rex ab hoc loco iuberit extrahi, ab una manu pallas altaris tenerem ...’ (*TLL*: “i.q. constitueram”)  
 ‘I had decided that if the king would order me to be torn away from this place, that I would take hold of the altar with one hand’

New formulations belonging to this sphere are *habuerit optatum* in a fourth-century commentary on Cicero (57) and *habeo destinatum* in Gregory of Tours (58), but in these cases too a resultative interpretation seems to be possible (on ex. 58 see [Adams 2013](#): 643 and [Țăra 2014](#): 184–6):

- (57) Schol. Cic. *Bob.* p. III l. 16 St.: ut libentius dicentem populus audiat plus populo consecutum quam apud ipsos deos immortales habuerit optatum  
 ‘so that the people more willingly would listen to him who had obtained more for the people than it had wished for (had had in their dreams) from the immortal gods’
- (58) Greg. Tur. *Vit. patr.* 6.3: ‘tunc etiam Aprunculus Treuerorum episcopus transiit; congregatique clerici ciuitatis illius, ad Theodoricum regem sanctum Gallum petebant episcopum. Quibus ille ait: ‘abscedite et alium requerite; Gallum enim diaconum alibi habeo destinatum’  
 ‘then also Aprunculus bishop of the Treviri passed away. The clerics of that city gathered, and before Theoderic the king they asked for the holy man Gallus as bishop. The king said to them: “Go away and look for someone else. I already have him appointed as deacon elsewhere”’

The use of the participle is predicative also in the famous formulation *inuitatum habes* (59). In this case we may, however, be dealing with another

example in which the subject of *habeo* is not identical with the agent of the participle (Adams 2013: 642–3; and Pinkster 2015: 479), but even if there is such an identity it is still not clear that *inuitatum habes* actually indicates current relevance and not resultativity (Fruyt 2011: 797; and Tăra 2014: 182–4):

- (59) Greg. Tur. *Vit. patr.* 3.1: Ecce episcopum cum duce et ciuibus inuitatum habes, et uix nobis supersunt quattuor uini amphorae ...  
 ‘Look, you have the bishop, together with the duke and the citizens, as an invited guest and there are scarcely four jars of wine left’

Another disputed case is *initus* attested in Augustine (60a), where the expression *habent ... cum daemonibus initam societatem* has been interpreted as ‘they have made an alliance with demons’ (Pinkster 2015: 479–480, ex.g), but also as ‘they have an alliance with the demons’ (Adams 2013: 630). There is a similar expression in Gregory of Tours (60b; see Tăra 2014: 199). However, the participle *initus* sometimes occurs in a predicative function with nouns like *societas* (e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 13.36, Claud. Don. *Aen.* 1 p. 141 l. 12) and *foedus* (60c) and I therefore believe that we should regard the participles as predicative in (60a–b) too:

- (60) a) Aug. *Doctr. christ.* 2.58: si habent etiam cum daemonibus initam societatem  
 ‘if they have an alliance made with the demons’  
 b) Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 5.25 p. 231 l. 12: Scis enim, quod foedus inter nos initum habemus ...  
 ‘because you know that we have an alliance made between us’  
 c) Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 4.40 p. 173 l. 3: si foedus initum cum eo custodiat intactum  
 ‘if you are keeping intact the pact which you have made with him’

A somewhat different but still ambiguous case is (61a), where it is unclear whether *promissum* is a participle or a noun; but in an eighth-century passage (61b) the status of *promissum* as a participle is made clear by the presence of the adverbial *sub iure iurando* (Adams 2013: 643–4; and Tăra 2014: 196):

- (61) a) Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 9.16 p. 431.10: Promissum enim habemus de maioribus causis nihil sine eius consilio agree  
 ‘we have promised to carry out no major business without his advice’

- b) *Annales regni Francorum* p. 76 (AD 787): quod sub iure iurando promissum habebat  
 'which they had promised under oath'

Many of the expressions with *habeo* and the perfect participle met with in early and classical Latin continue in post-classical and late Latin. Of particular interest are the expressions involving intellectual acquisition or activity and the new expressions occurring in this construction (50–4): there we find a usage which may have paved the way for a gradual weakening of the resultative function. There seems, however, to be little foundation for the belief that the construction as a whole was sociolinguistically significant: for instance Chiron uses *habeo* + the perfect participle in the traditional way and in a manner similar to that of contemporary literary authors (Adams 2013: 628–9, 641). It should, furthermore, be emphasised that the participle in these cases is always the participle of a transitive verb and that the earliest undisputable examples of *habeo* + perfect participle replacing the synthetic perfect (55a, 61b) are about 150–200 years later than Gregory of Tours.

## 5. Conclusions

We find *habeo* combined with the perfect participle in a number of somewhat different constructions from early to late Latin and only some of them have the resultative function which may eventually have paved the way for the creation of the Romance compound perfects. Of particular interest are the expressions indicating material or intellectual acquisition, such as *parta habemus* (13), *compertum habeo* (32b) and *auditum habetis* (54b). There is no evidence to indicate that the analytic perfect replaced the synthetic perfect before the end of the sixth century, but this does not mean that there was no change in the use of the constructions with *habeo* + the perfect participle. In early Latin, there was a tendency to underline resultativity in a way which was not done in later Latin, for instance with *uolo* (19) and with causative verbs (21): some of the phenomena met with in the earliest texts (e.g. in 11) should be seen against that background. In classical Latin there is a considerable increase in the resultative use of expressions like *compertum habeo* and *cognitum habeo* and in late Latin a growing number of verbs occur with *habeo*, a fact which indicates that a gradual change was going on.

There is, in other words, no particular connection between early and late Latin in this case, since the development seems to be a steady, gradual and rather slow one. However, more work has to be done on the texts

from the later post-classical and early late Latin periods in order to determine whether the development ceased during that period or whether there was just not much change during that period.

A look at the development of similar constructions in Greek does not confirm the suggestion that the development in Latin was the result of Greek influence, but rather suggests that Latin in this particular case influenced Greek and that the similar tendencies of evolution in Latin and Greek were due to both internal and external circumstances (e.g. Horrocks 1997: 78, 309, 273). The modern 'have'-perfects in Romance and in Greek remain structurally different, which indicates that internal factors played an essential role in the development in both languages (e.g. Bruno 2012).

Language change occurs in several stages. First there is a clear-cut semantic difference between two expressions; then there is sometimes an overlap between them and eventually a re-analysis of one of them. In the final stage a new linguistic situation is created, where either one of the two expressions disappears (as e.g. *conticui* when the opposition between *tacui* and *conticui* was blurred) or a new semantic opposition is established (as when *habeo* + the perfect participle indicated current relevance and the old perfect indicated past tense in Romance).

The fact that a formerly non-dynamic synthetic perfect tense form like *tacui* acquires an ingressive function in late Latin is connected to the fact that the old synthetic perfect became a past tense form which no longer indicated current relevance in some Romance languages (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 68–9). This did not, however, happen as early as in sixth-century Latin and this new stage of grammaticalisation was therefore not reached. The problem in many of the relevant passages concerns where the borderline between resultativity and current relevance should be drawn in a language which has no living native speakers. It is, however, clear that Latin did express resultativity throughout its history and that there were some changes in the way in which this was done from early to late Latin. What we can observe is a gradual weakening of the resultative function of *habeo* + the perfect participle. It is quite possible that there was an occasional overlap with the synthetic perfect already in the fifth and sixth centuries, and this despite the fact that *habeo* + the perfect participle was still frequent in other functions as well, for instance when there was no identity between subject and agent. There is, however, no undisputable proof of this before the eighth century.

*Expressions of time in early and late Latin:  
the case of temporal habet*

*Stelios Panayotakis*

The present chapter discusses constructions of the impersonal late Latin verb *habet* indicating aspects of time; my focus will be on the construction that involves the third person singular form of *habere* with existential rather than possessive meaning, a numeral + noun denoting time in the accusative case, and (sometimes) a temporal clause that is introduced by the prepositional phrase *ex quo* (or *quod*) in the sense of ‘since’. In this construction the form *habet*, used impersonally, is commonly regarded as a forerunner of the Romance *il y a* (e.g. Henry 1968: 10). My analysis takes into account both evidence concerning the use of personal forms of *habere* and *esse* in expressions of time, and the possible influence of Greek on such expressions. The examination of three late Latin examples of impersonal temporal *habet* (occurring in the Latin *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, in Rufinus, and in the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*) indicates language contact as well as innovation, and the constructions express either the duration of an action (‘for’, *il y a ... que*) or the time elapsed since a completed event (‘ago’, *il y a*). Temporal constructions in Plautus (*annos est quom*) that share features with the late Latin temporal *habet* construction are a useful tool for identifying patterns of continuity and change between early and late Latin with regard to expressions of time. However, Plautine and late Latin usage present parallel rather than continuous linguistic phenomena, and the former usage does not explain satisfactorily the origin and the development of the latter.

### 1. Impersonal *habet* constructions

Impersonal *habet* constructions meaning ‘there is, there are’ are securely attested in late Latin (*TLL* 6.2461.78–2462.11; Hofmann and Szantyr

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1972: 416–17; Storz 1998: 411, 2000: 147), and their structure resembles linguistic constructions attested not only in several Romance languages (including Spanish, Portuguese, French, Sardinian and some Italo-Romance dialects), but also in Modern Greek and in Albanian (Bauer 1999, 2000: 124–6; in addition, see Luque Moreno 1978; Díez Itza and Pérez Toral 1991; Cennamo 2011; Meulleman 2012; Bentley and Ciconte 2016). Fruyt argues that ‘[t]his use of *habet* is a case of grammaticalisation, since it shows morphological freezing, syntactic reduction of autonomy, and semantic weakening’ (2011: 787). Bauer (1999: 593–601) usefully classifies under different categories the evidence for the constructions involving impersonal *habet* + accusative, drawing from a large corpus of late Latin works, including the *Historia Augusta*, Jerome’s *Letters* and theological treatises, Apicius, Anthimus, the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*, the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* and Theodosius’ *De situ terrae sanctae*. The categories include:

- (1) *habet* constructions conveying the meaning ‘there is’ (e.g. *Hist. Aug. Tac.* 8.1 *habet in bibliotheca ... librum elephantinum*)
- (2) impersonal *habet* conveying measures and distances (e.g. *Peregr. Aeth.* 1.2 *habebat ... de eo loco ad montem ... quattuor milia*)
- (3) temporal *habet* constructions (*Hist. Apoll.* 31 *habet annos XIII*)
- (4) *habetur* constructions (e.g. *CIL* 6.29907 *hic abetur reliquias martiris Bincenti*) (for passive-voice verbs with an object in the accusative case see Adams 2013: 239–45).

The *terminus post quem* for the emergence and the development of this phenomenon has been challenged. Baldi and Nuti (2010: 275) point to a passage from Cato (*Agr.* 80.1), in which the form *habeat* has an existential function and is probably used impersonally. Rosén (1970: 144–7 = 1982: 263–6) discusses three passages from Varro (*L.* 10.19, 10.43 and 5.33), which, he argues, would best be understood as examples of impersonal transitive *habet*. The same function of *habere* is identified in several passages in Petronius (29.9, 33.2, 45.3, 77.4) by Rosén (1992: 111–12) and Deroux (2003, 2004); cf. Schmeling (2011: 101, 117).

Bassols de Climent (1948: 220–2) explains the impersonal *habet* construction with reference to a twofold process: the contamination of phrases expressing possession and existence, and the substitution of an animate subject by an inanimate one. Thus, he argues, the ‘possessive’ phrase *dominus habet multum uinum* develops into the ‘existential’ *domus habet multum uinum*, which is almost synonymous with *domi est multum uinum*, and results in *domi* (or *hic*) *habet multum uinum*. Pérez Toral

describes the development of temporal *habet* expressions in a similar fashion: from *sunt iam duo menses* to *\*tempus habet duo menses* to *\*habet duo menses* (Díez Itza and Pérez Toral 1991: 43–50, esp. 47–8). Baldi and Nuti underline the importance of generic place names (e.g. *locus*, *ciuitas*) as subjects with *habere* expressing a part–whole relation; when these are omitted, occurrences of *habere* ‘could be successively reanalyzed as purely presentative-existential forms’ (Baldi and Nuti 2010: 277; see also Stengaard 2008: 115–16 and 2013: 217–18). Luque Moreno (1978: 135–46) points out that the employment of the ‘possessive’ *habere* in the sense of an ‘existential’ *esse* is not confined to impersonal constructions, but also occurs with the passive *habetur* and with the construction involving (*se*) *habere* + adverbs denoting state; in his view, the impersonal *habet* construction should be studied within the broader context of personal verbs used impersonally in late Latin. The role of Greek in the genesis of the impersonal use of verbs expressing possibility (*est*, *ualet*, *capit*), obligation (*cogit*, *debet*) or common action (*continet*, *dicit*, *habet*, *facit*) is highlighted by García-Hernández (1992; cf. 2005 [non vidi]). By contrast, in her analysis of the impersonal *habet* phenomenon Bauer (1999) argues that these constructions should not be viewed as a mere borrowing from Greek, but as an advanced stage in a long-lasting development of changes that affected impersonal verbs in Latin and in Indo-European languages in general, as well as *habere* and *esse* in particular.

My discussion builds on Bauer’s theoretical analysis and aims at providing new evidence for subtype (3) of her classification of impersonal *habet* constructions. I will first provide an overview of Greek and Latin expressions of time involving forms of the verbs ‘to be’ and ‘to have’ (Section 2), and then I will discuss temporal constructions in late and early Latin (Sections 3 and 4).

## 2. ‘To be’ and ‘to have’ in Greek and Latin expressions of time

### 2.1. ἔτος (μοι) ἔστί / ἔτος ἔχω + ἐξ οὗ, ἀφ’ οὗ, ἀφ’ ἧς

Expressions of ‘time from which’ are attested in Greek literature as early as Homer, and often involve temporal clauses that are introduced by ἐξ οὗ, ἀφ’ οὗ, ἀφ’ ἧς (Schwyzer 1950: 653) and a form of the verb ‘to be’ + a noun denoting time as subject: e.g. *Od.* 2.89–90 ἤδη γὰρ τρίτον ἐστὶν ἔτος ..., / ἐξ οὗ ἀτέμβει θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν; Herodotus 2.44 εἶναι δὲ ἔτεα ἀπ’ οὗ Τύρον οἰκέουσι, τριηκόσια καὶ δισχιλία; [Demosthenes] 49.67

οὕτω τοίνυν πολὺς χρόνος ἐστὶν ἐξ οὗτου ... πάλιν διωμόσατο; *Hom. Clem.* 12.10.4 ἤδη λοιπὸν ἔκτοτε εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐστίν, ἀφ' ἧς οὐδεμίαν τινὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀλήθειαν ἤκουσα. A dative of person is found with the verb 'to be' already from the earliest examples: e.g. *Il.* 24.765–6 ἤδη γὰρ νῦν μοι τόδε εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐστίν / ἐξ οὗ κείθεν ἔβην; *Od.* 24.309–10 αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεῖϊ τόδε δὴ πέμπτον ἔτος ἐστίν, / ἐξ οὗ κείθεν ἔβη; *Lysias* 11.1 ἔτη γὰρ ἐστί μοι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐξ οὗ δ' ὑμεῖς κατήλθετε; *Acts* 24.11 οὐ πλείους εἰσὶν μοι ἡμέραι δώδεκα ἀφ' ἧς ἀνέβην προσκυνήσω. The dative in this context is classified as a dative of the person concerned rather than the possessor (for the latter see [Kulneff-Eriksson 1999](#)), and is often complemented with a participle in the dative case, which may substitute the temporal clause (e.g. *Il.* 24.413–4 δυωδεκάτῃ δὲ οἱ ἡὼς / κειμένῳ). See [Kühner and Gerth 1898](#): 424–5; [Schwyzer 1950](#): 152–3; [Aerts 1965](#): 165.

On the other hand, in late (mainly Christian) Greek literature and in papyri, personal forms of the verb 'to have' are attested in the same verbal context; specifically, ἔχω χρόνον, ἔχω ἔτος, etc. = 'have spent time, etc.' (Lampe s.v. ἔχω A 2; LSJ Suppl. s.v. ἔχω B IV 1); πολὺν χρόνον ἔχω = 'be for a long time' ([Bauer 1988](#), s.v. ἔχω I f). The phrases involving the verb 'to have' + accus. of noun denoting time are qualified by one of the following constructions: a present (or, rarely, aorist) participle (e.g. *M. Polyc.* 9.3 ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἔξ ἔτη ἔχω δουλεύων αὐτῷ; *Alciphro* 3.32 πιὼν ... τρίτην ταύτην ἡμέραν ἔχω; *Ant. Mon. Hom.* 84 οὐκ ἔχει τρία ἔτη ... τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπορρήξας), or a temporal clause that is introduced by ἐξ οὗ (e.g. *Chrys. Vid.* 2 ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα γεγονυῖα εἴκοσιν ἔχει λοιπὸν ἐξ οὗ τὸν πατέρα ἀπέβαλε τὸν ἐμόν; *Pall. H. Laus.* 18.28 ἐξηκοστὸν ἔχων ἔτος ἐξ οὗ ἐβαπτίσθη), ἐξ ὅτε (*P.Oxy.* 16.1862.16–8 (seventh century) ἐν / ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰδοὺ τέσσαρες μῆνας ἔχει / ἐξ ὅτε ἀπέθανεν), or ἀφ' οὗ (e.g. *Philogelos* 201 ὁ πατήρ μου δέκατον ἔτος ἔχει ἀφ' οὗ ἀπέθανεν; *Eus. Al. Serm.* 4 πόσον χρόνον ἔχει ἀφ' οὗ ἀσθενεῖ; *P.Oxy.* 56.3867.2 (sixth century) πολλὰς ... ἡμέρας ἔχω ἀφ' οὗ κατέληφα τὴν Ἡρακλέους; *Schol. in E. Hec.* 32 p. 228.21 *Dindorf* τριταῖος ... ἢ τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔχω ἀφ' οὗ πάρεμι); see also [Aerts \(1965: 164–6\)](#); [Kortekaas \(1984: III–12\)](#); [Clackson \(2000: 243\)](#). In these constructions the subject of the verb 'to have' normally refers to a person; for an exception in a late Greek anonymous epigram, in which the subject of (ἡμέρας) ἔχει is implied from the context and refers to a personified object (the moon), see *App. Anth. Epigr. dem.* 183.1–4 Ἐνθεν σελήνης ἀφθίτου καθημέραν / θεῖος δρόμος τάχιστος ἐξιχνεύεται, / ἐπὰν μετρήσης ἡμέρας ὅσας ἔχει, / ἀφ' οὗ προσῆλθεν ἡλίῳ παμφαεῖ. Another example of an inanimate subject (a letter of reminding) of (ἡμέρας) ἔχει from Byzantine hagiography is cited in [section 2.3](#).

Like ἔχω, the verb ἄγω can denote the lapse of time (LSJ s.v. IV 4 ‘pass’). An intriguing passage from the New Testament that refers to Jesus’ last days deserves special mention: Luke 24.21 ἀλλὰ γε καὶ σὺν πᾶσιν τούτοις τρίτην ταύτην ἡμέραν ἄγει ἄφ’ οὗ ταῦτα ἐγένετο. Here the subject of ἄγει is not clear; Bauer (1988, s.v. ἄγω 4) considers taking ἄγει impersonally (‘this is the third day’), but prefers to supply Ἰησοῦς as subject (‘Jesus is spending the third day’), because the impersonal use of ἄγει is exceptional, while personal constructions of the same verb are more common (e.g. Gal. XI p. 65 Kühn πόστην ἄγει τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ νοσεῖν ἡμέραν ὁ ἄνθρωπος); see also Blass, Debrunner and Rehkopf 2001: 107. However, the evidence from the Latin versions of the Bible favours an intransitive or passive interpretation of the form ἄγει: the Vetus Latina versions have *tertia dies est hodie, quod* and *tertius dies agitur hodie, ex quo* (Itala), and *tertium diem agit hodie, ex quo* (Afra) (Jülicher, Matzkow, Aland 1976: 274); the Vulgate reads *tertia dies hodie quod haec facta sunt*. A similar problem involving the construction *habet annos ex quo* will be discussed in section 3.2.

## 2.2. Annus est / annos habeo + ex quo

Forms of *esse* (or an intransitive verb, e.g. *fugio*) with a noun denoting time as subject, and a temporal clause indicating ‘from the time that’ or ‘during which time’, are attested from early Latin onwards (Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: 624; Heberlein 2011: 352–3); the conjunctions used for the introduction of the temporal clause include *postquam* (e.g. Pl. *Men.* 234 *hic annus sextus est postquam ei rei operam damus*; OLD s.v. *postquam* 2), *ut* (e.g. Pl. *St.* 29–30 *nam uiri nostri domo ut abierunt, / hic tertius est annus*; OLD s.v. *ut* 27), *cum* (e.g. Cic. *Off.* 2.75 *nondum centum et decem anni sunt, cum ... lata lex est*; *Orat.* 171 *iam anni prope quadrigenti sunt cum hoc probatur*; OLD s.v. *cum*<sup>2</sup> 1b, c), *quod* (e.g. Plin. *Ep.* 4.27.1 *tertius dies est quod audiui recitantem Sentium*; OLD s.v. *quod* 3), and *ex quo* (e.g. Hor. *S.* 2.6.40–1 *septimus ... iam fugerit annus, / ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum / in numero*; TLL 5.2.1090.83–1091.2; Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: 266–7; Heberlein 2011: 272–3), while *a quo* exceptionally and regularly occurs in the late Latin *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (12.7; 17.1; 46.3; Väänänen 1987: 119). Passive forms of the verb *agere* followed by an *ex quo*-clause function in a similar manner: e.g. Liv. 42.52.1 *sextus et uicesimus annus agebatur, ex quo ... data pax erat*; Tac. *Hist.* 1.29; Vict. Vit. 1.1; *Vitae patr.* 8.85. For other expressions involving the noun *tempus* and an *ex quo*-clause see e.g. [Quint.] *Decl.* 12.18 *tantum iam temporis transiit, ex quo pecuniam contulimus*.

The temporal *ex quo*-clause with forms of *esse* occurs first in the Younger Seneca (*Apoc.* 3.1 *annus sexagesimus et quartus est, ex quo cum anima lucatur*, sc. *Claudius*; *Nat.* 7.25.3 *nondum sunt anni mille quingenti ex quo Graecia ... fecit*), and recurs in Curtius Rufus (6.7.25; 10.6.9; 10.10.9), Tacitus (*Ag.* 33.2; *Ann.* 14.53.4), Martial (6.7.1), and biblical Latin (*Vulg.* Josh 14.10; Luke 13.7; Acts 24.11). Likewise, it is in the Younger Seneca that we find for the first time the verb *habere* with an *ex quo*-clause; the whole construction expresses duration of time: *Ep.* 76.1 *quintum iam diem habeo, ex quo in scholam eo* (*TLL* 6.2405.70). However, the original element in Seneca's usage lies in the verbal context rather than in the 'existential' meaning of the verb, since *habere* already from early Latin has been used in the sense of 'to pass, live (one's life or part of it)' (*OLD* s.v. *habeo* 19c). Moreover, active forms of *habere* are used to express a whole-part relation of time (*Var. R.* 1.28.1 *ut uer dies habeat XCI*; *Ov. Ars* 3.364 *quot menses lubricus annus habet*; *Plin. Nat.* 6.215 *longissimus dies habet aequinoctiales horas XIII*), while passive forms of the same verb can convey temporal distance (*Col.* 9.14.1 *ab aequinoctio primo ... ad ortum uergiliarum dies uerni temporis habentur duodequinquaginta*; 11.2.6 *quod habetur tempus inter brumam et aduentum Fauonii*).

The expression introduced by the Younger Seneca reappears in late Latin (fifth century onwards) and is often found in texts that depend upon Greek models: *Aug. Serm.* 176.3 *primus est iste* (sc. *aduocatus*), *non quia plures annos habet, ex quo causas agit, sed quia ex quo coepit, ceteros superauit*; *Pass. Claud. Ast.* 5.5 *in hodiernum diem XXIII annos habeo, ex quo sum uidua*; *Cassiod. Hist.* 8.1.3 *Isidorus dicebat quadragesimum se annum habere, ex quo sentiret ... mente peccatum* (= *Socr. H. E.* 4.23.21 Ἰσίδωρος ἔλεγεν τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος ἔχειν, ἀφ' οὗ αἰσθάνεσθαι ... τῆς κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀμαρτίας); *Vitae patr.* 5.16.14 *dies habeo ex quo uolo eis praecipere* (= *Apophth. patr.* 16.23 ἔχω ἡμέρας θέλων παραγγεῖλαι αὐτοῖς); *Pall. Hist. mon.* 1.6 (*uxor mea*) *habet ... hodie tertiam diem ex quo nullum penitus cibum sumit* (= *Pall. H. Laus.* 17.8 σήμερον τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔχει μὴ γευσσάμενη τινός); *Passio Pantaleonis*, II p. 348.11–2 *Mombritius quae* (sc. *mater*) *iam tempus habet ex quo defuncta est* (= ἥτις χρόνον ἔχει τελευτήσασα). Active forms of the verb *ago* found in literature translated from the Greek correspond to forms of the Greek ἔχω and describe durative event: *Pall. Hist. mon.* 1.24 *uigesimum et quintum annum ago, ex quo numquam ex hoc loco egredior* (= *Pall. H. Laus.* 37.14 εἰκοστὸν πέμπτον ἔτος ἔχω καὶ οὐ προῆλθον).

Instead of the *ex quo*-clause, the *habeo* + accusative of time construction can also be complemented either by a temporal *quod*-clause (*Vitae*

*patr.* 5.4.39 *crede, quia ecce triginta annos habeo, quod non deprecor Deum propter peccatum* = *Apophth. patr.* 4.47 ἰδοὺ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἔχω μηκέτι δεόμενος τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ ἀμαρτίας; see [Salonius 1920: 345](#)), or a present participle (*Pall. Hist. mon.* 2.9 *uxor mea ... hodie habet tertium diem, non gustans quidquam*; compare *ibid.* 1.6, cited above). For other examples of *habeo* + accusative of time + participle see *Vitae patr.* 5.7.44; 5.14.7; 5.16.9; their Greek background is mentioned in [section 2.1](#). Here too probably belongs a passage from biblical Latin, in which *multum tempus* occurs with a form of *habere* that lacks a subject: *Vulg. John 5.5–6* *Erat autem quidam homo ibi triginta et octo annos habens in infirmitate sua. Hunc cum uidisset Iesus iacentem, et cognouisset quia multum iam tempus habet, dicit ei “Vis sanus fieri?”* = ἦν δέ τις ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖ τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ ἔτη ἔχων ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ αὐτοῦ· τοῦτον ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς κατακείμενον καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἔχει, λέγει αὐτῷ· “θέλεις ὑγιὲς γενέσθαι;”. *Multum iam tempus habet* is interpreted impersonally by [García-Hernández \(1992: 165\)](#); it is rather a personal form (*habet* sc. *iacens* or *in infirmitate sua*) that rephrases the preceding words, *triginta et octo annos habens in infirmitate sua* (τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ ἔτη ἔχων ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ αὐτοῦ). Cf. *Vetus Latina iam multum tempus fecisset in languore* ([Jülicher, Matzkow, Aland 1963: 42](#)).

The evidence presented above suggests influence from Greek (ἔχω) in the late Latin development of the temporal constructions involving personal forms of ‘existential’ *habere*; however, the influence is limited: a temporal (*ex quo, quod*) clause, which is familiar in temporal constructions with *esse* and *habere* from classical Latin, is often used instead of the participial construction found in the Greek original.

### 2.3. *Alternation of ‘to be’ and ‘to have’ in temporal constructions*

It has been argued above that temporal constructions involving personal forms of ‘to have’ established themselves rather late in both Greek and Latin literatures and then functioned as equivalents to or alternatives of the temporal constructions involving ‘to be’. For example, John Chrysostom uses ἔτος ἔστι ἐξ οὗ, ἔτος ἔχω ἐξ οὗ, and ἔτη ἔχω with present participle, all in close proximity (*Stag.* 3.12). As we will see below, the *Historia Apollonii* rec. A expresses temporal distance by means of both *habet annos ex quo* (31) and *anni sunt ex quo* (32), a practice that can also be found, with impersonal locative *habet*, in the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini* 25.3 rec. A *inter sepulcra habet ... gressus XX* and rec. B *infra*



*sepulchra sunt gressus XXVI*. According to Bauer (1999: 601–4), who considers the relation between *habere* and *esse* as the vital issue in the interpretation of impersonal *habet* constructions, alternations of this type reflect a linguistic reality: in the common language, she argues, impersonal locative *habet* ‘there is’ came to replace locative *est*.

Further research on individual Greek and Latin authors is necessary to identify the relationship between ‘to be’ and ‘to have’ in expressions of time. Here I would like to draw attention to the function of these verbs in direct discourse dialogues (cf. the remarks by Baldi and Nuti 2010: 287–91 on possession expressed by *mihi est* and *habeo* in Plautine dialogues). The three examples cited here derive from hagiography, namely the Latin version of the *Life of Pachomius* (*Vitae patr.* 1.43.15 *quantum temporis habes, ex quo non coxisti fratribus olera uel legumina? – sunt fere duo menses*), the *Life of St Nicholas the Sionite* (*V. Nicol. Sion.* 33 Πόσα ἔτη ἔχεις μὴ βλέπων; – Εἰσὶν ἔτη τρία, ἀφ’ οὗ τὸν ἥλιον οὐκ εἶδον) and the *Life and Miracles of St Nicholas of Myra*, specifically the account of the miracle related to taxes (*Praxis de tributo* rec. 1.17 τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἤδη ἔχει τὸ κομμονιτώριον ὑμῶν, ἀφ’ ἧς ἡμέρας ἔφθασεν ἐν τῇ πόλει – οὐχὶ τρεῖς ἡμέραι εἰσὶν, ἀφ’ ἧς ἐγράψαμεν αὐτό). The verbs ‘to have’ and ‘to be’ may not be used at random; in all three passages the verb ‘to have’ comes first and introduces an argument by means of a question or a statement, whereas the verb ‘to be’ follows and specifies or corrects the previous statement. Furthermore, the question form twice involves ‘to have’ rather than ‘to be’; this is important for the development of the impersonal construction of the existential ‘to have’, especially in contexts in which the subject of the verb is omitted in the direct discourse, although it is mentioned outside the dialogue; see Eus. Al. *Serm.* 4 εἶδεν ... τινὰ ἀνθρώπον ἐπὶ κλίνης κατακείμενον ... ἐρώτησε τοὺς παρεστῶτας ...: πόσον χρόνον ἔχει ἀφ’ οὗ ἄσθενεῖ; – τρία ἔτη καὶ μῆνας ἕξ.

#### 2.4. Word order

In the passages cited in sections 2.2 and 2.3 the temporal clause always follows existential personal *habere* + indication of time. This strict pattern in word order does not apply to constructions involving temporal clauses and *esse* + indication of time. Although the rule is ‘it is *x*-years ... since’, there are examples of the reverse word order; see Vell. 1.7.4 *cum sint a Capua capta anni ducenti et quadraginta, ut condita est, anni sunt fere quingenti*; Mart. 6.7.1–3 *Iulia lex populis ex quo, Faustine, renata est | ... | aut minus aut certe non plus tricesima lux est*; Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* 2.14.4 *quod*

*autem haec ab illo audiuiimus, annus octauus est; Paschas. Verba patr. 7.19.3 ex quo autem pariter sumus, quintus decimus annus est.* For other examples that involve a longer sequence with a developed argument see section 3.2.

### 3. Impersonal temporal *habet* constructions in late Latin

#### 3.1. Late Latin literature translated from Greek

The earliest examples of impersonal temporal *habet* constructions derive from late Latin (Christian) literature translated from Greek and have not been included in the TLL s.v. *habeo* (Panayotakis 2012: 387). These are:

- (a) *Pass. Theclae* 23 Ba p. 62 Gebhardt (*Paulus*) *flet enim tui causa atque ieiunans orat, dies habet iam sex* = στενάζει γὰρ περὶ σοῦ καὶ προσεύχεται καὶ νηστεύει ἡμέρας ἤδη ἕξ. At least four independent Latin versions of the Greek *Acts of Paul and Thecla* were circulating in Italy by the fourth century (Rordorf 1984), and in the passage under discussion they differ: cf. *Pass. Theclae* 23 Bb p. 62 G *dies iam habens sex*; Bc p. 62 G *dies habens iam sex*; Cc p. 63 G *iam dies sex*; in other words, here temporal duration is expressed either by impersonal *habet* + accusative, or by the present participle *habens* + accusative, or by a plain accusative.
- (b) *Rufin. Hist.* 5.17.4 *quartum decimum etenim iam paene habet annum, ex quo defuncta est Maximilla*. Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* was produced at the beginning of the fifth century, and the specific passage is included in a quotation from a treatise against Montanism: *Si enim post Quadratum et Ammiam Filadelfinam, ut aiunt, mulieres istae Montani successerunt in propheticam gratiam et, sicut confirmabant, uniuersae ecclesiae datae sunt ad prophetandum usque ad aduentum domini, decipitur eorum confirmatio. quartum decimum etenim iam paene habet annum, ex quo defuncta est Maximilla* = Εἰ γὰρ μετὰ Κοδράτον καὶ τὴν ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ Ἀμμίαν, ὥς φασιν, αἱ περὶ Μοντανὸν διεδέξαντο γυναῖκες τὸ προφητικὸν χάρισμα, τοὺς ἀπὸ Μοντανοῦ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τίνες παρ' αὐτοῖς διεδέξαντο, δειξάτωσαν· δεῖν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ προφητικὸν χάρισμα ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μέχρι τῆς τελείας παρουσίας ὁ ἀπόστολος ἄξιόι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν δεῖξαι τεσσαρεσκαίδέκατον ἤδη πού τοῦτο ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς Μαξιμίλλης τελευτῆς.

Rufinus reorganises the Greek text; the last sentence of the passage that contains the impersonal *habet* construction corresponds to a Greek



accusative of time followed by a prepositional construction. Accordingly, there have been suggestions for emendation of the Greek text; Wendland proposes printing a full stop after δεῖξαι and inserting καίτοι immediately afterwards, while Harnack suggests adding ἔχει on the basis of the passage from Rufinus; the text would then be as follows: οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν δεῖξαι. <καίτοι> τεσσαρεσκαίδέκατον ἤδη που τοῦτο ἔτος <ἔχει> ἀπὸ τῆς Μαξιμίλλης τελευτῆς (Harnack 1903: 206). Neither of these suggestions is necessary; for ordinal number + accusative of time + demonstrative pronoun indicating temporal distance see e.g. Lysias 24.6 τὴν δὲ μητέραν τελευτήσασαν πέπαυμαι τρέφων τρίτον ἔτος τουτί (Kühner and Gerth 1898: 314; Schwyzler 1950: 69; George 2014: 182–3).

Both of the late Latin passages discussed in this section occur in translated literature, but the use of *habet* can hardly be regarded as a lexical Grecism, because *habet* + accusative corresponds to a plain accusative of time without any forms of ἔχω. On the other hand, there are two sub-types of this construction, namely *habet* + accusative expressing duration and *habet* + accusative + *ex quo* expressing temporal distance (cf. Howe and Ranson 2010: 45–6, and the distinction between *Il est venu il y a deux heures* and *Il y a deux heures qu'il travaille* in Henry 1968: 9), with individual stylistic features attaching to each of them: the word order in the construction and the numeral qualifying the noun in the accusative case do not follow a single pattern (*dies habet ... sex* vs. *quartum decimum ... habet annum*). The diversity may partly be accounted for with reference to the Greek original, but at the same time reveals that there is no underlying concept of a fixed sequence in this type of expression.

### 3.2. *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*

The passage from the late Latin *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* (*ex quo hinc profectus est, habet annos XIII*) is cited by all modern studies on the topic of impersonal *habere* constructions as a clear and, sometimes, unique example of this type, although it is neither. The earliest versions of the *Hist. Apoll.* are in Latin and date to the late fifth or early sixth century, but there is a long controversy as to whether or not they ultimately derive from a lost original of the third century, which may have been written in Greek (Kortekaas 2004; Garbugino 2004).

The passage that contains the temporal *habet* construction should first be placed in its verbal and narrative context: Dionysia, a wicked foster-mother to Apollonius' daughter Tarsia, envies the beauty and wealth of

her stepdaughter, and in a monologue decides to get rid of her. The Latin text is cited in the two principal versions, recs. A and B:

Rec. A 31 *Pater eius Apollonius ex quo hinc profectus est, habet annos XIII, et nunquam uenit ad suam recipiendum filiam nec nobis misit litteras;*

Rec. B 31 *Pater eius ex quo profectus est, habet annos XV et non uenit ad recipiendam filiam.*

Dionysia confesses her murderous plans to her husband in chapter 32; she repeats parts of her monologue, but rephrases her expression of temporal distance:

Rec. A 32 *Ecce, iam anni sunt plus XIII, ex quo nobis suus pater commendauit Tharsiam, et numquam salutaris nobis misit litteras.*

There is no corresponding passage in rec. B, because in that version the episode of the attempt of the evil Dionysia to involve her husband in the murder of the young Tarsia is entirely omitted.

Riese, who edited the *Hist. Apoll.* in the Teubner series twice (in 1871 and in 1893), was the first to explain *habet* in rec. A 31 as an impersonal verb (*il y a*), connecting it to what he defined as *Gallorum usus* in the late Latin text (1871: XV; Garbugino 2004: 106–7); he did not print a comma before *ex quo*: *Pater eius Apollonius ex quo hinc profectus est, habet annos XIII*. By contrast, Klebs (1899: 276), who dismissed arguments about the relation of the *Hist. Apoll.* to Greek as well as to late Latin, interpreted *habet* as a personal verb to be understood in the sense of *implere* ‘to complete (a period of time)’; however, he conceded that this use was more commonly found with relation to a person’s age. Yet another approach was taken by a recent editor of the text, Kortekaas, who believed that the Latin text abounded in Grecisms and that the word order of the passage militated strongly against Riese’s explanation; Kortekaas printed a comma before *ex quo*, and suggested that *ex quo ... habet annos* was modelled on the Greek construction involving personal ἔχω ἔτη + ἐξ οὗ (2004: 39) (see section 2.1).

It is true that the subject in the nominative case occupies the first position in the clause and that the verbs *habet* and *uenit* are paratactically connected: *Pater eius, ex quo ... profectus est, habet annos XIII, et nunquam uenit ... nec misit*; cf. rec. A 22 *quem ego, ex quo eum uidi, tibi coniungere adoptaui*. In other words, it seems that the passage in rec. A 31 is structured in such a way as to emphasise the role of Apollonius as a

father rather than the lapse of time (for the latter notion cf. rec. A 32). Nevertheless, I interpret *habet annos* as an impersonal construction for the following reasons: first, temporal constructions with personal forms of *habere* + noun denoting time are, as a rule, of the type ‘Noun-Verb’, whereas in the *Hist. Apoll.* rec. A B 31, as well as in the majority of the examples of impersonal *habet* constructions listed by García-Hernández (1992) and Bauer (1999), the word order is ‘Verb-Noun’ (an exception is the medieval Latin *Lib. Feud.* 320 *hodie triginta annos habet et amplius quod possident predicta ualle*; cf. Bastardas Parera 1953: III). More importantly, the temporal clause, which here precedes *habet annos XIII*, always follows personal ‘to have’ + noun constructions, whereas it can both follow and precede temporal constructions involving ‘to be’ (section 2.4). Like the *habet ... ex quo* construction in Rufinus mentioned in section 3.1, *habet annos XIII ex quo* ‘it is 14 years since’, expresses punctual meaning.

The *et* that introduces the latter part of the sentence after *habet annos XIII* should best be understood as a case of *et* with a slight adversative sense (‘and yet’), or as a kind of apodotic *et* typically found in late Latin after a temporal clause to express an unexpected or surprising event (Galdi 2014: 86); in this respect, our passage shares a similar structure with Mart. 6.7.1–4 *Iulia lex populis ex quo, Faustine, renata est | atque intrare domos iussa Pudicitia est, | aut minus aut certe non plus tricesima lux est, | et nubit decimo iam Telesilla uiro*; Chrys. *In Heb.* 6 *Hom.* 9.5 ἀλλ’ ἐξ οὗ ἐτελεύτησε (ὁ Παῦλος), τετρακοσιοστὸν λοιπὸν ἔτος παρελήλυθε, καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν λαμπρότερός ἐστι. For this type of ‘and’ see also rec. A 32 *ecce, iam anni sunt plus XIII, ex quo nobis suus pater commendauit Tharsiam, et numquam salutaris nobis misit litteras*; Rufin. *Clement.* 7.10.4 *anni etenim uiginti elapsi sunt quibus haec geruntur, et ne nuntius quidem de eo ad me aliquis uenit* (= *Hom. Clem.* 12.10.4 ἤδη λοιπὸν ἕκτοτε εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐστίν, ἀφ’ ἧς οὐδεμίαν τινὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀλήθειαν ἤκουσα); for examples from later Greek literature cf. Luke 13.7 ἰδοὺ τρία ἔτη ἀφ’ οὗ ἔρχομαι ζητῶν καρπὸν ἐν τῇ συκῇ ταύτῃ καὶ οὐχ εὕρισκω; *A. Xanthipp.* 6 οὐ πλήρεις εἰσιν δύο ἐνιαυτοὶ ἀφ’ οὗ συνεζεύχθην αὐτῇ, καὶ ἤδη ἀποστασίαν μελετᾷ; Eus. *H. E.* 5.16.19 πλείω γὰρ ἢ τρισκαίδεκα ἔτη εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξ οὗ τετελεύτηκεν ἡ γυνή, καὶ οὔτε μερικὸς οὔτε καθολικὸς κόσμῳ γέγονεν πόλεμος; Chrys. *Stag.* 3.12 καὶ λοιπὸν ἕκτος οὗτός ἐστιν ἐνιαυτός, ἐξ οὗ τῇ πονηρᾷ ταύτῃ παραδέδοται μάστιγι, καὶ οὔτε οἰκέτης πάρεστιν ὁ θεραπεύσων αὐτόν, οὔτε ἰατρὸς παραμυθησόμενος (cf. Bauer 1988, s.v. καὶ I b η).

#### 4. *Habet* and other impersonal constructions of time in late and early Latin

##### 4.1. *Habet dies* and *fecit dies*

In late Latin the verb *facit* used impersonally takes either an adverb of time or a noun denoting time in the accusative case, and in both cases expresses a whole–part relation in time. It is attested with reference to the part of a day (*CGL* 5.335.25 *uesperescit: sero facit*) and to the reckoning of the days of the month (*CIL* 13.3507 *defuncta est u[b]i ficet de Abrilio diis XV*) (see [Salonius 1920](#): 256; [García-Hernández 1992](#): 165, 169); in the latter example the verb is in the past tense (*ficet* for *fecit*) and the expression *fecit dies* is part of a formula; cf. *Vita Radege*. 2.21 *quod fecit mensis ... dies XIII*; *CIL* 13.3509 *defuncta est quomodo ficit Febroarius dies III* (*TLL* 6.101.10–13; [Levillain 1912](#)). I see no overlap in meaning between the late Latin impersonal temporal *habet dies* (in the *Passio Theclae*) and the expression *facit dies*; furthermore, temporal *habet* is not attested with an adverb of time, whereas *facit* is.

##### 4.2. *Habet annos ex quo* and *annos est quom, menses est cum*

Expressions involving temporal impersonal *habere* are a late Latin phenomenon, whereas examples with personal forms of *habere* in this sense originate in the early imperial era. There is, to my knowledge, no example of a temporal impersonal *habere* in early Latin, although several possible examples of locative-existential impersonal *habere* have been suggested for this period (see [section 1](#)). However, early Latin and specifically Plautine comedy features a variety of expressions of ‘time since’ ([Bennett 1910](#): 85), in which forms of *esse* or passive forms of *facere* are used with a high degree of diversity: e.g. *Am.* 302 *iam diu est quod uentri uictum non datis*; *As.* 251 *iam diu est factum quom discesti ab ero*; *Per.* 822 *iam diu factum est, postquam bibimus*; *Mer.* 533 *iam bienniumst, quom mecum rem coepit*; *Mos.* 470–1 *septem menses sunt, quom in hasce aedis pedem | nemo intro tetulit*. [Rosén \(1989: 209–10\)](#) discusses Plautine expressions of time and classifies them according to adverbial words (*saepe, iam diu, iam dudum, iam multos annos, (abhinc) annos, (iam) biennium, menses/dies*) and the forms of copulative verbs (*est, factum est, sunt*), and also according to the conjunction employed (*quom, postquam*) and the tense of the verb (present/perfect) in the secondary clause. It is in Plautus that we find a striking parallel construction for *habet* + noun of time in the accusative case +

temporal clause; it comprises *est* + noun of time in the accusative case + temporal (*quom/cum*) clause: *Aul.* 3–4 *hanc domum | iam multos annos est quom possideo et colo*; *Per.* 137–8 *leno non sex menses Megaribus | huc est cum commigrauit*.

The expression found in *Aulularia*, *iam multos annos est quom* ‘it is already for many years that’, has been considered by early commentators on Plautus an ancestor of the French *il y a* (*Sic uernaculo nostro dicimus, Il y a plusieurs années, pro Ils sont plusieurs années*, Valpy ed. 1829: 242). According to Hofmann and Szantyr, *iam multos annos est quom possideo* either represents contamination of *iam multi anni sunt cum possideo* and *iam multos annos possideo* (1972: 41), or is influenced by the construction *iam diu est cum* (1972: 845). The expression found in *Persa*, *non sex menses ... est cum*, is explained by Woytek (1982: 210) with reference to *non diu (factum) est, quom* (*As.* 251; *Am.* 302 and 822; *Mer.* 541). On the other hand, Lundström (1961: 22–4) claims that *est quom* in Plautus functions as an emphatic periphrasis reinforcing the accusative of time and that it can be removed without altering the meaning of the text. Like Lundström, Rosén (1989: 210) argues that the pattern ‘adverbial *est* (or *factum est*) *quom* followed by a verbal phrase’ can be reduced to an ‘adverbial verbal phrase’: *hanc domum iam multos annos colo*. It is not possible to argue the same for *habet annos ex quo* in the *Hist. Apoll.*, or for *habet annum ex quo* in Rufinus: in both passages *habet* is indispensable and does not form a sequence that can be easily removed.

## 5. Conclusions

On the basis of current evidence, the impersonal temporal *habet* construction is found only in late Latin and especially in literary circles in which there is contact with the Greek language; this, however, does not mean that the construction should necessarily be interpreted as a lexical Grecism. The passages from the *Passio Theclae*, from Rufinus and from the *Historia Apollonii* show that the impersonal temporal *habet* constructions coexisted in late antiquity with the personal temporal constructions involving forms of *esse*, and that both of these constructions indicated a variety of temporal meanings. The relation between this evidence and the Plautine material is tenuous and cannot be established with certainty, although both in Plautus and in the late Latin passages I have discussed the concept expressed in the *est* or *habet* constructions can be either duration of time or temporal distance. The early Latin constructions seem to originate from a contamination of different temporal expressions, all of

them involving the same verb without influence from Greek; on the other hand, the development of the late Latin constructions is more complex: it involves personal forms of *esse* and *habere*, possible influence from Greek and ‘the spread of transitivity’ (Bauer 2000).

How are these developments connected to modern Romance? *Annos est quom* (Plautus) and *habet annos ex quo* (*Hist. Apoll.*) are discussed together in modern literature as early evidence for the evolution of clausal temporal modifiers in Spanish and French (Howe and Ranson 2010: 52). The temporal *habet* construction can be used with reference to events that have both durative (‘for’, *il y a ... que*) and punctual (‘ago’, *il y a*) meaning, and the accusative of noun can take both an ordinal and a cardinal number. Although the *habet* + accusative of noun + temporal clause construction functions as an equivalent of personal forms of *esse* + nominative of noun + temporal clause, it is more limited in terms of morphology: there is no example of an adverb (e.g. *diu*) or of another case instead of the accusative of a noun denoting time with impersonal *habet*, while the present tense (*habet*) is used in all three cases I have discussed (contrast the French expressions *il y a longtemps* and *il y a avait/laura*, respectively). Note too that in Old French, where there is a residual case system, there is some oscillation between the use of the so-called *cas sujet* and the *cas régime* with the impersonal form of *avoir* (see Buridant 2000: 83–4). There is also variety in the arrangement of the constituents of the *habet* construction: we have Noun-Verb, Verb-Noun-Clause, Clause-Verb-Noun, and *iam* or other words interrupt the sequence, indicating that this is not yet a fixed expression.

## Quid ago? Quid facimus?

*'Deliberative' indicative questions from early to late Latin**Anna Chahoud***Introduction**

When she was a child, my sister Angela had a favourite phrase: *Che ci faccio?* 'what am I supposed to do about it?' The question always implied both 'what do you want me to do?' and 'don't think for a minute that I'll do it', and it was unfailingly delivered with the same intonation, with the same facial expression, and with a particular gesture. It was, in a word, a formula.

Formulae with *do*-words represent the most common use of the so-called deliberative or dubitative question – a question in the first person that expresses uncertainty or perplexity, requests advice or implicitly rejects it as to a possible, desirable or necessary course of action. For these questions Latin, as Italian, may use the present indicative, while the subjunctive, the future or equivalent modal expression would be more usual. The usage stands at the interface between tense (present versus future) on the one hand, and mood (indicative versus subjunctive) on the other. Roman comedy documents this variety with examples in the indicative, subjunctive and future:

Ter. *Ad.* 916 Syre, cessas ire ac facere?: quid ago?: dirue.

'Syrus, hurry up, go and do it! – What am I to do? – Pull down the wall.'

Ter. *An.* 639 sed quid agam? adeamne ad eum et cum eo iniuriam hanc expostulem?

'Well, what am I to do? Am I to approach him and challenge him over this insult?'

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Ter. *Hec.* 516 perii, quid agam? quo me uortam? quid uiro meo respondebo misera?

'It's the end of me! What shall I do? Where shall I turn? What shall I say to my husband, damn?'

In classical Latin questions expressing obligation, necessity and possibility normally take the subjunctive ('deliberative') or the future indicative ('present for future'); indeed, the present subjunctive is often not distinguishable from the future (*agam*, *faciam*) in first-person deliberative questions. The indicative is traceable (sometimes ambiguously) in 12 per cent of these contexts in classical Latin, while in early Latin we find the present indicative in roughly 20 per cent of examples of the formula in all its variations. The proportion goes up to 29 per cent in late Latin, where one also observes the gradual lexical shift from *ago* to *facio*, which will result in the displacement of the former verb in Romance questions of this kind (cf. Table 2, p. 235).

The main concern in this volume is to address the question of 'submerged Latin', with a view to identifying continuities between early and late usages when compared with the classical language. Do Romance uses of the deliberative indicative, both in formulae (*che faccio?*, 'what am I to do?/what can I do?') and other types of questions (e.g. *andiamo?* 'shall we go?' and the like), point to a case of submergence of an old feature, just occasionally resurfacing in classical Latin (and in what contexts?), and is it the nature of our records that prevents us from seeing continuity in spoken usage? The distribution of attestations is far from homogeneous. The dialogic nature of comedy makes Plautus and Terence the source of most examples of deliberative indicative questions from early Latin. In the later period, up to *ca* AD 500, these questions are documented predominantly in the preaching style of Augustine and in biblical allusions found in other early Fathers. I will discuss this difficulty with the evidence in the second part of the chapter.

Some degree of continuity at the level of speech is an incontrovertible fact. The evidence spans some six centuries, and while passages greatly differ in context and genre, the formula is consistently used with no apparent change of force:

Ter. *Ph.* 447 uidetis quo loco res haec siet: quid ago? dic, Hegio.

'You see how things stand: what am I to do? Speak, Hegio.'

Lutat. *Poet.* 1.6 Courtney, quid ago? da, Venus, consilium.

'What am I to do? Venus, give me your advice.'



Aug. *In psalm.* 36, 1.4 ‘spera in Dominum.’ ecce spero, quid ago? ‘et fac bonitatem.’

“‘Trust in the Lord.’ I do trust, what am I to do? ‘And do good.’” [Ps. 36.3]

These questions are ‘true deliberative’ questions, i.e. requests for advice, which expect a directive answer; in fact they may demand it in directive form (*dic, da consilium*), and they often receive it, again in directive form (*fac*). Even crystallised formulae, however, have their meaning motivated by context, for ‘the information is not unambiguously coded in the utterance but partly dependent on the circumstances’ (Risselada 1993: 193). The question *quid ago* can of course mean simply ‘what am I doing?’ in rhetorical self-questioning fashion, as regularly in Cicero and with notable ambiguity in Virgil (below, 1.4.1). Not so in Plautus and Terence, although the equivocality of the utterance may lend itself to be exploited for humorous purposes:

Pl. *Mos.* 368, uae mihi! | quid ego ago?:: nam quid tu, malum, me rogitas quid agas? accubas.

‘Oh dear, what am I doing? – Why the hell do you ask me what you are doing? You’re dining.’

If speakers are talking to themselves, they may or may not seek or expect any advice at all. This usage is rhetorical and amounts to an emotive expression of distress, despair or helplessness. The present indicative in rhetorical self-questioning is also documented across Latinity, both in the singular and in the plural, with the verb *ago* and its competitor *facio*:

Ter. *Ph.* 736 certe edepol ... meae nutricem gnatae uideo... quid ago?

‘Good heavens!... I am sure it’s my daughter’s nanny that I’m seeing!... What do I do?’

[Quint.] *Decl.* 19.8 quid agimus, anime, quemadmodum effugimus, euadimus?

‘What do we do, heart of mine, how do we escape and get out of here?’

Aug. *In euang. Ioh.* 49.19 baptizatus sum, et iterum ad eadem reuolutus sum; quid facio? quo eo? unde euado?

‘I am baptised, and I have lapsed again into the same sins. What do I do? Where do I go? From where do I get out of here?’

These last examples, however, are not the norm throughout Latinity. The present indicative is rare in dramatic or internal monologues from early or classical Latin, where the usual form is the subjunctive or the future.

It is in the later period that the present indicative often occurs, even in contexts where a biblical model (τί ποιήσω;) would suggest a subjunctive or a future.

The use of the present indicative raises questions concerning not only the relation between tense and mood, but also between context and connotation, and the expression of subjectivity in texts of various linguistic registers. In my discussion I will examine the typology, distribution and development of the distinct phenomena (both grammatical and rhetorical) grouped under the label 'deliberative', with reference to established views on the matter (1.1–2). While focusing primarily on the *do*-question in my title, I have found it useful to set that usage against the background of other, non-formulaic modal uses of the indicative, especially the so-called 'present for future' (1.3–4) and 'repudiating' questions (1.5) with their grammatical and rhetorical connotations. I then move on to examine the distribution (2), with special attention to our formulae in Latin translations of the Greek Bible (2.2), in Augustine (2.2.1) and in texts with subject matter other than Christian (2.3). I will attempt to draw some conclusions about the possible reasons for the extension of the present indicative to uses previously covered mostly by the subjunctive or the future, and about the relationship, if any, between uses in early and late Latin. The evidence suggests that the indicative in dubitative/deliberative questions is a case of continuity, possibly, but not necessarily, encouraged by the injection of Greek and biblical uses in the imperial period.

## 1. Modality, tense and typology

### 1.1. 'Ought questions'

Deliberative questions imply uncertainty about what the speaker ought to do in the circumstances in which he finds himself. The speaker often explicitly declares his 'not knowing' what to do (*nescio*, *nec scio*), his desire to know (*uolo scire*), his doubt what to do (*incertumst*, *nec certumst*, *dubito*) or his request for advice (*rogo/rogito*, *consulo/consulto*, etc.). This sentiment is made explicit in the indirect form of the deliberative question, as the rich illustration from Plautus (cf. Lodge 1924–33: 80) and Terence (McGlynn 1963: 27) shows, for example: Pl. *Am.* 1056 *quid agam nescio* (cf. Pl. *Trin.* 64; *Aul.* 730; Ter. *Eu.* 711); Pl. *Cas.* 938 *nec quid agam meis rebus scio* (cf. Ter. *Eu.* 73; *Hec.* 701; *Ad.* 485, 516, 542); Ter. *An.* 209 *nec quid agam certumst* (cf. *Ad.* 611); Ter. *An.* 264 *incertumst quid agam* (= *Ph.* 239); Pl. *Mil.* 198 *consulo quid agam* (cf. *Mil.* 1097; *Ps.* 379);

Pl. *Mos.* 368 *quid tu ... me rogitas quid agas?*; Ter. *Ad.* 358 *quid agam cogito*). The sense of uncertainty rather than subordination motivates the subjunctive in these indirect questions: when the context involves neither doubt nor need for deliberation, early Latin has often the indicative as in parataxis, ‘What am I doing? I know it’ (e.g. Pl. *Bac.* 77 *scio quid ago*; Bennett 1910: 120–1). The sense of uncertainty also explains the development, in late Latin, of indirect deliberative questions with the infinitive: Adams (2013: 770) mentions Coripp. *Ioh.* 1.273 *nescitque miser quo inflectere puppem* with continuations in Romance especially after verbs meaning ‘know’: e.g. Fr. *je ne sais que faire*, It. *non so che fare*.

In Latin, as in other Indo-European languages, the subjunctive is the mood for ‘ought questions’ (Wackernagel’s definition, in Langslow’s translation, 2009: 306) and for other expressions of non-factivity, which ‘could be not only potential or predictive, but also obligative, hortatory or desiderative’: so Lyons (1977: 848), who, after Bally (1932: 34), defines modality as ‘the speaker’s opinion or attitude towards the proposition that the sentence expresses or the situation that the proposition describes’ (452). Linguists speak of ‘deontic’ and ‘epistemic’ modality when propositions refer, respectively, to events ‘as they ought to be’, or to the speaker’s judgment concerning their necessity, possibility, probability; the same forms or markers may be used for both modalities, e.g. *he must go home* (*he ought to*) versus *he must be at home* (*I guess*) (e.g. Palmer 2001; Pietrandrea 2005: 6–29; Heine 2003: 594). Our questions are a clear indication that ‘the indicative, which is typically (but not exclusively) used for declaratives, is not nonmodal or unmarked per se, but specifies its roles and functions within modality depending on different mood systems as well as contextual factors and clausal operators’ (Magni 2009: 203).

Normative Latin grammars state that deliberative questions are ‘subjunctive questions [in the first person] which expect Imperative answers’ (Gildersleeve and Lodge 1903: 296). Deliberative questions may therefore be viewed as ‘the counterparts of the jussive subjunctive’, and ‘the modality of the subjunctive is deontic’ (de Melo 2007: 118; cf. Kühner and Stegmann 1955: I.181 §47.2; II.508–II §230). Others maintain that ‘these questions are generally not information-seeking and often suggest an internal dialogue (hence the name). These are possibly hortatory in nature... often evaluative or critical in function’ (Brown *et al.* 2009: 507). In certain contexts ‘the so-called deliberative subjunctive is, in reality, a potential subjunctive in an interrogative sentence’ (Pinkster 1990: 196; cf. Touratier 2008: 116–7); ‘the speaker does not inquire as to someone’s will, but for a *statement of opinion* as to duty, obligation,

fitness ... the force of the subjunctive is so weakened that the Jussive is merging into the Potential' (Woodcock 1959: 130, italics in the original). This explains the regular use of the declarative negative *non* in all examples (e.g. Lucil. 387M *quid sumam, quid non?*), although a volitive origin must be assumed in view of the predominantly deontic modality of classical examples (cf. Woodcock 1962: 315). A finer distinction between deliberative and jussive modality is formulated as follows: 'the deliberative subjunctive has the meaning "it is right that" ... its use is confined almost exclusively to questioned sentences in the first person and to answers in the second. The jussive subjunctive is under no such constraint' (Lakoff 1968: 191). This distinction is already in Quintilian (*Inst.* 9.2.11), who contrasts the deliberative question (*cum ipsi nosmet rogamus*) with the jussive question (*acrius imperandi genus*) at *Inst.* 9.2.11 and illustrates the point by citing Ter. *Eu.* 46 *quid igitur faciam* (see further below 2.4).

Clear examples of the indicative used with this force are questions prefacing requests for advice in the imperative (*dic, da consilium*) or with expression for 'please', or questions followed by directive answers in the imperative:

Ter. *Eu.* 1088 *obsecro te*, quid agimus?  
'Please, what do we do?'

Ter. *Ad.* 538 Syre, *quid agimus?*:: *fuge* modo intro; ego uidero.  
'Syrus, what do we do? – You just rush inside; I'll see to it.'

In what he labels 'an execration of the deliberative subjunctive', William Batstone writes: 'there is no such thing as the Deliberative Subjunctive – unless you want to designate a Deliberative Indicative as well'. He goes on to say that 'deliberation is not a syntactical category; it is a function of context and rhetoric, not grammar'; and concludes,

I may ask, 'What are they doing?' (Indicative Question) or 'What could we do?' (Potential Question) or 'What should we do?' (Jussive Question), and in every case I may be uncertain, I may be asking for deliberation, or I may, in fact, be just expressing my own confusion and not expect any sort of answer at all. (<https://classics.osu.edu/subjunctive-questions>, accessed April 2014)

He has a point. A recent discussion of the topic adopts 'dubitative' as a general label (as in Italian discussions of Latin syntax: Traina 1985: 253–4) and includes deliberation as one of the categories represented therein: 'Dubitative (deliberative, repudiating, exclamative) subjunctive'

(Magni 2009: 243). ‘What do I do / should I do / shall I do / could I do / would you like me to do / would you have me do?’: ‘deliberation’ is not the most helpful descriptor to embrace a variety of different meanings. Context determines the force of these utterances, and with it register and intonation. These factors are all the more important are these factors in the absence of morphological markers or modifiers to clarify the exact tone of the question.

### 1.2. ‘Do I?’ ‘Do.’ Motivation for the indicative

Bennett, still our main authority for the syntax of early Latin, maintained (1910: 23–4) that questions in the indicative are “deliberative” not in the exact sense, but as conveying an inquiry after a command, or, perhaps more accurately, an inquiry after advice’, and states that the usage in early Latin is restricted to dialogue and to questions asking for advice; two cases with repudiating force are Pl. *Am.* 391 and Ter. *An.* 497 (1.5 below). Bennett’s authorities on the subject were Sjögren’s monograph on futures in early Latin (1906), Deane’s discussion of deliberative questions in Terence (1890), Neumann’s dissertation on the uses of the future in Plautus and Terence (1888), and Morris’s extended discussions on questions in Plautus and Terence, published in the *American Journal of Philology* between 1890 and 1897. One cannot help being struck by the cluster of studies on the subject at the turn of the twentieth century. It was the time of the rise of subjectivity as a linguistic topic. In the same year as the publication of Bennett’s first volume, a study of the type τί ποιήσω in Greek tragedy explained the present indicative variant τί λέγομεν as the result of the ‘effect of person on mood’ (McWhorter 1910: 165).

Bennett gives a summary of the *status quaestionis* up to his time as follows (1910: 22–3):

Sjögren’s exhaustive discussion of these questions establishes conclusively that they are questions asking for advice, and that they never (or very rarely) cover any of the other varieties of the numerous subjunctive uses ordinarily grouped under the name ‘deliberative’, such as questions expressing despair, true deliberatives, subjunctives of duty or fitness, repudiating questions. In this he differs from Deane, who expresses the opinion that there is no difference between the indicative and subjunctive in these questions. But as Sjögren demonstrates, *quid agam* is used only in soliloquy, in true deliberatives, or else in dialogue in questions of helplessness or despair, whereas *quid ago* (barring *Ph.* 736) is not used in soliloquy at all, and in dialogue is confined to questions asking for advice.

A decade or so later Exon argued that the indicative *quid ago?* marks ‘spontaneous’ questions that ‘express no other feeling than uncertainty as to what was desired, or what was best to be done’, in short, questions that ‘invite advice’, whereas the subjunctive (*quid agam?*) characterises ‘protesting questions for advice or orders’, which ‘repel advice already given or (at least) thought of as likely to be given’ (Exon 1926: 18). No less authoritative a text than Woodcock speaks of ‘spontaneous’ questions denoting genuine perplexity and questions ‘evoked by a second party’ (Woodcock 1959: 129). Another view maintains that ‘in contrast to the indicative mood ... the subjunctive has a strong epistemic component of unexpectedness, and normally signals a higher degree of emotional involvement’ (Magni 2009: 243). Do these distinctions apply consistently to all contexts, registers and periods of Latin?

### 1.3. ‘Shall I?’ ‘Present for future’

The expression of doubt as to a course of action implies necessarily a notion of futurity, which context may bring out in various degrees. Hofmann and Szantyr (1972: 308 §172; 311 §174 b)δ) and Kühner and Stegmann (1955: 1.120) discuss Latin deliberative indicative questions under ‘present for future’. Both discussions feature examples of questions to a second party (e.g. Pl. *Truc.* 207 *quam mox huc te recipis?* Pl. *As.* 449 *quam mox mi operam das?*), which in fact amount to directives (‘Come back here!’ ‘Help me!’). The use we are discussing here is one in which ‘consultative’ questions call for directive replies, and this use is restricted to the first person. Examples in the plural, where there is no ambiguity between future and subjunctive, clarify the use of the future in the sense of obligation/necessity:

Pl. *Epid.* 274 quin tu eloquere, quid faciemus?:: sic faciundum censeo.  
‘But tell me, what shall we do – I think we should do this.’

Ter. *Hec.* 668 sed quid faciemus puero?:: ridicule rogas ... | huic suom reddas.  
‘But what shall we do with the child? – A silly question ... give the child back to his father.’

Ernout and Thomas (1953: 243) view the present indicative as an indication of ‘imminent action’; Traina (1985: 254) speaks of ‘urgency’ as a factor for the indicative, alongside ‘feature of familiar language’. I return to this point below.

The notion of futurity may be brought out by temporal markers such as *iam* (e.g. Pl. *Men.* 176) and *nunc* (Pl. *Epid.* 157; *Ps.* 722; Ter. *Eu.* 811;

cf. Aug. *Serm.* 16A, 43), the latter functioning also as a discourse marker (Risselada 1996): ‘Now, what do we do?’ In a number of cases the present acquires this force through insertion in a conditional or temporal construction, i.e. ‘What am I to do, if / when x happens?’: *si, nisi, cum* (and, in late texts, *quia/quod/quoniam* = τί ποιήσω(μεν) ὅτι). In these cases the subordinate verb privileges either futurity or uncertainty:

Pl. *St.* 68 quid agimus, soror, si offirmabit pater aduersum nos?  
 ‘What are we to do, my sister, if our father decides not to give in to us?’

Aug. *Serm.* 149.14.15 sed quid facio? *si* breuiter de his disseram, fortassis non ita ut oportet intelligar; *si* diutius, timeo ne plus grauem uos onere sermonis, quam fructu expositionis subleuem.  
 ‘But what do I do? If I deal with them briefly, I may not be understood as I should; if longer, I fear that the weight my sermon may burden you more than its usefulness may relieve you.’

Request for advice is implied (*nec te id consulo*) in the letter to Atticus sent from Capua in 49 BC:

Cic. *Att.* 7.20.2 (144 SB) ego autem in Italia ‘καὶ συναποθανεῖν’ nec te id consulo; sin extra, quid ago? Ad manendum hiems, lictores, improuidi et negligentes duces, ad fugam hortatur amicitia Gnaei, causa bonorum, turpitudine coniungendi cum tyranno.  
 ‘For my part in Italy I am ready “even to die with him”, and on that I don’t ask your advice. But out of Italy? What do I do? “Stay”, say winter, lictors, improvident and negligent leadership: “go” say my friendship for Gnaeus, he cause of the honest men, the dishonour of alliance with a despot. (Tr. Shackleton Bailey)’

Ciceronian oratory exhibits this feature only in the early speech *Pro Quinctio*. The repeated fictitious question serves the purpose of lively characterisation of someone who ought to have entertained doubts and did not. ‘What do I do’ is what you say to yourself (*tecum*) in genuine perplexity (for rhetorical uses, see 1.4 and 1.5 below).

Cic. *Quinct.* 53 ne hoc quodem tecum locutus es: ‘horae duae fuerunt, Quinctius ad uadimonium non uenit. quid ago?’ si me hercule haec tecum duo uerba fecisses: ‘quid ago?’...  
 ‘Nor did you even say this to yourself, “It’s been two hours, Quinctius hasn’t appeared at this bail hearing. What do I do?”’ In truth, you had said but these four words to yourself “What do I do?” ...’

Otherwise Cicero has *quid ago* / *agimus* as rhetorical self-questioning ‘what am I doing?’ both in speeches (e.g. *Rab. Post.* 8 *quid agimus, iudices, aut quem hunc morem nouorum iudiciorum in rem publicam inducimus?*) and

in letters (e.g. *Q. fr.* 2.14.2 *sed quid ago? quod mihi tempus, Romae praesertim, ut iste me roga, manenti, uacuum ostenditur?*), while deliberative force is normally conveyed by the regular subjunctive (e.g. *Ver.* 5.2 *quid agam iudices? quo accusationis meae rationem conferam, quo me vertam? Att.* 12.11 *quid agamus de senatu?*).

The sense of futurity is often combined with that of obligation/necessity in questions of the type ‘shall I go (or not)?’, e.g. *Pl. Cas.* 503 *iamne abeo?:: nolo* (cf. *It. vado?* ‘do I go?’), *Cic. De Orat.* 3.17 *quid est, Crasse? imusne sessum?* Is there any substantial difference between the following examples, respectively in the subjunctive (clearly deontic: [Álvarez Huerta 2002](#): 6–7) and indicative, both belonging to dialogic and informal contexts?

*Pl. Cur.* 589 *quid ego faciam? maneam an abeam?*  
 ‘What am I to do? Should I stay or should I go?’

*Cic. Att.* 13.40.2 (343 SB) *quid mi auctor es? aduolone an maneo?*  
 ‘What do you recommend? Do I rush to Rome or stay here?’

The force of the indicative in our formula is comparable to that of non-formulaic questions in which the deontic modality of the indicative is further confirmed by a directive reply, often with a repetition of the action word amounting to ‘yes’, for example *Pl. Mos.* 1774 *eon, uoco hunc hominem?:: i, uoca* (cf. e.g. *As.* 755: *addone?:: adde*; *Men.* 176 *iam fores ferio?:: feri*, with indicator of futurity *iam* ‘now’). Elsewhere the deliberative (deontic) force of the future is clarified by a jussive and rather blunt expression of contact such as *heus* ‘hey (you)’ ([Hofmann and Ricottilli 2003](#): 116–18; Watt 1963), *Ter. Eu.* 434 *sed heus tu, purgon ego me de istac Thaidi?* ‘But listen, do I clear myself with Thais about this girl?’

Without question marker and/or other attendant expression of contact, the sense will have been conveyed by context (*Pl. Mil.* 613 *sed uolo scire: eodem consilio ... gerimus rem?*) or, one has to assume, intonation, as in the one example from Terence, *Ph.* 812 *hanc igitur mittimus?:: quid ni:: illa maneat?:: sic* (‘So we forget about her? – Of course. – And the other one is to stay? – Yes’), in which the indicative is restricted to the question in the first person (*mittimus*) while the action concerning a third person is given in the subjunctive (*maneat*). Examples of this kind are rare in early Latin and classical Latin.

This is an old use of the indicative, according to Varro’s attempt at an etymology for the *Dies Aagonales*: the sacrificial ceremony included the



priest's request *agone* 'shall I proceed?' followed by the order *hoc age* 'yes' (Sen. *Con.* 2.II, Ov. *Fast.* 1.319; Postgate 1901: 452).

Var. *L.* 6.12 'dies agionales' per quos rex in Regia arietem immolat dicti ab 'agon', eo quod interrogat minister sacrificii 'agone'?

'The 'dies agionales' during which the high priest sacrifices a ram in the Regia were given this name from *agon*, for the reason that the minister of the sacrifice asks *agone*? "Shall I do it?"

In classical Latin the dubitative/deliberative force of the indicative is clarified by an explicit request for advice, as in the two Virgilian examples below, where one notes the imperative and expression of contact (*fare age*) and the exactly similar wording of the request as in the pre-neoteric example mentioned above (*da, pater, augurium* ~ *da, Venus, consilium*):

Virg. *Aen.* 3.367 *fare age* ... quae prima pericula *uito*?

'Come tell me now, what dangers am I to avoid as I start upon this journey?'

Virg. *Aen.* 3.88 quem *sequimur*? quoue ire iubes? ubi ponere sedes? | *da, pater, augurium.*

'Whom do we follow? Where do you bid us to go? Where to settle? Send us a sign, father.'

### 1.3.1. Mood/tense variation in the same utterance

Passages in which indicative and subjunctive occur in one and the same utterance may give a better indication as to the motivation, if any, for the indicative. In a letter from Puteoli in 44, Cicero ponders on the safest course of action for him to take in his predicament (*numquam in maiore ἀπορίᾳ fui*), and requests Atticus's advice on three alternatives, two of which are expressed in the indicative, and the last one (if restoration is correct) in the subjunctive:

Cic. *Att.* 16.8.2 (418 SB) nunc *tuum consilium exquiro*. Romamne *uenio*, an hic *maneo*, an Arpinum (ἀσφαλείαν habet is locum) *fug<i>am*?

'Now I ask your advice. Do I return to Rome or stay here or should I flee to Arpinum, which offers security?'

What marks the Arpinum retreat (subjunctive/future) out of the three courses of action? It is not a case of 'higher degree of emotional involvement', but rather of the speaker interpreting the interlocutor's expectation: the subjunctive is an indirect reference to what Cicero thinks Atticus would say he ought to do, whereas the indicative marks the spontaneous (informal) presentation of options to himself. The text of the following

sentence in Cicero's letter is uncertain (see Shackleton Bailey ad loc.), but enough to establish that Cicero's preference is, in fact, for immediate return to Rome (*ne desideremur si quid actum uidebitur*).

The early speech *Pro Quintio* supplies the only other comparable example of mood variation in Ciceronian oratory, in a passage where Cicero's immediate reaction is given the indicative (*postulo*) and then corrected through a sense of obligation (*denuntiem*):

Cic. *Quinct.* 54 postulone a praetore ut eius bona mihi possidere liceat, an ... domum potius denuntiem?  
'Do I demand of the praetor to be allowed to take possession of his goods, or ... must I not rather give notice at his house?'

Not that these attempts at an explanation would be generally applicable. The contrast between spontaneous 'shall I do that' and deontic 'must I do that (you think)' does not help the analysis of passages such as the following, which I have selected as they display variation within our formula in contemporary authors from the fourth century:

Amm. 16.12.11 quae si dederit quisquam commode posse transiri ruentibus hostium examinibus post otium cibique refectionem et potus, quid nos agimus? quo uigore inedia siti laboreque membris marcentibus occurramus?  
'If anyone should grant us the ability to pass through all this comfortably, what are we to do when the enemy's swarms rush upon us, refreshed as they will be with rest and food and drink? What strength can we have, when our limbs are enfeebled with hunger, thirst and toil, to offer resistance?'

Ambr. *Iob* 1.5.14 (sol) dubitabat ergo dicens: quid facio? orior et dies est, occido et nox est ... sed quid faciam? ... inueni quid faciam.  
'So the sun was in doubt, saying "what do I do?" I rise and it is day, I fall and it is night ... but what shall I do? ... I have found what I shall do.'

Ammianus' speech (a characterisation technique in historical narrative) goes on to qualify the indicative question *quid agimus* by a repudiating subjunctive (*quo occurramus* = 'nowhere are we to find the strength'; cf. 1.5 below). On the other hand, the switch from *facio* to *faciam* in Ambrose's soliloquy appears to be merely a stylistic variation.

When the present indicative is resumed by the future, the switch seems to aim towards pathos, as in two speeches from historical narrative:

Liv. 4.3.16–17 (Canuleius' speech) utrum tandem non credimus fieri posse, ut vir fortis ac strenuus, pace belloque bonus, ex plebe sit, Numae, L. Tarquinio, Ser. Tullio similis, an, ne si sit quidem, ad gubernacula rei publicae accedere eum patiemur?

'Are we to believe, then, that it is impossible for a man of courage and determination, a man of worth in peace and war, an equal to Numa, to L. Tarquinius, to Servius Tullius, to be a plebeian, or, if there is one, shall we not allow him to access the helm of the state?'

Curt. 5.5.15 coniuges deinde ... paruosque liberos trahimus nobiscum, an relinquimus? (16 ... relinquemus ergo extemplo praesentium pignora, etc.?) 'Our wives then... and little children, do we drag them with us or leave them behind? (... Shall we then, leave them, etc.?)'

#### 1.4. 'What shall I do?' in emotive self-questioning

The future shares other connotations with the present deliberative (indicative and subjunctive), one of which is the expression of helplessness (ἀπορία) in soliloquies (Bennett 1910: 40). There is nothing 'deliberative' about this use of the future (English 'What shall I do?', It. *Che farò?*), which amounts to a declaration, 'alas, there is nothing I can do'. The standard form in early and classical Latin takes either the subjunctive or the future, the two forms being often identical (as in Greek τί ποιήσω; see McWhorter 1910: 158–9). Mock-tragic distressed monologues in comedy are expressed in the subjunctive or future with no noticeable difference of effect:

Ter. *Ad.* 789 ei mihi, quid faciam? quid agam? quid clamem aut querar? quid ego agam?

'Oh dear, what should I do? What line of action, cry or complaint should I take? *What* should I do?'

Pl. *Capt.* 535, Quid loquar? quid fabulabor? quid negabo? aut quid fatebor? 'What shall I say? What shall I tell him? What shall I deny, or what shall I admit?'

The present indicative is rare in emotive/dramatic contexts of this kind in early and classical Latin. The old man's soliloquy at Ter. *Ph.* 736 (p. 219 above) is the only unambiguous example with the present indicative in early Latin and as such noted in the literature (Bennett 1910: 26; Martin ad loc. and *Ad.* 538). Rhetorically elaborated Latin of the early empire has one example in the Younger Seneca (*Tro.* 642) and one in the Pseudo-Quintilian (*Decl.* 19.18 *quid agimus, anime, quemadmodum effugimus, euadimus*); both the *Declamations* and Quintilian's *Inst.* have regular *quid agam* for this feature ([Quint.] *Decl.* 19.8 4.21, 7.11, 9.19, 15.2; Quint. *Inst.* 6.pr. 3, 11.3.104, 12.1.14). It is in late Latin that the present indicative is extended to dramatic soliloquies, as in

Ambrose's characterisation of a *puella* talking to herself or Jerome's apostrophes to his soul:

Ambr. *Virg.* 2.4 ipsa secum 'quid agimus?' hodie aut martyr aut uirgo (cf. 3.7)

Hier. *Epist.* 60.5 quid agimus, anima? quo nos uertimus? quid primum assumimus? quid tacemus? (cf. *Epist.* 108.27)

Hier. *Vita Malchi* 6 quid agimus, anima? perimus an uincimus? expectamus manum domini, an proprio mucrone confodimur?

The motivation for the present indicative appears to be vividness in the representation of soliloquising self-scrutiny, approaching true dubitative/deliberative force.

#### 1.4.1. Ambiguity: Dido's monologue

The first question in Dido's lament at *Aen.* 4.534–5 has puzzled readers since antiquity and divides interpreters and translators to this day. Dido's monologue in *Aeneid* 4 opens in the indicative (*ago*) and continues with the (repudiating) future or subjunctive (*experiar, petam*):

Virg. *Aen.* 4.534–5 (Dido) en, quid ago? rursusne procos inrisa priores | experiar?

(a) Mandelbaum: What can I do? Shall I, whom he has mocked, | go back again to my old suitors...

(b) West: So then, what am I to do? Shall I go back to those who once wooed me...? I would be a laughing stock

(c) Lombardo: What am I doing? Should I entertain once more | my former suitors, and hear them laugh at me?

Against the indicative of direct and indirect transmission (e.g. Ps. Prob. *GL* 4.219.25), the commentator Donatus, commenting on Ter. *Eu.* 46 (*quid igitur faciam?*) read *agam* and compared the Menandrian model ἅλλὰ τί ποιήσω; the rhetor Julius Rufinianus (p. 43 f. Halm) explained both Virgil's and Terence's passages as examples of διαλογισμός (*haec ita fit cum quis secum disputant et uolunt quid agat uel quid agendum putet*). Macrobius viewed Virgil's line as a typical case of oratorical ἀπόρησις or *addubitatio*, a figure of pathos (*Sat.* 4.6.11 *est enim uel dolentis uel irascentis dubitare quod agas*). These comments rest on the interpretation of *quid ago* as equivalent to *quid agam*: Dido is saying 'what am I to do?', contemplating actions, if only to reject them immediately (e.g. Henry 1873: 781). But there is another, and equally authoritative, view (Pease 1935: 442–3; Austin 1955: 160), supported by evidence of exasperated self-questioning

in tragedy and oratory, and close parallels in heroic female speeches (Ov. *Ep.* 13.134 *sed quid ago*, Stat. *Theb.* 12.328 *heu quid ago*, both ‘alas, what am I doing?’). The abrupt start in the indicative would then amount to an exclamation, with *en* marking indignation (Don. *Ter. Ph.* 348 *en habet uim indignationis post enarratam iniuriam*; see Hofmann 2003: 145–6). Dido is not contemplating possible future actions, but regretting the situation in which she finds herself as a result of past actions. Similarly ambiguous are Turnus’ expressions of despair towards the end of the poem:

Virg. *Aen.* 10.673–4 ... *quid ago?* aut quae iam satis ima dehiscat | terra mihi?

Virg. *Aen.* 12.637 nam *quid ago?* aut quae iam spondet Fortuna salute?

These passages are interpreted as cases of ‘vivid indicative for deliberative’ (Harrison 1990: 233, with reference to earlier commentators) and variously translated as ‘What am I to do?’ (West) and ‘What can I do’ (Mandelbaum, Lombardo). Perutelli finely captured the mixture of realisation (‘what am I doing?’) of an impossible predicament (‘what can I do now?’) and decision-making process (‘what am I to do’) in both characters’ tragic self-questioning (Perutelli 1979: 645 with n. 12).

#### 1.4.2. Italian present and future ‘of helplessness’

In Italian the future replaces the Latin deliberative subjunctive (Rohlf 1969: III.53) and exhibits ‘the coexistence of temporal (futural) and modal (epistemic) functions in one and the same form’ (Squartini 2010: 240; cf. Cordin 1997: 87–8). Modal uses of the future (epistemic, exhortative, attenuative, implorative) are documented as early as the thirteenth century in regional varieties of literary Italian (Pietrandrea 2005: 198–9). The Italian future formula *che farò* ‘what shall I do?’ still retains a dramatic tone that present *che faccio* in all its variety of force – deliberative, dubitative or argumentative, as in the context mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter – does not have. In its current Tuscan form the phrase is found for example in the *Novelle* of Franco Sacchetti (1335–1400), but parallels in Provençal versification document a much earlier poetic use of the formula and may explain the influence on the early Italian poets, where one reads the earliest examples of the future expressing uncertainty, perplexity or despair (‘indecisione di fronte a una deliberazione da prendere, perplessità o sgomento di fronte a ostacoli da superare, a circostanze sfavorevoli, a insuccessi’: Battaglia (1968: V.662). The troubadour Uc de Saint Circ (1217–53) has *que farai* four times (ed. Jeanroy and Salverda de Grave; cf. Jensen 1994: 210). The usage is already literary in the thirteenth-century lyric poets of the Scuola Siciliana in formulaic laments over unrequited

love, *com faragio*, lit. ‘how shall I do?’, often accompanied by the self-address *lasso* (masc.), *lassa* (fem.) ‘wretched me’ (e.g. Pier della Vigna, *Rime* 4.8; Compagnetto da Prato p. 231 Panvini; Guido delle Colonne *Rime* 3.32). The select illustration below includes such attendant features as they characterise Latin formulae, namely self-pitying references, hopeless quest for advice and inclusion of temporal/discourse markers:

Franco Sacchetti, *Novelle* 216 Onde tapinandosi: che farò? che dirò?  
 ‘Feeling sorry for himself: “What shall I do? What shall I say?”’

Guido delle Colonne, *Rime* 3.32 or com faragio, oi lasso adolorato? | ched  
 eo non trovo chi mi consigliare.  
 ‘Now what shall I do, unhappy wretched me? For I find no one to  
 advise me.’

Uc de Saint Circ II 10 (Jeanroy and Salverda de Grave) que farai donc,  
 dompna [12, 14, 16 que farai ieu]  
 ‘What shall I do, lady?’

### 1.5. ‘What will you have me do? I don’t think so’: repudiating questions

I mention one last, rhetorical, type that shows continuity from early Latin to Romance. In certain contexts the expression of doubt is feigned or indignant, expressing surprise or protest at a proposition received or expected: these questions are argumentative and polemical and are normally expressed in the subjunctive or the future, not, normally, in the present indicative (Anderson 1913: 53–4; Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: 330 §187.IV; Woodcock 131–2; Ernout and Thomas 1953: 204–5). That future and subjunctive are interchangeable, and often indistinguishable, in these expressions (as with pathetic appeals) is illustrated by the use of both in the so-called ‘echo questions’, which ‘repeat a segment of the previous discourse and ... typically function as a critique or refutation of it’ (Brown *et al.* 2009: 493). Plautus often uses the future and the subjunctive in this way. The future rejects a proposition for immediate action, for example Pl. *Men* 197–8 *sed opseco hercle, salta sic cum palla postea:: ego saltabo? sanus hercle non es* ‘But please, dance with the mantle on, like this. – I’ll dance? You’re crazy’ (cf. e.g. *Bac.* 874–5 *dabis:: dabo?*; *Bac.* 731 *scribe:: quid scribam?*). The subjunctive refutes an allegation referring to a past event, Pl. *Men.* 678 *pallam quam tibi dedi mihi redde:: mihi tu dederis pallam?* ‘Give me back the mantle I gave you – You gave me a mantle?!’ (cf. in classical Latin, for example, Cic. *Q. fr.* 1.3.1 *ego te uidere noluerim?*).

The present indicative is much less frequent in repudiating or polemical questions. The context in a couple of passages suggests this tone for sceptical or incredulous inquiries, ‘am I to believe that ... ?’, for example:

Pl. *Am.* 391 tuae fide credo?:: meae:: | quod si falles?

Ter. *An.* 497 credon tibi hoc nunc, peperisse hanc e Pamphilo?

One could include in this group a case such as Pl. *Rud.* 687 below (an echo question: *bono animo ... animus*), with third-person passive as in Juv. 4.130, one of two indicative examples in Juvenal (the other is 3.296 *in qua te quaero proseucha?*) versus four of the subjunctive, 3.296, 4.28, 6.O.29, 7.165: Courtney 1980: 255).

Pl. *Rud.* 687 bonum animo habete:: nam, opsecro, unde iste animus mi inuenitur?

‘Take courage, you two. – Please, where do I find that courage?’

Juv. 4.130 quidnam igitur censes? conciditur?

‘So what do you recommend? Cut him in pieces?’

These expressions are more exclamatory than deliberative or dubitative, and as such may also find a construction in the infinitive (*indignantis* or *admirantis*, Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: 366), with continuity in Romance in protesting replies (Rohlf 1969: III.85; Seriani 1988: 441), where the infinitive has the same force as the future.

Ter. *Hec.* 613 ita ut iubes faciam:: hinc abire matrem? minime.

Cic. *Att.* 9.13.8 tene haec posse ferre?

Virg. *Aen.* 1.37 mene incepto desistere uictam?

Manzoni, *Promessi Sposi* 5 ‘non ci abbandonerà, padre?’ ... ‘Abbandonarvi!’

Manzoni, *Promessi Sposi* 38 E lor signori mi vorranno negar l’influenze?

Non-verbal features have a role in communication, and that was certainly the case for Latin. Identical written forms can suit different contexts depending on intonation (Risselada 1993: 192). This must be assumed also for indicative questions without morphosyntactic markers, just as, in general, ‘rising intonation is to be assumed for questions without question word markers’ (Tekavčić 1972: 2.584–5, with Cic. *Catil.* 1.1 *patere tua consilia non sentis?*). Extra-literary evidence is all that one can put forward to approach an understanding of Quintilian’s pronouncement on the delivery, changing which ‘one can use the same words to either demonstrate or affirm, express

reproach, denial, wonder or indignation, interrogation, mockery, or to make light of something' (*Inst.* 11.3.5; Brown *et al.* 2009: 496).

## 2. Distribution and factors of continuity

I now turn to examine the distribution of the present indicative in a diachronic perspective. It is often stated that 'in questions that are truly deliberative the indicative is almost as common as the subjunctive, from Plautus to Tacitus' (Woodcock 1959: 130; Brown *et al.* 2009: 507; Magni 2009: 243). Even restricting the analysis to questions with deontic modality, the evidence from the classical period is in fact rather scanty, as correctly noted by Gildersleeve and Lodge (1903: §254 n. 2): 'in early Latin, and occasionally in the more familiar writings of Cicero, and here and there later we find the Present Indicative (in early Latin occasionally the Future) used in place of the Subj. in the Deliberative Question'. The evidence emerging from the analysis of searches on Brepols' Library of Latin Texts (Series A and B) is detailed in Table 1 and summarised in Tables 2 and 3. From the total of late Latin examples I have isolated attestations from the Vulgate and from the grammarians, scholiasts and rhetoricians of late antiquity, grouped under the generic rubric 'Non-Christian (subject-matter)'. Even rough figures about Vetus Latina versions of the Bible are difficult to produce; I discuss a few significant cases of variation below (2.2).

The statistics show a general and ever-increasing preference for *facio* in deliberative *do*-questions, as is naturally expected from the gradual substitution of *facio* for *ago* as the word for 'do' in Romance. If one then turns to the variation of mood/tense for both verbs, it is evident that preference for the subjunctive/future (morphologically indistinguishable in the singular) continues, the use of the future increases, and the present indicative gains ground, rising from a total of 27 records from the period 200 BC–AD 200 to a figure ten times higher in late antiquity. I discuss these trends further below. I merely give one caveat here, along with some summary remarks.

Figures are approximate in the large numbers, and the nature of the records hidden behind them is significant. The majority of examples in the largest categories (*quid faciam*, *faciemus*, *facimus*) are biblical citations or allusions and seem to suggest that they translate recurring formulae in the Greek Bible, especially the New Testament. The same forms, however, are sufficiently attested in non-ecclesiastical texts to indicate a parallel survival of the old dialogic formulae at the level of speech. Developments indicate



Table 1. *Distribution of mood and tense in deliberative do-questions, 200 BC–AD 500*

<i>Quid ago</i>	<i>agam</i>	<i>agimus</i>	<i>agamus</i>	<i>Agemus</i>	<i>facio</i>	<i>faciam</i>	<i>facimus</i>	<i>faciamus</i>	<i>faciemus</i>	
EL	8	26	11	/	/	/	43	/	/	4
CL	6	26	6	1	/	/	60	1	2	3
LL	6	29	41	5	9	35	215	80	13	140
<i>Vulgate</i>	/	1	/	/	/	/	18	1	/	14
<i>Non-Christian</i>	/	/	1	/	/	/	11	7	/	15

Table 2. *Summary of mood/tense distribution*

	Present Indicative	Subjunctive/Future
EL	20%	80%
CL	12%	88%
LL	29%	71%

Table 3. *Summary of lexical shift*

	<i>Ago</i>	<i>Facio</i>
EL	48%	52%
CL	37%	63%
LL	16%	84%

a preference for future forms of *facio*, competing with present forms in specific authors, notably Augustine and the fifth-century African grammarian Pompeius. Other occasional records suggest, by contrast, artificial recoveries of literary language, as in the fifth-century Gallic (?) author of the comedy *Querolus siue Aulularia*.

### 2.1. *Present indicative in EL and CL*

I give here a summary of the material discussed in [section 1](#) above, with complete references. The use of the dubitative/deliberative indicative in early Latin formulae is attested in eight questions in the singular (Pl. *Bac.* 1196, *Epid.* 693, *Per.* 666, *Trin.* 1061; Ter. *Ad.* 916, *Hau.* 343, *Ph.* 447, 736) and in eleven in the plural (Pl. *Epid.* 157, *Men.* 844, *Mil.* 249, *Ps.* 722,

1159, *St.* 68; *Ter. Ad.* 538, *Eu.* 811, 1081, 1088; *Ph.* 1007). The verb for these questions is always *ago*; the subjunctive/future formula *quid agam* counts 26 examples (all from Plautus and Terence except *Acc. Trag.* 268 and *Turp. Com.* 196) and nearly as many in indirect form (1.1 above). *Quid faciam* has the largest number of attestations (43, exactly as many as examples of *ago* altogether). The modality of the present indicative is deontic in most passages (1.1, 1.2), even where adverbs or other contextual indicators bring out a sense of futurity (1.3); in short, all these questions are ‘true deliberatives’ in comic dialogue, except for one case of distressed soliloquy (*Ter. Ph.* 736). For this emotive use the subjunctive or future is more usual (1.4).

The overall picture does not change dramatically in the classical period. Literary Latin has four unambiguous examples of deliberative *quid ago* (*Lutat. Poet.* 1.6; *Cic. Quinct.* 53 *bis*, *Att.* 7.20.2), to which must be added Virgil’s tragic self-addresses (*Aen.* 4. 533, 10.673, 12.637: see 1.4.1), versus four times the number of examples of *quid agam*. But there are some differences in the overall usage. First, records for *quid faciam* increase by over 25 per cent in CL. Second, formulae in the plural *agimus* are more sparsely attested than in EL (*Cic. Quinct.* 45, *Ad Brut.* 2.5; *Sen. Ep.* 95.51, *Tro.* 642; [Quint.] *Decl. mai.* 13.3; 19.8), showing, however, an increased proportion of rhetorical self-questioning (five examples, 1.4). Third, an entirely isolated attestation of the indicative *facimus* in a passage from Petronius may anticipate a trend of later usage: I discuss it below (2.3).

I note in passing a feature of deliberative questions that sets them apart from their subjunctive counterparts and other *quid*-subjunctive questions. Questions of this type ‘imply a personal view on the part of the speaker which he attempts to impose on the hearer’ (Adams 1999: 102). These questions often take an intervening *ego* with focusing function (‘What am I to do?’). In early and classical Latin the subjunctive is regular with intervening first-person pronoun (*quid ego agam* in *Pl. Mos.* 34, 378, *Trin.* 981). Except for a dubious paradosis at *Pl. Am.* 1040 (*perii miser. | quid ego ago? Leo: quid ego faciam*), the present indicative features in only one certain example, picked up by the subjunctive a few lines later in the dialogue:

*Pl. Mos.* 368, *uae mihi! | quid ego ago?:: nam quid tu, malum, me rogitas quid agas? accubas.*

‘Oh dear, what am I doing? – Why the hell do you ask me what you are doing? You’re dining.’

*Pl. Mos.* 378, *quid ego agam? pater iam hic me offendet miserum adueniens erbum.*

‘What shall I do? Now Father will come back here and find me drunk, damn!’

By contrast, indicative questions in which *quid* means ‘why’ (‘why am I doing this?’) display this feature regularly in EL (e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 314 Skutsch *sed quid ego haec memoro?* Pl. *Truc.* 766 *sed quid ego hic clamo*, Lucil. 1000M *sed quid ego haec animo trepidanti dicta profundo?* See Skutsch 1985: 363) and continue to do so throughout Latinity, in over 600 records from all periods and genres.

## 2.2. Late Latin and biblical Greek

With *facio* the indicative formula does not exist in early and classical Latin. *Quid facio* is late Latin (Hofmann 1926: 111). The mere juxtaposition of a few examples will suffice to illustrate the lexical shift and mood/tense variations in a recurring expression such as ‘what shall I do about x?’:

Ter. *Ad.* 996 *sed de frater quid fiet?*

Cic. *Att.* 9.5.2 (171 SB) de Pompeio *quid agam?* (cf. *Att.* 10.11.4)

Vulg. 1 Kings 10.2 (Samuel) *quid faciam* de filio meo?

Aug. *In psalm.* 142, 4 *quid facio* de Abessalon? *quid facio* de Iuda?

Where does *quid facio* come from, and what motivates its frequency in late Latin and survival in Romance (*che faccio*)?

*Quid faciam* is by far the most widely represented form of the deliberative question in any period of Latin, with numbers shooting up to the hundreds in late antiquity. In the early Fathers, *quid faciam* is frequent in Ambrose, in Jerome, and especially in Augustine. The earliest attestation of *quid facio* is in Ambrose (*Iob* 1.5.14: above, p. 228); but except for a couple of examples in Jerome and Quoduultdeus, all literary examples up to AD 500 are found in Augustine’s sermons (see 2.2.1 below).

A closer look at the attestations reveals that more often than not the formula translates the future (or aorist subjunctive: Marshall 2002 s.v. τίς; Blass *et al.* 1976: 295; DeWitt Burton 1900: 77) τί ποιήσω of the Greek New Testament. The passages most frequently cited or alluded to by the early Fathers are references to Pilate’s *quid faciam de Iesu* (Matt. 27.22), to the rich young man’s ‘what shall I do to have eternal life’ (Matt. 19.16, Mark 10.17), and to the parables of the unjust steward (Luke 16.3) and of the fool’s treasure (Luke 12.17). Jerome’s translation in the Vulgate has *quid faciam* consistently for all NT passages (Matt. 19.16, 27.22, Mark 10.17, Luke 12.17, 16.3–4, 20.13, Acts 22.10).

The question in the plural presents a comparably uniform situation. The Vulgate and all Vetus Latina versions have fut. *faciemus* in all the

passages in which the NT and the Septuagint read aor. subj. τί ποιήσωμεν, whether the formula expresses doubt/obligation (e.g. 1 Kings 6.2 *quid faciemus de arca Dei? indicate nobis, etc.*) or despair (4 Kings 6.15 *eheu eheu domine mi quid faciemus?*). The NT texts are Luke 3.10, 12, 14; John 6.28; Acts 2.37, 4.16. The only instance of our deliberative indicative question in the Vulgate is *quid facimus* in a literal translation of John, where Jerome restores the tense of the Greek ποιοῦμεν against the future of Vetus Latina texts. I give below the text of the *codex Palatinus* (*e* = VL2; see [Gryson 1999: 21–2](#); [Burton 2000: 17](#)). Other Vetus Latina versions have *faciemus* (e.g. Veronensis *b* = Vet. Lat. 4 and Corbeiensis *ff2* = Vet. Lat. 8):

John 11.47 τί ποιοῦμεν, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος πολλὰ ποιεῖ σημεῖα;

‘What do we do? For this man is performing many signs.’

(a) Vulg. *quid facimus*, quia hic homo multa signa facit?

(b) Vet. Lat. *e quid faciemus*, quod hic homo talia signa facit? (= *b*, *ff2*)

Augustine cites this passage repeatedly in his sermon on John’s Gospel (*In euang. Ioh.* 20.5, 21.5, 49.26), always with the present indicative; the text he had before him, or in his mind, was not that of the extant Vetus Latina versions. The future of the Vetus Latina texts is still around at the time of Alcuin (eighth/ninth century).

τί ποιοῦμεν with deliberative force is not classical Greek, nor typical of New Testament Greek: John 11.47 is a rare use ([Blass et al. 1976: 295](#)). Outside Christian texts the indicative is rarely attested (Lucian, *Pisc.* 10; Chariton 2.11.5); not that this is any proof that it did not have currency at the level of speech; quite the opposite, in fact.

### 2.2.1. Augustine

Augustine generally favoured evaluative *quid* questions (e.g. *quid ad me? quid ad rem?*), and our formula is no exception. With the present indicative it features in Augustine more than in any other Latin author of any period. Augustine’s immense body of works contains five out of six total attestations of *quid ago* (versus seven of *quid agam*), and 30 out of 35 total examples of *quid facio*. In the plural, Augustine has 16 cases of *quid agimus*, 49 cases of *quid facimus* (over half of the total attestations), 36 in the sermons.

The two passages below illustrate a number of features: the pairing of the two verbs *ago* and *facio*; the weaving of biblical allusion into the author’s prose; the complex modality of the indicatives, in a combination of the sense of uncertainty, deliberation and futurity.

Aug. *In psalm.* 36, III.14 quid ergo facio modo? ‘expecta dominum’. et cum exspecto, quid ago? ‘et custodi uias eius’.

‘So what do I do now? “Wait for the Lord.” And when I am waiting, what do I do? “And keep his ways.”’ (*Ps* .36.34)

Aug. *Conf.* 6.11.18 et dubitamus pulsare, quo aperiantur cetera? antemeridianis horis discipuli occupant: ceteris quid facimus? cur non id agimus?

‘And do we doubt to “knock”, that the rest “may be opened”? (Matt. 7.7) Our students take up our time in the morning; what do we do the rest of the time? Why not this?’

The great majority of examples come from Augustine’s homilies (*Sermones*), including the sermon-commentaries on the *Psalms* (*Enarrationes*), on John’s Gospel (*Tractatus*) and on John’s First Epistle (*In epistulam Iohannis ad Parthos*). As Philip Burton points out to me, genre is likely to have determined the recurring of such formulae in these works more than anywhere else, and to account for the substitution of the present indicative for the future or subjunctive of the scriptural source. I give two examples. The first concerns Augustine’s citations of Luke 16.3:

(a) Aug. *Serm.* 359A.9 quid faciam? fodere non possum, mendicare confundor.

(b) Aug. *In psalm.* 48, I.12.9 et ille: quid facio? fodere non possum, mendicare confundor.

Luke 16.3 εἶπεν δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὁ οἰκονόμος· τί ποιήσω; ... σκάπτειν οὐκ ἰσχύω, ἐπαιτεῖν αἰσχύνομαι.

‘The steward said to himself: what shall I do? My master is taking away my job. I am not strong enough to dig, I am ashamed to beg.’

(a’) Vulg.: ait autem uillicus intra se: quid faciam? ... fodere non ualeo, mendicare erubesco.

(b’) Vet. Lat. (c=VL2): quid faciam? ... fodere non possum, mendicare confundor.

The steward’s soliloquy (ἐν ἑαυτῷ, *intra se*) has no real deliberative force, for neither option, he says, is available to him. NT Greek has for this τί ποιήσω, as in Old Testament lamentations and classical Greek tragic monologues. When quoting the passage in two different sermons, Augustine uses now *faciam*, now *facio*. In both cases the choice of *confundor* for αἰσχύνομαι and of *possum* for ἰσχύω (so also in the shorter quotations at Aug. *Op. monach.* 15.16) suggests that he had a text in mind such as that given in the Codex Palatinus; other versions such as the Veronensis and Corbeiensis concur with the Vulgate also in translating *ualeo* and *erubesco* (Milne 1926: 107; Buchanan 1911: 148 and 1907: 66), but *faciam* is in all of

them. In no Vetus Latina text, nor in any quotation in the early Fathers, is *facio* for ποιήσω to be found for this passage. Augustine's alteration suggests a personal preference.

The second example concerns Augustine's references to Acts 2.37:

Vulg.: Acts 2.37 compuncti sunt corde et dixerunt ad Petrum ... quid faciemus, uiri fratres?

'They felt remorse in their hearts and said to Peter ... what shall we do, brothers?'

Augustine cites the verse over 20 times in his works, always retaining the future of the original text of the Vulgate and of Vetus Latina versions, while varying or elaborating on other elements in the context, notably *compuncti corde* (so given e.g. in *Quaest. hept.* 2.154, *Serm.* 71.33, 175.4, *In euang. Ioh.* 31.9; but *Serm.* 14D.4.4 *turbati*; *In psalm.* 93.8, *conturbati*; *Serm.* 229E *conturbati* ... *desperantes*; *Trin.* 15.19 *commotis corde Iudaeis*). In one passage the preacher's elaboration includes the form of the verb:

Aug. *Serm.* 14D (=352A).4.4 de sua salute turbati ... dixerunt apostolis: quid faciemus, fratres? ... 4.9 dicant ergo mihi: 'quid agimus?', qui commoti sunt uerbo ueritatis; dicant non uocibus, sed cordibus suis: 'quid ergo agimus?'

'They were worried about their salvation ... and said to the apostles: "what shall we do, brethren?" ... Let then those who are moved by the true word say to me, "what do we do?" Let them say it not with their voice but with their hearts: "what do we do then?"'

After the direct quotation, Augustine proceeds to 'actualise' the text, viewing himself as the apostle and addressee of the people's appeal, which is put in the mouth of his interlocutors in the form *quid agimus*.

The fact that Augustine was mostly citing from memory and that the 'mental text' he drew on may have been based on different versions of the scriptures or non-extant versions of the Vetus Latina Gospels (Burton 2012: 190–2; Houghton 2008: 44–77) certainly accounts for such and similar alterations (on the OT e.g. Gen. 27.37 Sept. σοὶ δὲ τί ποιήσω, τέκνον; Vulg. *post haec fili mi ultra quid faciam?* Aug. *Serm.* 4.23 *quid tibi facturum sum?*). However, the switch to the present indicative in *Serm.* 14D.9 seems to aim to recreate an oral style.

It has been acutely observed that the 'method of explaining the Scriptures to his congregation has obvious parallels with the way Augustine the *rheto*r would have taught his pupils classical texts, examining the structure and

sequence of each sentence and seeking to discern the meaning and intention underlying the form' (Houghton 2008: 62). It is precisely Augustine's effort to reach out to the audience that causes him to reproduce features of early Latin dramatic dialogue, especially Terence (Rosa 1989: 122), with a technique already adopted in the *Confessions* (Burton 2007: 37–43). But that the grammar of EL is a factor in Augustine's wide adoption of our formula more than (deliberate or not) incorporation of oral traits is highly unlikely. One could say, at best, that in Augustine's unique interpretation of the 'originally sub-literary genre of homily' (Müller 2012: 300) the didactic aim is so intrinsically connected with a performative dimension that it is not easy to differentiate between the reuse of EL material and the incorporation of oral traits in scriptural references.

### 2.3. *Late texts with subject matter other than Christian*

A comparatively small group of illustrations of our formula in late antiquity comes from authors (whether Christian or not) whose main concern was not with the exposition of Christian doctrine. The single example of *quid agimus* is in Ammianus (above p. 228). I have counted eight cases of *quid facimus*, all from the fifth/sixth century AD. Two belong to artificial poetry from Gaul. One opens a poem by Ausonius (fourth century), before he switches into Greek (*Epist.* 6.3 *quid facimus, Musae*); the other is in the fifth-century comedy *Querolus siue Aulularia* (p. 47.2 Peiper *heia quid nunc facimus*, with *nunc* as in e.g. Pl. *Ps.* 722: above p. 224). I discard a corrupted line in a hexametrical poem perhaps from the same area, *Epigr.* Bob. 37.39 (see Butrica 2006: 19). All other attestations come from North Africa. One is listed among 'general conversational phrases' (Dickey 2015: 74) in the trilingual colloquium (Greek, Latin and Coptic) found in a fifth/sixth-century papyrus from Egypt (text and translation below by Dickey 2015):

P.Berol. inv. 10582, 42–7

sermo co[tidia]nus:	ὁμιλία καθημερινή·	Daily conversation:
quid facimus,	τι ποιοῦμεν,	What (shall) we do,
frater?	ἀδελφέ;	brother?

The remaining five examples are found in Pompeius, the African author of a critique of Donatus' authoritative grammar in the late fifth/early sixth century. Pompeius was an idiosyncratic Latin writer and an independent writer on Latin (Kaster 1988: 139–68; Adams 2013: index s.v.). His didactic

style is characterised by frequent interruptions in the exposition, as one would do in the delivery of a class, for example giving examples of incorrect usage and stating ‘no one says that’ (*nemo dicit hoc*), asking questions such as ‘why?’ (*quare?*) ‘how does this work?’ (*quomodo potest fieri hoc?*), ‘what is it?’ (*quid est hoc?*) and – of course – ‘what are we to do’, as in this discussion of the numeral *mille* ‘thousand’:

Pompeius *GL* 5.185.19 et *quid facimus* de numero plurali? quomodo habemus dicere?

‘What do we do about the plural? how shall we say?’

This is an example of Pompeius’ ‘free-flowing talk’ (Kaster 1988: 168; cf. De Nonno 2010). With five examples of *quid facimus* (V 144.25, 149.37, 167.33, 185.19, 214.12) and four of the future *quid faciemus*, with seemingly identical function (V 232.2, 250.14, 250.18, 278.29), his prose gives the highest representation of the deliberative formula in late antiquity prose outside ecclesiastical texts.

Earlier authors know only the question *quid faciemus*: we read it once in the grammarian Velius Longus, a contemporary of Hadrian (*GL* 7. 56.15) and half a dozen times in two fourth-century works, the rhetorical handbook of Consultus Fortunatianus (*Rhet.* 1.28, 2.4, 2.16, 2.28, 3.2) and Virgil’s commentary by Tiberius Claudius Donatus (I 382.4, II 204.30, 388.16, 459.21, 466.23, 603.26 Georgii).

There is greater diversity of genres in the attestations for sing. *quid faciam*, which beyond technical writers (Cledon. *GL* 5.9.7; Fortun. *Rhet.* 3.14, 3.18) is found in one author of the *Historia Augusta* ([Trebellius Pollio] 24.32.7), in three Latin panegyrics (2.5.2, 38.3; 6.14.3, 8.9.5), in Dracontius (*Orest.* 811) and again in the *Querolus* (p. 21.7 Peiper). On the whole, the school is the context for the production of these texts.

A feature that none of these texts exhibits is the competing (Greek) construction *quid uis/uultis ut faciam* ‘what do you want me to do?’ This expression is a variation of the deliberative subj. in both Attic and Koine Greek, in the form τί βούληι / βούλεσθε + subjunctive. Aristophanes employed it ‘with submissive polite self-subordinating style in women and slaves’ (Willi 2003: 179). In Latin the construction is in comedy (e.g. Ter. *Hau.* 846 *quid uis faciam?*) and other dialogic texts (cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.57). Biblical Greek formulates it as τί θέλεις / θέλετε ποιήσω, which Jerome consistently rendered as *quid faciam* in his translations of both Old and New Testament, e.g. Vulg. 2 Kings 21.3 *dixit ergo David ad Gabaonitas quid faciam uobis?* ... 21.4 *quid ergo uultis ut faciam uobis?* (cf. 4 Kings 4.2, 4.12, 3.13; Matt. 20.32, Mark 10.36, 10.51, 15.12; Luke 18.:41).



2.4. *Parallel/converging developments*

By way of testing the hypothesis that we are dealing with separate, if converging, developments at the level of speech, it may be useful to examine a particular realisation of the formula in texts of disparate periods and genres.

Anyone familiar with the writings of Augustine will recall the frequent recourse to *quid ergo* questions. We read sing. *quid ergo facio* four times (e.g. *In psalm.* 36, III.14); pl. *quid ergo facimus* is an even more characteristic expression of Augustine, who has 20 out of the 22 total attestations, and the only three of *quid ergo nos facimus* with intervening pronoun, e.g. in *Epist. Ioh.* 3 *qui ergo nos facimus, fratres, quia docemus uos?* (= Greek τί οὖν ποιήσω(μεν)/ποιοῦμεν ὅτι). He uses it with markedly deontic modality, often with the expected directive coming from the scriptures – a feature of Augustine’s ‘question-and-answer’ style, especially in the exegetical sermons (Houghton 2008: 62; Mohrmann 1958: 60), or with explicit sense of futurity:

Aug. *Serm.* 359A.11 *quid ergo facimus? quid iussit dominus? ‘facite uobis amicos de mamona iniquitatis ...’* (Luke 16.9)

‘What do we do then? What did the Lord prescribe? “Make friends for yourselves by means of unrighteous wealth ...”’

Aug. *In psalm.* 39.9 *quid ergo facimus fratres? dimissuri eum sumus sine spectaculo?*

‘What do we do then, brothers? Are we going to leave him without a spectacle?’

No version of the formula in EL or CL has *ergo* or *igitur* with such high frequency. With the future/subj., Terence has *quid ergo agam* in *Hec.* 715 (*quid das consilii?*) and *quid igitur faciam* twice (*Ter. Eu.* 46, 966). Except for quotations of Terence, CL has only three examples with *ergo* in epistolary contexts (*Cic. Fam.* 9.26.1; *Sen. Ep.* 110.19; Marcus Aurelius ap. *Fro. Amic.* 1. p. 54H (92N, 85vdH)). It is not implausible that the version with *ergo* or *igitur* may have had an underlying Greek model. Colloquial Greek had deliberative τί οὖν ποιῶ since Attic comedy (e.g. Aristophanes *Th.* 635); around the same time as Fronto, Lucian, *Gall.* 29 τί οὖν ποιῶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο (note indication of futurity).

The Greek source of the great incidence in Christian texts has, however, probably nothing to do with either early or Hellenising Latin. The relevant model here (cited e.g. in Aug. *Cons. euang.* 3.8.32, Hier. *In Matth.* 4, l. 1561) is Matthew 27.22: τί οὖν ποιήσωμεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον

Χριστόν, *quid igitur faciam de Iesu qui dicitur Christus*, as we read it in the Vulgate and in the Vetus Latina Codex Corbeiensis (ff); other Vetus Latina versions have plural *faciemus*. The same episode is given in Mark with the periphrasis with *uolo*: 15.12 *quid ergo uultis faciam regi Iudaeorum* (τί οὖν ποιήσω ὃν λέγετε τόν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων).

And yet, this is not the whole story. The usage is found in non-ecclesiastical texts not only in the subjunctive/future (Cledon. *GL* 5.9.7 *quid igitur faciam*; Paneg. 2.38.3 *ergo*; *Querol.* p. 21.7 Peiper, *ergo nunc*), but, more to the point, in the indicative, and with a classical precedent:

Petr. 13.3 *quid ergo facimus*, aut quo iure rem nostram uindicamus?  
‘What do we do then, or how do we claim it [the cloak with the money] back?’

Aug. *In epist. Ioh.* 6.13 *quid ergo facimus?* unde discernimus? intendite.  
‘What do we do then? By what do we distinguish them [the antichrists]? Be attentive.’

Pompeius *GL* 5.149.37 *quid ergo facimus?* quem ad modum discernimus, quando est nomen, quando participium?  
‘What do we do then? How do we distinguish when it is a noun and when a participle?’

Ascylltus’ agitated remark in the *Satyrica* (first century AD), Augustine’s lecture on John’s First Epistle (fourth century AD) and Pompeius’ Latin grammar class (fifth/sixth century) have no literary source in common. These are living voices. The expression of doubt/deliberation with the indicative is a trait of the spoken language in all periods.

### 3. Conclusions

Although the present indicative continues to be largely outnumbered by morphological indicators of modality and tense, in late Latin the present indicative is more widely represented than in classical Latin and closer to the distribution in early Latin. Alongside the increasing preference of *facio* to *ago* on a lexical level, the period AD 200–500 presents an increase of approximately 10 per cent in the frequency of the present indicative in dubitative/deliberative questions. The phenomenon includes the extension to contexts which in the earlier period were covered predominantly by the subjunctive or by the future. The outcome of this change is evidenced by the fact that It. *che faccio* ‘what do I do?’ can, depending on

context and intonation, be equivalent to alternative expressions of various kinds, such as *che devo fare* 'what must I do?' (necessity), *che posso fare* 'what can I do?' (possibility), *che farò* 'what shall I do?' ('helplessness'), *che dovrei fare* 'what will you have me do' (repudiating).

Traditional explanations rest on the notion that modal indicative questions are a departure from a norm – present indicative *in place of* the so-called deliberative subjunctive, or present indicative *in place of* the future – in an early stage and/or in an inferior variety of the Latin language. It may well be that the present indicative is a survival from an early stage of the language when the use of moods and tenses was more flexible than in classical Latin – or, at any rate, more flexible than in the variety of classical Latin as codified into the strict norms that control the selective body of written evidence that came to be viewed as 'standard'. As far as one can tell from the scanty evidence from Cicero and Virgil, its presence in literary texts appears to have been motivated by reasons of vividness of the expression. Comic dialogue (all EL examples) confirms this view. In late Latin, citations and elaborations of scriptural passages may depart from the original in the direction of the indicative, especially in Augustine, whether he was citing from memory or (deliberately or not) aiming at an oral style. Textual variations in the versions of the Vetus Latina Bible confirm that 'the translators employ constructions which may be influenced by the Greek, but which are in accord with known tendencies in Vulgar Latin' (Burton 2000: 187). The largest body of attestations come from texts with a Christian subject matter. However, examples outside this category (Petronius, Pompeius) and, to a great degree, Augustine himself suggest that the feature was a living one. If Greek influence cannot be ruled out (cf. deliberative τί ποιοῦμεν in imperial Greek, p. 243), the idiom may well have developed independently in Latin. The present indicative is a feature of 'familiar language' (Traina 1985: 254): what did 'familiar Latin language' mean to speakers at the periphery of the Roman empire in the fourth century AD and beyond, when Latin was learned through the Bible or in the schools?

The 'deliberative indicative' is a feature of spoken Latin that just occasionally emerged in the early and classical records, where register allowed or recommended it, and resurfaced in the late period. The evidence indicates that the idiom belonged to an ongoing tendency of the spoken language, which gained ground in late Latin through a parallel and partly independent process (the influence of biblical Greek), and survives to this day in Romance.

## *On coepi/incipio + infinitive: some new remarks*

*Giovanbattista Galdi*

### 1. Introduction

This chapter deals with semantic and stylistic questions related to the pattern ‘inchoative verb + infinitive’ in Latin. The discussion will be restricted to *coepi* and *incipio* because with other verbs of inception the use of an infinitive is either rare and, generally, late (so *inchoo* and *initio*, cf. *TLL* 7.1.970.81ff., 1652.77ff.) or confined to republican times (*occipio*, cf. *TLL* 9.2.355.38ff., [Petersmann 1977](#): 189 n. 131).

Notoriously, *coepi* and *incipio*, despite their different etymologies (*coepi* from *co-* and *apiscor* (cf. [De Vaan 2008](#): 47), *incipio* from *in* and *capio*) are very closely related, not only semantically (*incipio* is for instance often found to gloss *coepi*, cf. *TLL* 3.1422.21ff.), but also syntactically, for both are used absolutely or governing an accusative or infinitive. Furthermore, their paradigms largely integrate with each other (cf. [Rosén 2012a](#): 127). *Coepi* is generally attested, from Naevius on, in the perfect stem tenses. Of the present *coepio*, built on the perfect, there only are a couple of instances in comedy and in the grammarians (*TLL* 3.1422.1ff.). Conversely, barring the participle *inceptus*, the perfect stem of *incipio* is very rare (it is absent from Cicero, Caesar, Livy and Tacitus), while its present forms are attested throughout Latin (*TLL* 7.1.912.41ff., [Löfstedt 1911](#): 285–6, [Petersmann 1977](#): 190 n. 122).

Our analysis will be divided into two main sections. The first will focus on *coepi* + infinitive. According to a common view, *coepi* often displays, since republican times, a weakening of its inceptive force (*coepit dicere* = *dixit*). This feature is normally associated with low or colloquial registers, but the matter has not been adequately investigated. We shall show, with the aid of statistical data, that a continuity between the republic and

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the early medieval period can be established with respect to the popularity of the verb in more mundane prose genres, but not in relation to its semantic weakening. Furthermore, we shall claim that the use of the construction itself is not colloquial. The second section will concentrate on the desemanticisation of *incipio* with the infinitive and the use of the periphrasis in place of a simple future, e.g. Vetus Latina Matthew 2.13 (cod. d) *incipit querere* (=quaeret) *puerum Herodes*. This phenomenon represents, as we shall argue, a peculiar innovation of early Christian literature (second/third century) which draws on Greek μέλλω and has no relation with the living language.

## 2. Semantic and stylistic properties of *coeipi* with the infinitive

Two opposing tendencies have been observed by scholars in the use of this construction. In most of the cases, *coeipi* retains throughout Latin its standard meaning. In the late period, for instance, it is commonly found in the translation of inceptive verbs or of Greek ingressive aorists (Rosén 2012a: 119–29, 136–7; 2012b). On the other hand, a weakening of the inchoative force is sometimes apparent, so that *coeipi*, together with the dependent infinitive, conveys a meaning equivalent to the simple perfect. According to the standard view, the latter feature is attested with continuity from Plautus (here also with *occipio*) until early medieval times and is characteristic of (markedly) low registers (see Löfstedt 1956: 2.450–1; Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: 319; Rosén 2012a: 120–4 and references there). Both claims are, as we shall argue, questionable.

This is not the place to assess every single example of *coeipi* for semantic bleaching (a subject that might be useful in the future), but it does seem to be the case that between Plautus and the early empire the verb generally preserves its standard force. It is only with difficulty that one can find clearcut instances where the deletion of *coeipi*, and the replacement of the infinitive by a perfect, would not produce a difference in meaning (cf. Rosén 2012a: 135–6). A few often quoted passages may be mentioned. Thus, occasionally the apparent redundancy results from an erroneous reading of the context. So in Pl. *Cas.* 651 *malum pessimumque ... tua ancilla ... exordiri coepit*, the meaning is not ‘she began to begin’, as frequently assumed, but ‘she began to plan, to contrive’ (de Melo 2011: 81 translates: ‘your slave girl has just begun to undertake something bad and terrible’; cf. *TLL* 5.2.1558.70, 1560.58). Likewise, in Pl. *Ps.* 399 *neque exordiri primum unde occipias, habes neque ad detexundam telam certos terminos*, the context (*ad detexundam telam*) suggests that *exordiri*

metaphorically keeps its original force ‘to lay the warp’ (see [de Melo 2012](#): 289 ‘you have neither a starting-point for beginning your web nor fixed limits for finishing it’; cf. *TLL* 5.2.1558.8iff.).

Sometimes *coepi* marks the starting point of a process that remains unaccomplished or, more rarely, is interrupted right at its beginning. In such cases, when the dependent infinitive expresses a momentary process, *coepi* may display a conative<sup>1</sup> or ‘prospective’ force (‘to be about’), which is essential within the context, ex. Pl. *Mer.* 199ff *rogitare occepit, quonia esset ... ilico occucurri atque interpello* (the potential question is interrupted by the intrusion of the speaker).

In other cases the alleged pleonasm reflects the desire of the author to stress the very beginning of a new action, even if this is not durative, e.g.:

Planc. Fam. 10.17.2 cum primum posse ingredi coepit ..., ad omnia pericula princeps esse non recusabat

As soon as he could start walking, he did not decline to be the first in all perils

Brut. Ad Brut. 1.4.5 tum et facilitatem et providentiam laudabo tuam, cum exploratum habere coepero Caesarem honoribus ... fore contentum

I will praise your willingness and foresight right after having the proofs that Caesar is happy with his honours

In the first of these passages the contextual use of *primum* and *coepit* underlines the determination of Plancus’ brother to return to his activity immediately after he had recovered. Likewise, in Brutus’ letter *coepi* emphasises the close proximity of the two actions.

In the *Bellum Africum*, and even more in the *Bellum Hispaniense*, there is an incessant use of the construction, not least in repetitive clusters (cf. 1.1. below). One must of course leave open the possibility that in some passages this use is merely periphrastic (it is sometimes a matter of interpretation), but generally this does not seem to be the case. For instance, in connection with the *Bellum Africum* Wölfflin and Miodoński (1889: 69) argue that *coepi* accomplishes a sort of adverbial function, in that it marks the durative nature of the action expressed by the infinitive, e.g. *B. Afr.* 41.1 *Scipio ... intra suas continere se munitiones coepit* ‘Scipio took cover in his fortifications and stayed there for a while’.

The first certain instances of pleonastic *coepi* are probably to be found in Petronius, e.g.

<sup>1</sup> Note that for the frequentative *coepito* the *OLD* gives as one of its possible meanings ‘to attempt’.

Petr. 29.9 *interrogare* ... atriensem *coepi*, quas in medio picturas haberent. 'Iliada et Odyssean' inquit (cf. 139.3)

I asked the porter which pictures they had in the hall. 'The Iliad and the Odyssey' he said.

Here *coepi* cannot be accounted for by the semantics of the infinitive (the question is only posed once and briefly at that), by a special emphasis on its beginning or by an interruption of the process. However, such cases are admittedly rare (see Rosén 2012a: 136–7; Petersmann 1977: 191–2). It is in the third century that redundant *coepi* tends to spread. This use is found several times in Christian texts (e.g. *Per. Aeth.* 3.7 *cepi eos rogare ut ostenderent nobis singula loca*, Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 8.31 *antefanas ... incipere per ordinem coepit*) and, though obviously not a Grecism (cf. Löfstedt 1956: 2.451–2), it may have been influenced by the Latin Bible, in which a pleonastic *coepi* rendering ἀρχίζω/-ομαι, often occurs, e.g. Vulg. Mark 10.28 *coepit Petrus ei dicere* "ecce" *eqs.*, ἤρξατο λέγειν (see Schrijnen and Mohrmann 1937: 11–12).

This brief survey seems thus to suggest that, despite their similarities, no certain continuity can be established between those late imperial instances of *coepi* that reveal a patent bleaching of the verb and the republican uses, in which *coepi* generally retains its force.

### 2.1. Distribution of *coepi*

Let us now consider the frequency of the syntagm, whatever the force of *coepi*, in narrative prose. We have analysed a range of texts from the first century BC up to the sixth century, calculating for each the overall number of instances of the construction and its frequency per thousand words of text (relative rate): see Table 1.

The common claim that the incidence of *coepi* significantly increases in late Latin does not find support. Egeria and Gregory of Tours, for instance, display approximately the same rate as Caesar and in Apuleius the verb is rare. Moreover, the use of the verb itself is not stylistically marked, for it also occurs in high-style Latin (Tacitus, Livy, etc.). However, an inversely proportional relation seems to exist between register and frequency of *coepi*, that is, the more formal the narrative style, the less common the use of the construction. Barring Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, all texts with a rate significantly lower than one are those with the highest literary ambitions, notably Tacitus.<sup>2</sup> By contrast, in stylistically less pretentious texts

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Jim Adams for drawing my attention to this author.

Table 1. Coepi + *infinitive* in selected narrative sources[illegible]



the average rate is a little higher than 1, and a remarkable surge appears in the *Bellum Hispaniense*, the *Satyrica* and the *Bellum Africum*. It is also of interest that in low-style prose *coepi* often occurs in clusters and this tendency emerges persistently throughout Latin (for some examples, see [Adams 2013: 827](#)).

On the whole, our investigation shows that *coepi* is remarkably widespread in more pedestrian style, where it often appears in clusters. Significantly, and more to our point, this phenomenon emerges with diachronic consistency from the late republic down to the sixth century (see also [Bertschinger 1921: 16–18](#), on the language of Phaedrus).

## 2.2. A syntactic ‘vulgarism’?

There is a trend in the literature to refer to *coepi* + infinitive as a colloquial or ‘vulgar’ feature (for references see [Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: 319](#)). We have seen above that the turn of phrase is not itself stylistically marked (it occurs in all registers), but its constant use, particularly in clusters, is a feature of a more ‘popular’ narrative prose. In this section we shall discuss two arguments advanced by scholars in support of its sub-standard character.

In a passage of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* providing a sample of the simple type of style, *coepi* is found twice:

*Rhet. Her.* 4.14 in adtenuato figurae genere, id quod ad <in>fumum et cotidianum sermonem demissum est, hoc erit exemplum: ‘nam ut forte hic in balneas uenit, coepit, postquam perfusus est, defricari; deinde, ubi uisum est ut in alueum descenderet, ecce tibi iste de trauerso: “heus”, inquit “adolescens, pueri tui modo me pulsarunt; satis facias oportet”. hic, qui id aetatis ab ignoto praeter consuetudinem appellatus esset, erubuit. iste clarius eadem et alia dicere coepit. hic uix: “tamen”, inquit, “sine me considerare”. tum uero iste clamare uoce ista, quae uel facile cuiuis rubores eicere posset.’

Of the simple type of style, which is brought down to the most ordinary speech of every day, the following will serve as an example: ‘Now our friend happened to enter the baths, and, after washing, was beginning to be rubbed down. Then, just as he decided to go down into the pool, suddenly this fellow turned up. “Say, young chap,” said he, “your slaveboys have just beat me; you must make it good.” The young man grew red, for at his age he was not used to being hailed by a stranger. This creature started to shout the same words, and more, in a louder voice. With difficulty the youth replied: “Well, but let me look into the matter.” Right then the fellow cries out in that tone of his that might well force blushes from any one.’

(Translation [Caplan 1964](#))

As a preliminary, it has to be observed that there is no consensus about the type of Latin exemplified here (note also that the crucial term *infumum* is a conjecture). According to some scholars, the passage exhibits lower-class features while others see here the conversational language of the higher classes (see Marouzeau 1954: 195; Calboli 1993: 293–4; Ferri and Probert 2010: 18–20, and references there). Apart from that, it is questionable whether *coepi* itself is part of this style because in the same passage we find a number of syntactic features that cannot be (exclusively) assigned to lower sociolects, such as the historical infinitive *clamare* or the temporal clauses *postquam perfusus est* and *ubi uisum est*. Furthermore, *coepi* retains in both instances its full aspectual and semantic force in that it expresses the beginning of a durative action ('he began to be rubbed', 'he started to shout the same words, and more'). The passage, hence, does not provide compelling evidence for the 'popular' character of the periphrasis. However, the fact that it occurs twice within a short text segment may reflect the tendency of more mundane prose to use the construction in clusters (see above).

The second argument concerns the fact that Vegetius generally modifies the text of Chiron when the latter displays *incipio* or *coepi* + infinitive (cf. Rosén 2012a: 123–4), e.g. Chiron 570 *statim incipiet pectore stridere et per nares humorem liquidum proicere incipiet* ~ Veg. *Mulom.* 2.43.1 *stridet de pectore et per nares humorem liquidum proicit* (a full list of such instances is found in Grevander 1926: 78–9). Since Vegetius' style is generally regarded as more correct than that of Chiron (Vegetius himself (1. prol. 3) refers to the *eloquentia inopia* and *sermonis uilitas* of the source) our syntagm is included among the many substandard features 'filtered out' in the later text. However, as is often the case in this type of comparison, the opposite circumstance has not been considered, that is, when Vegetius takes over the construction from Chiron (or Pelagonius) or even adds it himself. From our analysis, three main results emerged. First, *incipio* is indeed more frequent in Chiron, but for most of the occurrences we do not have the corresponding passage in Vegetius (Table 2).

Second, it is striking that in five of his 14 uses of *incipio*, Vegetius adds the verb into the text of Chiron or Pelagonius (e.g. Veg. *Mulom.* 2.14.6 *die*

Table 2. *Incipio* + infinitive in Chiron and Vegetius

	Chiron	Vegetius
Totals	47	14
Relative rate	0.7	0.3

*tertio ... fouere incipies frequenter et diu* ~ Chiron 528 *foueto auriculam* / Pelagon. 54 *foueto aurem*) and in three further cases he draws directly on the model. Third, and most importantly, the distribution of *coepi* + infinitive gives us a very different picture (Table 3).

Table 3. Coepi + infinitive in Chiron and Vegetius

	Chiron	Vegetius
Totals	47	53
Relative rate	0.7	1

Interestingly, Vegetius 15 times takes over *coepi* from the source, and in a further 14 cases he adds it himself, e.g. Veg. *Mulom.* 1.11.14 *cum ... coeperit esse ualidior* ~ Chiron 362 *cum coeperit fortior esse*, Veg. *Mulom.* 1.3 *cui-cunque ... sanguinolentus humor ... per nares fluere coeperit* ~ Chiron 169 *sanguinolentus humor ... per nares profluet*. If we add together the occurrences of *coepi* and *incipio* in the two texts, the relative rate turns out to be nearly the same (Table 4).

Table 4. Incipio/coepi + infinitive in Chiron and Vegetius

	Chiron	Vegetius
Totals	94	67
Relative rate	1.4	1.3

The common view that Vegetius avoids the construction because of its sub-standard character must thus be rejected.

There is also another element to consider, which involves the semantic dimension. The use of *coepilincipio* is often to be found since republican times in technical literature. Table 5 gives some statistics based on a range of texts from different periods.

In most by far of the instances, the construction displays two very specific functions. On the one hand, it refers to the beginning of a new process or phenomenon (often a disease), which typically needs to be handled in a specific way, e.g. Cato *Agr.* 151.4 *ubi germen nascere coeperit, tum demi*, Col. 2.10 *ubi coeperit fruticare, omnis alterius generis herbas eruncato*. On the other, it describes the initial stage of a treatment or of its effects, e.g. Cato *Agr.* 158.1 *ubi iam coctum incipit esse, eo addito brassicae coliculos duos*

Table 5. Incipio/coepi + infinitive in selected technical sources

	Cato	Varro	Columella	Pelagonius
Totals	23	40	68	13
Relative rate	1.4	1.1	0.6	0.6

(this use is rarer). In both cases, the employment of *coepilincipio* is not only ‘acceptable’, but even necessary. The author reminds the reader of the importance of recognising either a process/phenomenon or the specific phase of a treatment right from the very beginning so that it is possible to intervene at the proper time. Now, nearly all instances of the construction in Vegetius and Chiron feature in these two types of context. Consequently, the cases in which Vegetius adds or deletes *coepilincipio* to or from the source do not seem ascribable to redundancy, but to the fact that he does or does not deem it necessary to emphasise the beginning of a process or (stage of) a treatment. Compare the following passages:

Veg. *Mulom.* 2.40.3 si parum apte profluat sanguis, iumento faenum dabis eqs.

Chiron 565 si sanguinis parum ad te fluere coeperit, dato eqs.

The changes in Vegetius are not due to aberrations in the source. Both texts are in all respects correct but Chiron, unlike Vegetius, puts stress on the initial outbreak of the disease (cf. also Veg. *Mulom.* 2.43.1 and, for the opposite case, Veg. *Mulom.* 1.3 and 2.14.6, all quoted above). We may assume that in this type of change stylistic factors played a crucial role. That is, given the high frequency of *incipio* + infinitive in Chiron, Vegetius tended to replace it with a monolectic verb, in order to distinguish his own style from that of the source.

All in all, the two above-discussed arguments in favour of the ‘vulgar’ nature of *coepi* do not hold up to scrutiny. It must be noted in this respect that the desemanticisation of inchoative verbs governing an infinitive is also known from other languages, such as Middle English, Old French and Old Italian (cf. Wehr 1984: 189–91; Los 2000), but no connection is usually assumed with sub-standard registers. Scholars have rather interpreted the construction as a focusing device aiming at arousing the interest of the readers by highlighting a new turn in the discourse (Los 2000: 271; Detges 2004: 215; Kurzová 1992: 217).<sup>3</sup> We believe that one of the main reasons

<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, in present-day Catalan the expression *anar* (‘to go’) + infinitive, which originally had an analogous highlighting function, came to be the default past tense marker, instead of the expected future one (thus e.g. *va ser* means ‘was’). See Detges 2004 and below p. 292.

for the popularity of *coepi* in narrative prose was the possibility of expressing a durative process through the perfect. Durative or continued actions are typically associated, in main sentences, with the imperfect, which is a background tense. The perfect, instead, mostly acts as a foregrounding tense in reference to momentary or terminative states of affairs (Pinkster 1990: 237). Our construction offered a means of combining these two options, by foregrounding (and thus highlighting) durative processes through the use of the perfect. This suggestion gains support from the fact that in the majority of the cases the focus seems to be not on the initial moment of the action expressed by the infinitive but on its duration (cf. Wölfflin and Miodoński 1889: 69; Kurzová 1992: 214–17). Significantly, in late Latin the periphrasis is sometimes transmitted as a variant reading of imperfect tenses (Rosén 2012a: 133; 2012b: 372). Moreover, in the narrative texts we have considered *coepi* is mostly preferred within main clauses, which typically bear the central information. This tendency is particularly evident in more mundane prose works where it emerges with continuity right from republican times (Table 6).

Table 6. *Coepi* + *infinitive* in main clauses (selected sources)

Caes.	<i>B. Hisp.</i>	<i>B. Afr.</i>	<i>B. Alex.</i>	Petr.	Gospels ( <i>Vulgata</i> )	Greg. Tur.
82%	83%	67%	85%	84%	100%	82%

*Note:* The percentage is based on the overall occurrences of *coepi* + *inf.* in each source.

Instructive too is the picture emerging from the *Itinerarium Egeriae* (*Peregrinatio Aetheriae*). In the first 23 chapters, which constitute the real account of her journey and are characterised by the vividness of the style, the syntagm is only found in main sentences, while in the second, more static and descriptive section, it is restricted to temporal clauses, e.g. *Per. Aeth.* 4 *completo ... omni desiderio ... cepimus iam et descendere*, 25 *cum ... coeperit episcopus uenire cum ymnis, aperiuntur omnia hostia*.

In conclusion, our analysis suggests that, barring a few cases in Petronius and perhaps in Caesar's followers, the desemanticisation of *coepi* governing an infinitive does not spread until the third century. A continuity between the earlier and the later period seems thus unlikely. Additionally, the construction itself cannot be associated with lower registers, for it also occurs in high-style Latin, and the arguments advanced in favour of its 'vulgar' nature are not compelling. However, the high frequency

of *coepi* and, in particular, its tendency to occur in clusters are undoubtedly characteristics of more mundane prose. Interestingly, both the latter features – which may reflect the desire of the author to emphasise durative processes – emerge with continuity from the late republic through to Gregory of Tours.

### 3. The weakening of *incipio* + infinitive and its prospective use

This section is concerned with the semantic bleaching of *incipio* governing an infinitive and its prospective meaning, by which it replaces a simple future (*incipiet facere* = *faciet*). The former feature is allegedly frequent in technical sources of the empire, but most of these instances, as we shall argue, can be put down to the standard force of *incipio*. Conversely, the ‘futurate’ use of *incipio* constitutes an innovation of early Christian literature (second/third century) and has to be regarded as a form of translationese.

#### 3.1. Non-Christian sources

The *TLL* (7.1.919.14ff.) distinguishes, in pagan sources, two groups of instances that reveal a semantic bleaching of the verb (*vi incohendi debilitata*): a *usus praeparativus* (919.19ff.) and an *usus attenuatus* (919.70ff.) in place of the future or, more rarely, other tenses or moods. The former is attested from the first century onwards and, within it, five contexts are identified:

- (1) Introducing the apodosis of a conditional clause, e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 9.15 *incipit fortunae esse subiectum, si quam partem sui foris quaerit*. This usage can be put down to the original force of *incipio*: given a certain condition *x*, then *y* begins to apply, i.e. at the moment in which *x* is fulfilled, *y* starts to be valid.
- (2) Governing a perfect infinitive. In all early imperial instances, *incipio* keeps its standard force, e.g. Tac. *Ag.* 32.2 *qui timere desierint, odisse incipient*.
- (3) With *uelle* and *posse*. In these cases too, *incipio* retains its aspectual value, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 6.751 *ut conuexa reuisant, rursus et incipiant in corpora uelle reuerti*.
- (4) Linked to a simple future (*incipio* is also in the future tense), e.g. Prop. 3.4.16 *spectare ... incipiam et ... legam*. These instances are very rare and confined almost exclusively to poetry (notably Propertius).

Besides, no compelling evidence emerges in support of a semantic weakening.

- (5) With so-called inchoative verbs, e.g. Cato *Agr.* 17.2 (nuces) *ubi primum incipiunt hiascere*. Such examples are only revealing of the non-ingressive sense of this type of verb (Haverling 2000: 115–21).

The *usus attenuatus* embraces the cases in which *incipio* occurs in place of the future or, more rarely, of other verbal forms (we will not go into the latter). The passages go back to the second century onwards and are generally found in technical writings. Occasionally, the verb may be pleonastic, but in the great majority of the cases it is explainable by its standard meaning. A number of instances are found in Chiron and fall within the above-discussed use of *coepi/incipio* in technical literature, in which it marks the beginning of a new process/phenomenon or the initial stage of a treatment (or of its effects). The remaining passages feature in juridical and grammatical texts and most of them belong to – or are an extension of – the type exemplified under (1), in which *incipio* introduces the consequence of a hypothetical condition,<sup>4</sup> normally (but not necessarily) expressed by *si*, e.g. Eugeph. Ter. *Hau.* 713 *si ... crediderit senex amicam filii sui esse meretricem, incipiet filiam suam mihi dare nolle*. Furthermore, in nearly all its alleged uses in place of the future, *incipio* itself is found in this tense. It is, thus, incorrect to speak of a substitution of the future, because the futurity is already contained in the verb morphology.

To sum up, a continuity in the use of *incipio* turns up in the technical literature of the Empire (2nd–6th century). The verb occurs on the one hand in veterinary works, for which, as in the case of *coepi*, a direct connection may be assumed with earlier agricultural and medical literature and on the other hand in juridical and grammatical texts, typically relating to a conditional phrase. The vast majority of the instances can be put down to the standard force of *incipio*, which normally governs durative or iterative infinitives. Finally, there appears no clear-cut instance of *incipio*

<sup>4</sup> This pattern also allows us to account for most of the alleged uses of *incipio* ‘pro coniunctivo’ (TLL 7.1.920.19ff.). The verb is normally found in final clauses that refer to the potential consequences of an implicit condition inferable from the preceding context, according to the schema ‘*x* is (or must be) in a given way, in order for *y* not to happen’, which presupposes ‘*y* will start to happen, if *x* is not in a given way’. In his commentary on Virg. *Aen.* 9.676, for instance, Servius says that *Liquetia* has to be taken as a proper noun and not as an adjective lest we move from the general to the specific level: ‘*Liquetia* proprium est nomen, non epitheton, ne *incipiamus* a generalitate ad speciem reverti. The implicit thought is that, if one interprets the lemma as an adjective, we would (start to) have a transposition *a generalitate ad speciem*. It should be noted, however, that in all instances herein collected there is no ‘replacement’ of the subjunctive, for *incipio* itself occurs in this mood.

replacing a simple future (*incipit facere* = *faciet*), because *incipio* itself is generally found in the future tense (*incipiet facere* = *faciet*).

### 3.2. *Christian sources*

A characteristic feature of Christian texts (since the second century) is the use of the construction in narrative settings in which one would expect a simple future (*TLL* 7.1.920.45ff.). See the following instances in the *Vetus Latina*:

Luke 9.44 (codd. a, e2, c) *filius hominis ... incipit tradi in manus hominum* (μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων, cod. d *incipiet*, *Vulg.* et alii *futurum est ut tradatur*)

John 6.15 (codd. ff2, l) *Iesus ... sciens quia incipiunt turbae uenire et rapere eum* (μέλλουσιν ἔρχεσθαι, cod. b *incipient*, *Vulg.* et alii *uenturi essent*)

Matt. 2.13 (cod. d) *incipit querere Herodes puerum ad perendum eum* (μέλλει γὰρ Ἡρώδης ζητεῖν τὸ παιδίον, *Vulg.* et alii *futurum est ... ut*)

Unlike the pagan passages, this use of *incipio* is not bound to specific contexts or syntactic environments. The verb may feature in the present tense with clear reference to the future, and the inceptive force is often absent. In the above examples, for instance, *incipio* refers to an event that has still to happen (note, in the Vulgate, *futurum est ut* and *uenturi essent*). Moreover, the infinitive has neither durative nor iterative force and the action that it expresses is not interrupted; there is also no stress on its beginning. The construction is found several times in the *Vetus Latina* and from here it spreads to other sources, so that we can regard it as a syntactic Christianity (cf. [Schrijnen and Mohrmann 1937](#): 23). Before suggesting a possible explanation for its origin, we shall give an overview of its distribution in the Bible translations.

Scholars agree that the prospective use of *incipio* in the Bible directly draws on μέλλω, as in the examples above ([Hofmann and Szantyr 1972](#): 313). We have thus reviewed all occurrences of μέλλω with infinitive in the Greek original, checking, in each case, its counterpart in the Latin translations. The instances of ἄρχω/ἄρχομαι with infinitive have not been considered because this periphrasis normally does not exhibit futurate force. The results are given in [Table 7](#). Owing to the different frequency of use, a distinction is drawn among the Gospels, the remaining books of the New Testament and the Old Testament. Columns 2 to 4 refer to the *Vetus Latina* and include the instances of μέλλω rendered (a) by *incipio* in at least one testimony, (b) by a verbal form different from *incipio*, (c) by



Table 7. Translation of μέλλω in the Latin Bible

1	2	3	4	5
	VETUS LATINA			VULGATE
	<i>incipio</i> (at least one testimony)	NO <i>incipio</i>	-urus esse (at least one testimony)	<i>incipio</i>
Gospels	25	7	29	3
Other books of the New Testament	28	26	28	12
Old Testament	16	15	6	6
Totals	69	48	63	21

the periphrastic future with *-urus*. Column 5 comprises the use of *incipio* in the *Vulgata*.

Two general observations may be made. First, in the Vetus Latina, *incipio* is the most frequent translation of μέλλω. Of particular interest are five passages, not included in the table, in which the verb occurs in single testimonies without a corresponding μέλλω in the source (cf. Thielmann 1885: 86–7). The tense is either the future, e.g. Luke 20.36 (cod. e<sub>2</sub>) *neque enim incipient mori* (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι δύνανται, Vulg. *poterunt*, alii *morientur*, *moriuntur* etc.; see also Acts 1.5, Num 15.39, Tob 3.10), or the imperfect: John 1.43 (cod. l) *incipiebat autem exire in Galileam* (ἡθέλησεν ἐξελεῖν, alii *uoluit*) (this is the only case of *incipio* translating θέλω). These instances are clearly a result of the widespread use of prospective *incipio* in the Bible translations. However, μέλλω is not systematically rendered by *incipio* as claimed in some studies: the former occurs 117 times and in 48 of them (thus, over 40 per cent) *incipio* is not found in any testimony. Moreover, 63 times the periphrastic future *-urus esse* occurs, and in roughly half of these *incipio* does not appear as an alternative translation. On the other hand, Jerome mostly renders μέλλω by *-urus sum* or other verbal forms, but does not avoid *incipio*, which he adopts 21 times, i.e. about one-third of the occurrences in the Vetus Latina. Secondly, the highest surge of *incipio* in the Vetus Latina emerges in the New Testament, especially in the Gospels (25 instances, i.e. over one-third of the total figures). Accordingly, μέλλω is rendered only seven times by different verbal forms. Interestingly, in the Gospels we also observe the lowest frequency of *incipio* in the *Vulgata* (three times). This discrepancy may result from the fact that, due to the centrality of the message of the Gospels, Jerome

paid special attention to their translation and tended to avoid forms that could have been unclear or ambiguous to the reader.

The crucial point is now: how does this special use of *incipio* develop and how can we explain examples like Luke 9.44 or John 6.15 above? The *usus praeprativus* and *attenuatus* of the verb that the *TLL* identifies in pagan literature is chiefly restricted to technical texts and to specific contexts (see 3.1. above). Moreover, the large majority of the instances can be put down to the standard meaning of the verb. Therefore, a continuity or link between the Christian and non-Christian uses is unlikely. In our opinion, we may be confronted here by a ‘loan-shift’, i.e. the process by which ‘the semantic field of a lexeme in the recipient language is adjusted to replicate that of an already partially equivalent one in the source language’ (Coleman 1975: 106). As shown by Adams (2003: 461–8), the precondition for a loan-shift to occur is that the two terms involved – in our case μέλλω and *incipio* – share part of their semantics. Thayer (1889: 396–7) distinguishes five meanings of μέλλω + infinitive in the New Testament: (a) to be on the point of doing or suffering something; (b) to intend, have in mind; (c) in reference to things that will come to pass, by fixed necessity or divine appointment; (d) referring to what is sure to happen; (e) to delay. None of these values is found in Latin reference dictionaries under the entries *incipio* or *coepi*. There is, though, a use of *coepi* that comes very close to (a) and (b), i.e. when the verb conveys a conative force or refers to events that are about to happen or very close to their commencement. This is often the case when the governed infinitive expresses a punctual or terminative process (see also section 1). Such instances are already found in pre-Christian Latin, especially in Petronius, e.g. 136.8 *ire extra casam coepi. necdum liberaueram cellulae limen, cum animaduerto Oenotheam ... uenientem*, 67.3 ‘atqui’ respondit Habinnas ‘nisi illa discumbit, ego me apoculo’. et *coeperat surgere*, nisi signo dato Fortunata quater amplius a tota familia esset uocata (Rosén 2012: 136; cf. also Pl. *Mer.* 199 quoted in section 1). Reichenkron (1957b: 466) recognises this special meaning of ‘being about to’, ‘im Begriff sein’ also in the Petronian instances of *coepi* governing *uelle* as in 68.3 *iam coeperat Fortunata uelle saltare*, iam Scintilla frequentius plaudebat quam loquebatur, cum Trimalchio ‘permitto’ inquit. As seen in the introduction to this chapter, *coepi* and *incipio* were closely linked to each other, with the result that the latter integrates, to a considerable extent, with the paradigm of the former. Thus, the assumption can be made that starting from instances such as Petr. 67.3 or 136.8, in which the meaning of

Table 8. *Tenses of incipio/coepi translating μέλλω in the Vetus Latina*

Present or future involved (reference point in the present/future)				Other tenses involved (reference point in the past)			
Present indicative	Present subjunctive	Simple Future	<i>coeperim</i>	Imperfect indicative	Imperfect subjunctive	Present participle	<i>coepissem</i>
14	2	21	3	19	8	15	2
Totals		40				44	

*coepi* and μέλλω partially overlapped, *incipio* was chosen, by loan-shift, as a translational equivalent of μέλλω.

Our hypothesis is supported by a statistical observation. Table 8 indicates the type of tense found with *incipio* or *coepi* translating μέλλω in the Vetus Latina. The figures are higher than those of Table 7 because they include each single instance of the verb in the Latin testimonies, even in cases of different translations of the same Greek passage. The above-quoted Luke passage (9.44), for example, was counted twice (*incipit, incipiet*). The instances have been divided into two groups according to whether the reference point lies in the present/future or in the past. The present participle has been included in the second group because it is systematically found in contexts of anteriority, e.g. Vetus Latina Acts 3.3 (codd. d, e50, h) (=Vulg.) *cum uidisset Petrum et Ioannem incipientes introire in templum, rogabat* eqs. (μέλλοντας εἰσιέναι).

The use of *incipio/coepi* is slightly preferred in a past tense and/or context, and in these cases the verb can generally be rendered with the periphrasis mentioned above 'to be about to do something' or 'to intend, to try', as in the following passages (note in all cases the use of a punctual infinitive):

Luke 7.2 (codd. a, d) centurionis ... cuiusdam seruus male habens, incipiebat mori (ἤμελλεν τελευτᾶν, Vulg. et alii erat moriturus)

John 7.39 (codd. c, ff., l, q, r) hoc ... dixit de Spiritu, quem incipiebant accipere (ὁ ἔμελλον λαμβάνειν, Vulg. et alii accepturi erant)

Acts 18.14 (codd. d, e, g) (=Vulg.) incipiente ... Paulo aperire os, dixit Gallio (μέλλοντος ... ἀνοίγειν τὸ στόμα)

Jerome's translation is also revealing (Table 9).

*Incipio* is chosen 13 times as an equivalent of μέλλω in contexts of anteriority and eight in reference to the future, e.g. Vet. Lat. Acts 27.33

Table 9. *Tenses of incipio/coepi translating μέλλω in the Vulgate*

Present or future involved (reference point in the present/ future)			Other tenses involved (reference point in the past)			
Present indicative	Simple Future	<i>coeperim</i>	Imperfect indicative	Imperfect subjunctive	Present participle	<i>coepissem</i>
1	5	2	2	3	7	1
Totals	8		13			

(Bede *Acts* 27.33 et alii) (= *Vulg.*) *cum lux inciperet fieri, rogabat Paulus omnes sumere cibum* (ἄχρι δὲ οὗ ἡμέρα ἤμελλεν γίνεσθαι). Furthermore, the latter group only includes one ‘future-oriented’ present: *Vulg.* *Acts* 27.10 *uideo quoniam cum iniuria et multo damno ... incipit esse nauigatio* (μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι). Of special significance are nine instances in the past, in which the dependent infinitive expresses no duration or iteration and the only possible reading is ‘to be about to’, as in the Petronian passages above (67.3, 136.8), e.g. *Acts* 23.27 *uirum hunc comprehensum a Judaeis, et incipientem interfici ab eis, superueniens cum exercitu eripui* (μέλλοντα ἀναιρεῖσθαι) (cf. *Acts* 3.3 and 18.14 quoted above). Jerome seems thus to regard the prospective use of *incipio* as correct, or at least acceptable, when the reference point lies in the past or, less frequently, when the verb itself is in the future, while he generally avoids it in the present.

The last three tables also reveal a clear predominance of the future *incipiam* over *incipio*. From Table 8 we infer that the present occurs 14 times to denote a future action, but only in three cases is this the only tense transmitted by the testimonies (cf. *Matt.* 2.13). In the remaining 11 instances, *incipio* is found in a few sources as an alternative reading to other tenses (typically the future, as in *Luke* 9.44 and *John* 6.15). Conversely, the simple future appears 21 times, in 13 of which this is the only transmitted tense of the verb. Interestingly, in nearly all cases *incipiam* does not draw on the future μέλλῃσω but on the present (cf. Thielmann 1885: 89). The choice of the tense is thus not conditioned by the model.

This tendency is confirmed by the *Vulgate* (one present as against five futures, Table 9) and becomes even more evident in other Christian sources. The examples collected in the *TLL* (7.1.920.41ff.) and in Rönsch’s study (1875: 369–70) show that the present *incipio* denoting a future action is rare and confined to texts from the second/third century generally

drawing on Greek originals (cf. Thielmann 1885: 87), e.g. Barnab. 12.1 *habes iterum de cruce et de eo, qui incipit crucifigi* (τοῦ σταυροῦσθαι μέλλοντος), Herm. vulg. 1.1.3 *audi uerba, quae tibi incipio dicere* (ἄ σοι μέλλω λέγειν). In other sources the common tense in reference to the future is either *incipiam* or, more rarely, *coeperim*. There appears thus a persistent use of ‘future-oriented’ *incipio* in Christian literature, which originates in the oldest Bible translations and is generally avoided in the present tense. This use survives at a purely literary level, as a sort of technicism, in later authors and no connection seems to exist with the spoken language.

Our findings require us to revise the traditional claim that *incipio* + infinitive is one of the periphrases used to replace the monolectic future in late Latin, since this generalisation almost exclusively applies to earlier Christian sources drawing on Greek models. Besides, the global figures are small. In the remaining cases, the semantics of *incipio* play no role in the expression of time because the futurity is already present in its inflection.<sup>5</sup> The not infrequent instances in which *incipiam* appears redundant (e.g. Aug. *In psalm.* 64.13 *incipiet tibi dicere*) have probably been triggered by the pleonastic use of *coepi* translating ἀρχίζω/-ομαι in the Bible, based on the proportion *coepit facere: fecit* = *incipiet facere: faciet* (cf. section 1).

It is finally worth observing that the development of *incipio* has a revealing parallel in Old Church Slavonic. Here we occasionally find the verbal root *-čbnq* (‘begin’) + infinitive in connection with future events. Significantly, in these cases the futurity does not result from the lexical meaning of the verb, but from its temporal, or rather aspectual force (Birnbäum 1958: 17, 232–4, 241). When referring to the future, *-čbnq* only occurs in the perfective present, that is, in the tense normally used in this language to express a future action. Furthermore, just as in the case of *coepi*, so too this verb sometimes displays in the aorist a weakening of its inceptive force and thus may be redundant.

Summing up, the futurate use of *incipio* represents an innovative feature of Christian language which probably originates as a loan-shift in Bible translations. In contrast, however, to common loan-shifts, which gain currency in the living language, this constitutes a form of translationese that solely survives in the written tradition and has little relevance to the language as a whole.

<sup>5</sup> The small number of instances of ‘future-oriented’ *incipio* in the present strongly undermines the claim of Schrijnen and Mohrmann (1937: 19) that the choice of *incipio* to replace a simple future has a psychological cause, i.e. the will to trace back to the present moment the origin of a future action (‘man fasste das Zukünftige ... auf als etwas, dessen Anfänge in der Gegenwart vorliegen’).

#### 4. Conclusions

This chapter has been concerned with the use of *coepi* and *incipio* + infinitive from the republic until early medieval times. Two common claims found in the literature are that the desemanticisation of *coepi* occurring in late sources has its roots in republican Latin and that the use of the periphrasis is characteristic of sub-standard registers. Our study points to different conclusions. On the one hand, *coepi* generally preserves in earlier authors (from Plautus on) its lexicality and, barring isolated instances, it is in the third century that a semantic weakening first tends to spread. No direct relation seems thus to exist, in this respect, between the earlier and the later period. On the other hand, the use of *coepi* + infinitive itself cannot be regarded as colloquial (let alone 'vulgar'), for it appears in all registers. Its incessant use, however, especially in clusters, is clearly a characteristic of a more 'naive' way of recounting events and this aspect emerges with persistence from the first century BC down to the sixth century. There is a continuity too in connection with the use of the construction in agricultural and veterinary literature since republican times, and in the vast majority of the cases *coepi* can be accounted for by its standard semantic force, even in late sources.

In the discussion of *incipio* a fundamental distinction emerged between non-Christian and Christian texts. According to the *TLL* the verb is often found in imperial pagan sources with a weakening/loss of its inceptive force and sometimes it even replaces a simple future (*incipit facere* = *faciet*). Both claims, however, appear unconvincing because most by far of these instances are ascribable to the common meaning of the verb and, in its alleged uses '*pro futuro*', *incipio* itself generally occurs in the future tense. Interestingly, and more relevant to our purposes, a continuity in the use of the verb emerged between the second and sixth century in technical literature (veterinary, juridical and grammatical texts), where *incipio* is normally bound to specific contexts. Conversely, in Christian sources there are unquestionable instances of the verb replacing a simple future and losing its inceptive meaning. However, whereas the present *incipio* referring to the future (*incipit uenire* = *ueniet*) is altogether rare and confined to early translational literature, the future as well as the past tenses are quite common. The futurate use of *incipio* clearly represents an innovation of Christian language, which arises in the *Vetus Latina*, probably as a loan-shift of Greek μέλλω and later spreads to other texts. It is, however, a sort of 'false' innovation, in that, as opposed to usual loan-shifts, it does not become general in the language but survives at a purely literary level in the Christian tradition.

## *Infinitives with verbs of motion from Latin to Romance*

*James Adams and Nigel Vincent*

### 1. Introduction

According to Woodcock (1959: 18), ‘the very natural use of the infinitive to express purpose is found in early Latin, and continues in colloquial Latin and poetry’. Woodcock had in mind specifically the infinitive of purpose after verbs of motion, as he adds (19) that ‘this use of the infinitive occurs only after verbs of motion’. He clearly believed that there was some continuity between ‘early Latin’ and ‘colloquial Latin’ at a later date. A similar idea is expressed by Austin (1971: 172–3) on *Aen.* 1.527: ‘the infinitive of purpose after a verb of motion is an archaism, convenient in dactylic poetry: ... it is frequent in Augustan poetry; the usage spread widely in Vulgar Latin, and thence to the Romance languages’. Hofmann and Szantyr (1972: 344) are less precise, but state that the infinitive after verbs of motion ‘ist im wesentlichen altlateinisch und nachklassisch’. It is indeed true that this use of the infinitive is found in early Latin and the later period (and in between in classical poetry), but the question remains whether there was any continuity between what is found in, say, Plautus on the one hand, and in a late text such as the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* on the other. The problem is well described by Penney (1999: 255). He states that in using the infinitive to express purpose with verbs of motion poets may agree with ordinary language, but then adds:

Direct evidence to this effect is lacking for the classical period, and the argument would rest on an assumption that the infinitive of purpose that appears in late Latin (and survives everywhere in Romance ... ) continues the early Latin construction that was avoided in classical prose but persisted in the spoken language. That is beyond demonstration, and separate developments at various periods cannot be ruled out.

We will be arguing here for the sorts of separate developments that Penney allows.

It is a contention of this chapter that the status of the infinitive of purpose with verbs of motion cannot be determined at any period unless its incidence and use are compared with the incidence and use of the variety of other purpose complements attested with motion verbs. It is uninformative to cite miscellaneous uses of the infinitive in isolation, as is usually done in historical grammars. At one period, for argument's sake, the infinitive might have been the predominating construction, whereas at a later point it might have been heavily outnumbered by various others. Merely quoting a handful of infinitives from the two periods without reference to the alternatives would conceal the decline of the construction over time.

The purpose complements, apart from the infinitive, attested with verbs of motion in Latin include (for a classification see [Cabrillana 2011: 23–8](#)):

1. the supine of purpose
2. *ad* + gerund(ive)
3. *ut* + subjunctive
4. the future participle (sometimes accompanied by *ut*, *quasi* or *tamquam*: see examples under (3) in [section 5](#) below)
5. the present participle
6. *qui* + subjunctive,
7. the dative of the gerundive
8. *ad* + verbal noun

There are a few miscellaneous constructions too, such as *propter* or *pro* with the gerund(ive), and *gratia* with the genitive of a verbal noun. A second verb coordinated or in asyndeton with the verb of motion may also convey the purpose of the movement. In very late Latin *ad* + infinitive also turns up (see [section 12](#) below). For much of the first part of this chapter we will consider different periods, writers and genres and assess the place of the infinitive alongside the other constructions. Poetry will not be considered in late Latin, but we will deal with the large corpus of comic verse as our main source for early stages of the language, and also with the classical poetry of the late republican and Augustan period.

## 2. Early Latin: Plautus and Terence

The infinitive of purpose complementing verbs of motion (and some other intransitive verbs; we confine ourselves here to verbs of motion or verbs generating motion, such as *mitto*) is said to be inherited (see e.g. [Coleman 1975: 135](#)). In Terence in particular this use of the infinitive is no more than a relic, with a tendency to be restricted to one expression. It is



Table I Purpose complements in Plautus and Terence

	Plautus		Terence	
	uenio	eo	uenio	eo
supine	21	54	3	7
<i>ut</i>	7	31	4	7
<i>qui</i> + subj	2	0	1	0
<i>ad</i> + gerund(ive)	1	0	0	0
infinitive	4	3	0	3

easy to compare its frequency with that of other purpose constructions complementing verbs of motion, because both Lodge and McGlynn in their lexica to Plautus and Terence have sections setting out the constructions complementing both *eo* and *uenio*. These are not of course the only verbs of motion, but they are by far the most frequent, and statistics based on them are likely to be significant. Information extracted from Lodge and McGlynn can also be supplemented with the very detailed treatment of the various constructions by Bennett (1910–14) (see below).

The main purpose complements of verbs of motion in Plautus and Terence are the supine of purpose and *ut* + subj. A conspicuous absentee is the gerund(ive) governed by *ad*. Table 1 presents figures taken from the two lexica (for Plautus see Lodge 1924–33: 1.504, 2.838, and for Terence McGlynn 1963–7: 1.165–6, 2.264).

In Plautus with these two verbs the supine is used 75 times and *ut* + subjunctive 38 times. There is just one instance of *ad* + gerundive, and only seven of the infinitive of purpose. By the Augustan period, we will see below in section 5, there had been a marked change, with *ad* + gerund(ive) becoming commonplace. In Terence purpose complements are not so numerous, but usage is much the same. The supine occurs ten times and *ut* 11 times, against no cases of *ad* + gerund(ive) and only three of the infinitive. In Terence almost all instances of the infinitive are in the context of ‘going to see’, with the infinitive twice *uisere* (*Hec.* 189 *it uisere ad eam*, *Ph.* 102 *uoltisne eamus uisere?*) and once *uidere* (*Hec.* 345 *intro iit uidere*). This phrase is particularly common among the early instances of the infinitive with verbs of motion, and it would seem that to Terence the infinitive construction was mainly associated with a formulaic expression. The only other infinitive with a verb implying motion in Terence cited by Bennett (1910–14: 1.418–19) is with *mitto* (*Eu.* 528 *misit porro orare ut uenirem*).

The above figures for the infinitive in Plautus are not complete, as there are a few other verbs of motion (also *mitto*) taking this construction. There is a full collection at Bennett (1910–14: 1.418–19). There are just 15 examples in the whole corpus (other verbs occasionally taking the infinitive are *abeo*, *curro*, *exeo*, *percurro*, *perrepto*, *proficiscor*). In four cases the infinitive is again *uisere* (*Bac.* 900, *Cas.* 855, *Poen.* 1175, *Rud.* 94). The infinitive, viewed alongside the various other purpose complements, had no great currency even at the time of Plautus, though there was one expression type in particular that generated it. A little later in Terence the infinitive has been almost completely dropped outside that expression.

The figures above for the supine can be extended a little, because Bennett (1910–14: 1.453–6) lists all examples in Plautus and Terence. In addition to the 75 instances in Plautus with *eo* and *uenio* there are another 46 examples with other verbs of motion or verbs generating motion. In Terence there are 12 such additional examples, making 22 in total.

### 3. Prose of the early and late republic

We do not have statistics for the full range of purpose constructions with verbs of motion in republican prose, but in this case the examples of the infinitive speak for themselves. They are very few, and all belong to the type noted above, referring to coming (or being sent) to see. There are two cases in annalists: Calpurnius Piso, *FRH* II.9.F29.5 *idem Cn. Flavius Anni filius dicitur ad collegam uenisse uisere aegrotum*, a passage written in the contrived ‘simple’ style of annals (see *FRH* III.209); Coelius, *FRH* II.15.F9 *Sempronius Lilybaeo celocem in Africam mittit, uisere locum ubi exercitum exponat*. In late republican prose there is a single instance, in Varro (*R.* 2.1.1 *uisere uenissemus*), with the same infinitive as that in the other two passages. Varro’s prose is conservative, showing many early features that were rejected by his contemporaries.

It is now obvious that the infinitive construction was in decline after Plautus, lingering on in a single type of expression. The same expression is also attested in a fragment of the comic poet Turpilius, who died in 103 BC: 154 *progredior ... uisere*. In the second century AD, Apuleius and Gellius, both notorious archaisers, have several examples of the same infinitive with verbs of motion: Apul. *Met.* 6.9 *interuisere uenisti*, Gel. 16.3.2 *aegrum isset uisere* (note *aegrum* here and *aegrotum* in Calpurnius above), 16.19.5 *proficiscitur ... uisere*. These would definitely have been modelled on early usage.

#### 4. Classical poetry

The infinitive of purpose with verbs of motion occurs in Latin poetry of the late republic, Augustan period and beyond (see e.g. Munro 1886: 2.217 on Lucr. 3.895, with a small collection of examples from e.g. Virgil, Horace, Ovid and Propertius, Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 1.680–1, Woodcock 1959: 19, Tränkle 1960: 14–15, Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: 345, Fedeli 1980: 76 on Prop. 1.6.33–4 and other passages from the same author, Maurach 1995: 64). There are some similarities to early examples. Thus for ‘go to see’ see Prop. 1.1.12 *ibat ... uidere* (but this is an isolated case of the old expression), and for ‘send’ + inf. see Lucr. 4.471 *mittam contendere*, Ov. Ep. 1.37 *te quaerere misso ... nato*, Prop. 2.16B.17 *in Oceanum mittit me quaerere gemmas*. For ‘go to seek’ see Prop. 1.20.23–4 *processerat ultra / ... quaerere*, alongside Pl. Bac. 631 *aurum petere hinc uenerat*. But the construction is varied in poetry, and there are examples that are not particularly reminiscent of what had come before in early Latin. Note e.g. Lucr. 3.895 *nec dulces occurrent oscula nati / praeripere*, Virg. Aen. 1.527 *nec nos aut ferro Libycos populare penatis / uenimus aut raptas ad litora uertere praedas*, Hor. Carm. 3.21.7 *descende ... / promere languidiora uina*. The construction tends to be described as an ‘archaism’ in Latin poetry of this period (Tränkle 1960: 14; Fedeli 1980: 76; Maurach 1995: 64). We have seen above this idea expressed forcefully by Austin (1971: 172–3) on Aen. 1.527. There is no doubt some truth in the idea that poets would have been familiar with the construction from old Latin texts, but there was another influence in operation too. In Greek with verbs of motion the infinitive is found often in poets from Homer onwards and less frequently in prose, in which the future participle is preferred (on the infinitive see Goodwin 1889: 309 §772 (b), (c); Kühner and Gerth 1898–1904: 2.16–17; Schwyzler 1950: 362; the future participle will come up below in points (2) and (3) of section 5), and the Grecising Latin poets of the classical period would have been aware of the usage in Homer and elsewhere (cf. Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 1.680). It is reasonable to talk of at least a ‘partial Grecism’ (for this term see Mayer 1999: 171, with bibliography; cf. also Calboli 2009: 131–3), that is of a construction, for example, with Latin antecedents which is reinvigorated, enhanced or resuscitated by Greek influence. At a later period ‘Grecism’ in relation to the infinitive of purpose takes on a different meaning, such that it would be inappropriate to find any continuity in this respect in Latin (see further section 7).

For an instance of ‘go’ + inf. in Greek poetry see Homer *Od.* 9.88 *πεύθεσθαι ἰόντας* ‘going to learn’. ‘Send’ + infinitive was seen above both

in early Latin and classical poetry, but it is present in Greek poetry too: cf. Homer *Il.* 17.708–9 κεῖνον ... ἐπιπροέηκα ... / ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀχιλλῆα ‘him I have sent to go to Achilles’; cf. *Il.* 9.442.

### 5. Augustan prose: Livy

In Livy there are huge numbers of verbs of motion with purpose complements. To get an idea of his practice it is enough to examine the hundreds of examples of *uenio* and their complements as set out in Packard’s concordance (1968). These are of six types, (1) *ad* with the gerund(ive), which is by far the most frequent, (2) the supine of purpose, which is quite common and perhaps disproportionately so in the first decade, where Livy dealt with the archaic period in a style that differs in some ways from that of the later books, (3) *ut*-clauses, which are uncommon, (4) the present participle, (5) *qui* + subjunctive and (6) the future participle. The types as used with *uenio* are illustrated below:

23.35.3 ueniret ad consultandum communiter.

30.30.3 ad pacem petendam uenirem.

36.45.1 ad dedendas urbes uenerunt.

38.37.5 uenerunt ad ueniam petendam

39.46.9 uenit ad querendum.

40.48.6 qui ad castra oppugnanda uenerant.

2.10.8 suae libertatis immemores alienam oppugnatum uenire.

3.25.6 legati ab Roma uenerunt questum iniurias.

7.37.5 opem oratum ueniunt.

9.20.7 foedus petitum uenerunt.

9.36.14 legati ... uenerant denuntiaturum Fabio..., ne...

9.45.6 uenerant res repetitum.

25.18.10 cuius patriam ac penates publicos priuatosque oppugnatum uenisset.

26.29.4 questum uenisse.

29.24.8 ut ... Lilybaeum ueniret, ut communiter consulerent.

37.11.14 quibus ut essent praesidio ueniebant.

3.18.3 legati auxilium petentes ueniant.

8.19.1 uenerunt orantes, ut ...

24.29.1 legati praesidium finibus suis orantes uenerunt.

29.24.5 uenisse querentem.

31.2.1 legati uenerunt nuntiantes ...

32.15.3 dedentes urbes uenerunt.

34.11.2 uenerunt querentes.

31.9.1 legati ... uenerunt, qui nuntiarent ...

10.26.7 Senones Galli multitudine ingenti ad Clusium uenerunt, legionem Romanam castraque oppugnaturi.

21.32.10 subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto ... uim per angustias facturus.

These examples have been chosen to show the considerable overlap across the categories (*ad querendum/questum/querentes*, *ad ... petendam/petitum/petentes*, *oratum/orantes*, *denuntiandum/nuntiantes/qui nuntiarent*, *ad ... oppugnanda/oppugnatum/oppugnaturi*, *ad dedendas/dedentes*, *ad consultandum communiter/ut communiter consulerent*).

The absence of the infinitive of purpose with verbs of motion from Livy (see below, [section 5](#) (4) on a possible case of *mitto* + infinitive) is put in perspective by the frequency of other purpose complements, and by their diversity and functional equivalence. There had been a radical change since early Latin, at least in the educated language. Austin was right to point out the suitability of the infinitive type to dactylic poetry, and that must be another reason for the use of the construction in the classical period in poetry. Several of the above constructions (*ad* + gerundive, *ut*-clauses) do not fit readily into verse.

When it comes to the other expressions of purpose in Livy, there are a number of features which are notable in the context of the broader historical profile of these constructions.

- (1) A striking development is the rise of *ad* + gerund(ive), a construction all but absent from Plautus and Terence in the material used above.
- (2) The use of the present participle to express purpose is nowhere clearer than at 32.15.3 *dedentes urbes uenerunt*, lit. 'they came surrendering cities'. There is not the normal concomitance conveyed here, because they did not surrender cities as they entered. The force of the participle can be seen from *ad* + gerundive in an identical context at 36.45.1 *ad dedendas urbes uenerunt*. Also striking is the alternation of *querentes* with *ad querendum* and *questum*. In Greek, as was mentioned above, the future participle is used in classical prose with this function (see e.g. [Goodwin 1889](#): 335 §840; [Kühner and Gerth 1898–1904](#): 2.61; [Debrunner and Rehkopf 2001](#): 316 n. 1), but there are also cases of the present participle used in the same way ([Goodwin 1889](#): 335 §840; [Kühner and Gerth 1898–1904](#): 1.142, 2). The same usage is found in Sallust (*Jug.* 77.1 *legati ... uenerant, orantes uti...*, *Hist.* 2.87 *legati pacem orantes uenere*). For *orantes* used thus in Livy see above for 8.19.1. Note too Tac. *Ann.* 1.57.1 *legati a Segeste uenerunt auxilium orantes* (for the category in Tacitus see [Gerber and Greef 1877–90](#): 1.1751 col. 1, § 2, citing also *Hist.* 2.41.1).

- (3) The earliest example of the future participle with verbs of motion expressing purpose in Latin is in a fragment of a speech by C. Gracchus (*ORF* 44, from Gel. 11.10.4) *qui prodeunt dissuasuri, ne hanc legem accipiat*. Wackernagel (1926–8: I.286) = (2009: 360, ed. Langslow) suggested that *dissuasuri* was a scribal correction of an earlier supine of purpose (*dissuasum*), made in accordance with later usage. The participle is defended by Laughton (1964: 119–20) and Courtney (1999: 127). There is also possibly a case in an early speech of Cicero: *Ver. 1.56 P. Seruilius, uir clarissimus, maximis rebus gestis, adest de te sententiam laturus* (see Laughton 1964: 120 on this passage, where there is a textual uncertainty). Most examples from the classical period are from historians and other literary texts: e.g. *B. Afr. 25.4 dum alios adiuturus proficisceretur*, *Sal. Hist. 2.71 multi ... accurrere falsum filium arguituri*, *Tac. Ann. 14.8.4 si ad uisendum uenisset, refortam nuntiaret, sin facinus patraturus, nihil se de filio credere*. For classical poetry see Virg. *Aen. 9.400 an sese medios moriturus in ensis / inferat* (of intention to die: see Horsfall 2008: 394 on various examples of *moriturus* in Virgil, not all of them with verbs of motion; cf. 9.554 *haud aliter iuuenis medios moriturus in hostis linruit*, 10.881 *nam uenio moriturus*). The participle at Livy 21.32.10 in the list above is accompanied by *ut*, which looks to be influenced by the use of ὥς in Greek with the future participle (see Riemann 1885: 304). The particular interest of the future participle in Latin is that it is another purpose construction showing likely Greek influence. Later, we will see, the future participle with this function spread beyond the high literary language.
- (4) Lebek (1970: 220) cites Livy 24.13.2 for *mitto* + infinitive, but there is another way of construing the passage: *ei memores beneficiorum eius perpulisse magnam partem se iuuentutis Tarentinae referunt, ut Hannibalis amicitiam ac societatem quam populi Romani mallent, legatosque ab suis missos rogare Hannibalem ut exercitum propius Tarentum admoueat* ‘they report that, mindful of his favours, they had prevailed on the majority of the Tarentine soldiery to prefer friendship and alliance with Hannibal to that with the Roman people, and, as envoys sent by their own people, they were asking Hannibal to move his army nearer to Tarentum’ (*rogare* is the infinitive of an acc. + inf. construction, and is not dependent on *missos*).

More could be said about purpose constructions in prose of the classical and early imperial periods, but the picture would not be changed because the infinitive had disappeared. Caesar for example has the supine with *uenio* eight times (see Merguet 1886: 1094 col. 2), but not the infinitive. The *Bellum Africum* (88.3) has *dormitum esset*, but no infinitives with

*eo* and *uenio*. Sallust has the supine (*Jug.* 28.2, 109.2, *Hist.* 3.7) and also the present participle (see above) with one or other of these verbs, but not the infinitive. There is, finally, an example of the infinitive in Valerius Maximus (early first century AD): 5.1.ext.1b *quis autem illam osculari non curreret* ‘who would not have been in a hurry to kiss that right hand?’ (for this usage see *TLL* 4.1511.58ff.). Although *curro* is a verb of motion par excellence, it also has a weaker sense, of being in a hurry to do something (*OLD* 2a). As such it is virtually equivalent to *festino*, which in the sense ‘be in a rush, a hurry’, is regularly construed with an infinitive in classical Latin (see *TLL* 6.1.619.10ff.). Alternatively, if the verb is intended literally, Valerius might have adopted an archaism from e.g. Plautus (*As.* 910).

## 6. Non-literary Latin of the early empire

Given that the infinitive fades from classical and early imperial prose, the question arises whether it might have gone underground, living on in the spoken language, a view apparently held by Austin (above). There are sources of two types that might throw light on this question: first, the remains of non-literary documents, and second the speeches of freedmen in the novel of Petronius. These are considered in turn.

In non-literary Latin (written on materials other than stone) of the first three centuries AD, purpose complements of verbs of motion are quite common but we have not found the infinitive. Complements comprise *ut* + subjunctive, *qui* + subjunctive, *ad* + gerundive and the future participle. There is also one place in a Vindolanda tablet (266.1) where a verb coordinated to a verb of motion in effect expresses purpose (see also below on Petronius). There seems to be no difference between the practice of these texts and that of literary prose of the Augustan period.

Papyri from Masada, 70s AD (*P. Masada Lat.* 726 (fragmentary letter), see [Cotton and Geiger 1989](#))

3 [mittam enim centurionem

4 [u...spiciat si

This is restored by the editors as *mittam centurionem qui inspiciat*.

Vindolanda tablets (*Tab. Vindol.*):

242.1.2 ueni ut numerationi...

266.1 uolo ueniat ad me Coris et accipiat.

156.2 missi ad hospiti[u]m cum Marco medico faciendum structores (two other gerundives follow).

- 164.4 nec residunt ut iaculos mittant ('nor do they mount to...').  
 291.i.3 ut uenias ad nos iucundiozem mihi [diem] interuentu tu factura.  
 314.2-3 missi quae calcem peteren[t].  
 316.1-5 quem modum carrulorum missurus sis domine deliberare tecum  
 debes ad lapidem portandum.  
 318.4 missi ad te ideo ut poss[  
 641.i.5 exit ut mihi.

### Letters of Terentianus (*P. Mich.* VIII)

- 467.8 scias autem rapi me in Syriam exiturum.  
 467.30 ut eas ad Delta ... ut emas et mittas tres tocadas.  
 470.19 pergere rogo te Alexandrie ut ...

Most of the speeches by freedmen in Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis* do not contain any narrative to speak of, and verbs of motion with complements are not common. There are however some examples. The story of the werewolf told by Niceros (62) has two such constructions: 62.1 *forte dominus Capuae exierat ad scruta scita expedienda* (here the locative *Capuae* instead of *Capuam* shows the intended level of the Latin of this speaker), 62.8 *deinde accessi ut uestimenta eius tollerem*. Trimalchio himself uses the supine of purpose in a coarse expression: 71.8 *ne in monumentum meum populus cacatum currat* (cf. Hor. *S.* 1.8.38, with *ueniat*). Twice a second verb is coordinated with the verb of motion, expressing the purpose of the coming/going: 46.2 *ut ad uillam uenias et uideas casulas nostras*, 58.11 *eamus in forum et pecunias mutuemur*. This same usage, as noted above, is found in the Vindolanda tablet 266.1, and will also come up below in biblical texts and school exercises. Again the infinitive does not occur.

In this group of texts and documents there are seven instances of *ut*, three of *ad* + gerund(ive), two of *qui* + subjunctive, two of the future participle (which is surprising, given the literary credentials of this construction in the Augustan period) and three of coordination.

## 7. The influence of later Greek: the evidence of Bible translations and school exercises

We turn now to a second phase of Greek influence, from about the third century AD onwards.

### 7.1. *Developments in later Greek*

In later Greek prose of the koine period (as represented by e.g. papyri and the Greek New Testament) the infinitive becomes common as a purpose



complement (see e.g. Blass *et al.* 2001: 316 with n. 2), whereas in Attic prose the future participle was more usual (for this latter usage see the bibliography above, section 5 (2)).

The infinitive is not however the only such complement in the New Testament. Other constructions are the future participle itself (but rare: see Blass *et al.* 2001: 284 with n. 2), ἵνα (Blass *et al.* 2001: 316 with n. 5 at 317), coordination of a second verb with the verb of motion (see below, and Blass *et al.* 2001: 316 n. 2), the present participle (Blass *et al.* 2001: 284 n. 1) and final relative clauses (Blass *et al.* 2001: 284 n. 1, 307). Similarly Bauer *et al.* (1957: 310 ε) list as purpose complements of ἐρχομαι ‘come’ in the New Testament the infinitive, future participle, present participle, ἵνα and a few miscellaneous usages. The infinitive is the majority construction in this material. Late, including biblical, examples of the infinitive may also be found in Jannaris (1897: 575 at 17b). It should be pointed out that the infinitive, despite the attestations of our construction in the NT and elsewhere, was lost between ancient and modern Greek (see e.g. Joseph 1983: e.g. 37–46, and the whole of Chapter 3). It persisted, however, to some extent even in the medieval period, and the decline was not sudden or regular. There is even some sign of a contrary development, not least in the use of the infinitive illustrated here with verbs of motion. Joseph notes (1983: 48) that the infinitive is sometimes used thus in classical Greek, but then remarks (51) on its increase in New Testament Greek:

The infinitive of purpose with verbs of motion is still found in New Testament Greek, and was particularly common with the additional particle *τοῦ*. In fact, this is one Post-Classical usage which seems to have been of greater frequency than in Classical Greek.

He adds that ἵνα with the subjunctive was an optional variant at this stage (but the example he cites, Matt. 2.2, is false, as there is an infinitive there).

Some idea of the range of New Testament usage, both Greek and Latin, may be obtained from the following samples from the Gospels of Matthew and John.

### *7.2. Constructions in Bible translations*

The two specimen passages considered here (Matt. 1–20, John 1–20) differ strikingly in their use of purpose complements. Our starting point is the Vulgate version of the Latin, but with the passage of Matthew we have compared one of the Vetus Latina versions, and every example has been examined alongside the Greek NT.

*Gospel of Matthew*

In the Vulgate version of Matthew the infinitive is the usual construction, translating a Greek infinitive. We have collected all such purpose constructions in chapters 1–20. The infinitive occurs at 2.2, 5.17 twice, 8.29, 9.13, 10.34, 10.35, 11.7, 11.8, 11.9, 12.42, 13.3 (but here translating not a plain infinitive but τοῦ + inf., for which construction see above, and also Jannaris 1897: 578, Schwyzer 1950: 370; Blass *et al.* 2001: 330–1 with n. 7), 14.23, 18.11, 18.12 (*uadit quaerere eam quae errauit*; the Greek is different, without a dependent purpose construction: πορευθεῖς ζητεῖ τὸ πλανώμενον, ‘setting out he seeks the stray’), 20.1, 20.28.

In Matthew 1–20 *ut* is used at 3.13 (*uenit ... ut baptizaretur*: the Greek here has the infinitive preceded by the genitive article τοῦ), 11.1 (*transit inde ut doceret* (again translating τοῦ + inf.), 14.29 (*ambulabat super aquam, ut ueniret ad Iesus*; here the Greek does not have a subordinate clause but coordination of the second verb with the first: περιεπάτησεν ... καὶ ἦλθεν; for this usage in the Greek NT see the bibliography in the previous section, and also below).

In these chapters of Matthew (Vulgate) the infinitive outnumbers *ut* by 17:3. In 15 of the 17 places a Greek infinitive is translated. In one of the two remaining the Greek genitive article + inf. has been replaced by the infinitive; in the other the Greek is different from the Latin, but it is possible that the translator followed by Jerome had a different Greek version. As for the three cases of *ut*, not once does the Greek have ἵνα: the Latin translator has introduced *ut* himself, changing two different Greek constructions.

*Gospel of John*

In the Gospel of John, both the Vulgate, and the Vetus Latina version designated *e* (Codex Palatinus: available online: *Vetus Latina Iohannes*, ed. P. H. Burton, J. Balserak, H. A. G. Houghton and D. C. Parker ([www.Iohannes.org](http://www.Iohannes.org)), *ut* is the predominating construction both with verbs of motion and with *mitto*. The differences between the two versions are minimal: *e* almost always has the same construction as the Vulgate, but in a few places there are minor verbal divergences (either of the head verb or in the dependent clause). *Vt* with hardly any exceptions translates ἵνα. In chapters 1–20 the *ut*-construction is found in the following places in the Vulgate (variants in *e* are indicated) 1.7, 1.19, 3.17, 4.8, 5.40, 6.15 (Vulg. *uenturi essent ut raperent eum*; the Greek has a different construction, coordination rather than subordination: μέλλουσιν ἔρχεσθαι καὶ ἀρπάζειν; *e* differs from the Vulgate: *cogitant rapere*

*illum*), 6.38 (with a minor difference of word order in *e*), 7.32, 10.10 (Vulg. *non uenit nisi ut furetur*; *e* has *nisi furetur*), 11.11, 11.16, 11.19, 11.31, 11.55, 12.9, 12.20, 12.47, 18.37 (with a lexical variant in *e*). The infinitive (always translating an infinitive) occurs at 1.33, 4.7, 4.15, 4.38, 14.2. Thus in John 1–20 *ut* outnumbers the infinitive by 18:5. Note the similar contexts in the following passages from the Vulgate version of the two Gospels, each with a different construction: Matt. 2.2 *uenimus adorare eum*, John 12.20 *ascenderant ut adorarent*. The Greek construction is reproduced in both.

The author of the (Greek) Gospel of John is notorious for his avoidance of this use of the infinitive: see Jannaris (1897: 572–3 at 12 c, with the footnotes on both pages). He did not, however, eliminate it entirely. A factor possibly influencing his choice of construction was the complexity of wording of the dependent construction. The five instances of the infinitive follow the head verb almost immediately, whereas when *ἵνα* is used the dependent verb may be at some remove from the main verb (cf. Blass *et al.* 2001: 317, §390 n. 5). A proper account of purpose constructions with verbs of motion in this Gospel would have to determine whether the rarity of the infinitive was due to an individual's hostility to the construction *per se*, or was merely a reflection of his taste for long-winded expressions of purpose, in which an infinitive might have lacked clarity.

In conclusion, in the Greek of the NT the infinitive of purpose with verbs of motion was common, but not the only construction, and there were variations according to the personal preference of the writer. The Latin translators replicated the construction of the Greek with little variation, with the result that in Matthew the infinitive is preferred but in John *ut*. The incidence of the infinitive in the Latin overall is far in excess of its place in ordinary Latin, and can be seen as translationese. Here is a second phase of Grecism, following that in classical poetry. Given the influence of Latin Bible translations on late Latin writing, the question arises whether Greek via the translations might have effected a rise in the use of the infinitive in ordinary Latin. There is also a second sphere in which later Greek might have influenced Latin, and that is in the types of schoolroom in the empire in which language learning took place.

### 7.3. *Constructions in bilingual school exercises*

In this section we consider purpose constructions in the bilingual school exercises re-edited recently by Dickey (2012, 2015).

Coll. Mon.-Eins. (Dickey 2012b)

2e processi de cubiculo cum paedagogo et cum nutrice salutare patrem et matrem = προῆλθον ... ἀσπάσασθαι τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα.

3e prodii de cubiculo cum paedagogo salutare patrem et matrem (same construction in the Greek).

3f eo salutare omnes amicos (so the Greek: ἀπέρχομαι ἀσπάσασθαι).

6i illuc descendit ad lauretum deambulare (κατέβη ... διακινῆσαι).

These are the only instances of purpose constructions with verbs of motion in the *Colloquia Monacensia-Einsidlensia*, and the infinitive only is used. Noteworthy are the three cases of *salutare* (particularly the phrase *eo salutare*), because in Latin the supine of purpose *salutatum* was formulaic (see e.g. Cic. *Att.* 10.16.5, *Sul.* 52). The invariable use of the infinitive in the Latin must be determined by the Greek, and is reminiscent of the Gospel of Matthew.

Coll. Harl. (Dickey 2015)

1d-f uade ... ut possis homo esse = ὅπως ἂν δυνηθῆς ἄνθρωπος εἶναι (this example can be disregarded, since the verb of going and dependent construction are at a considerable remove from each other, and an infinitive would have been barely comprehensible).

3d eamus, salutemus = ἀπέθωμεν, ἀσπασώμεθα (here both versions have a construction seen above in the Greek and Latin NT, having the second verb asyndetic with the first, a variation on coordination).

14d eo ergo ut cito redeam = ἵνα ταχέως ὑποστρέψω (not however a straightforward purpose complement, 'I am going, so that I can get back quickly'; the infinitive might not have given exactly the same sense, of going at once so as to be back soon).

15g propero enim foras ... ut lauem = ἵνα λούσωμαι (but again the dependent construction comes well after the main verb, and an infinitive would scarcely have been possible).

21a eximus lauare = ἀπέλθωμεν, λουσώμεθα (here the Greek has exactly the same asyndetic construction as that at 3d above; the Latin version does not correspond to the Greek, because the verb of motion is in the indicative, and as well it has the infinitive construction, abnormal for Latin).

The *Colloquium Harleianum* does not in this respect provide material that is informative about developments in either language. The two passages 1d-f and 15g do however suggest that a possible requirement for the use of the infinitive was a close connection between the verb of motion and the dependent verb (see above on the NT). Where there is a gap between the main and dependent verbs an *ut*-clause or Greek equivalent is more likely to be used, for clarity.

Coll. Celt. (Dickey 2015)

17a eo salutare = ἄπ<ε>μι ἄσπᾶσ<ασ>θαι.

28b eamus domum ut possimus ire (the same construction is in the Greek, but an infinitive *posse* or Greek equivalent would be an unlikely construction here).

45b festina nobis afferre prandium (same construction in the Greek, but this example should be disregarded because *festino* takes an infinitive in classical Latin, as we saw above, 5, and is not necessarily a verb of motion: it may mean ‘be quick to’).

60c immittam natere = πέμψω κολυμβῆσαι (‘let me jump in to swim’, Dickey).

65 ite pausatium (the Greek has an infinitive, ἄπιτε κοιμᾶσθαι, whereas the Latin has the old supine of purpose).

69b ite (ite) pausate = ἄπιτε (ὑπάγετε) ἀναπαύσασθε (here both versions have the asyndetic construction seen earlier).

74b descendit praeses ad tribunal sessurus (here the Latin has a future participle, and the Greek is emended to have the same construction (καθη<σό>μενος)).

The Latin version of the *Colloquium Celtis* has an odd mixture of constructions, such as a purely Latinate supine of purpose, a future participle of a type that can be paralleled in both languages, and several infinitives of Greek type, most notably in the phrase *eo salutare*, seen earlier.

In sum, there remains some uncertainty about the circumstances behind these bilingual glossaries and about their transmission, but given that they played a part in language learning in the Roman Empire they do provide a specific context in which the infinitive might have entered forms of Latin from Greek.

## 8. The third century: Tertullian (ca 160–240)

According to Hofmann and Szantyr (1972: 345) the infinitive of purpose with verbs of motion was ‘massenhaft bei den Eccl. seit Tert.’, and they refer to Hoppe (1903: 42–3) on Tertullian. Hoppe does cite numerous examples, particularly from *Adv. Marc.* 4, but two questions are raised by his list. First, to what extent are these infinitives in Tertullian in biblical citations? Second, was the infinitive Tertullian’s usual construction in this context? *Adv. Marc.* 4 is almost 120 pages long in the CC edition. We have collected all examples of purpose complements with verbs of motion in the book, and classify them here. Tertullian was very familiar with a Vetus Latina version or versions of the Bible, including the NT, and his practice

may throw some light on possible effects on the Latin language of Greek from this source.

There are 14 instances of the infinitive use in the book, of which 12 are in biblical quotations (7.9, 7.12, 9.15, 12.14 (with slight modification), 14.13, 18.8, 29.12, 29.13, 30.4, 36.6, 37.2, 37.2). The two that are not are: 31.7 *nunc autem pariter utramque partem inuitare uenit, de ciuitate, de sepibus*, 33.7 *atque ita exinde processit adnuntiare regnum dei dicens*. The first of these is a rephrasing, with different construction, of something Tertullian had written in the preceding section: 31.6 *itaque misit ad aliquos uocandos ex eadem adhuc ciuitate*.

A passage at 37.2 (with two instances of the infinitive: see above) is worth quoting: *cum uero dicit: 'uenit enim filius hominis saluum facere quod perit', iam non contendo eum uenisse, ut saluum faceret quod perierat cuius fuerat et cui perierat quod saluum uenerat facere, sed ...* The quotation (from Luke 19.10) has *uenit* + infinitive (same construction in the Greek). In discussing the passage Tertullian first switches to the classical *uenisse ut* + subjunctive, and then reverts to the biblical construction, but with the wording otherwise adapted to his own context.

There are numerous other cases of verbs of motion with purpose complements in the book, falling into the following categories.

- (1) *ad* + gerund(ive). There are 12 instances of this construction (2.5, 11.2, 18.2, 21.1, 26.7, 28.8, 31.1, 31.3, 31.6, 39.12, 43.2, 43.9), only one of which is in a biblical quotation (39.12). This last is as follows: *existi in salutem populi tui ad saluos faciendos Christos suos*. At 43.2 Tertullian cites a biblical passage containing *uenite*, and then adds in his own words *ad renuntiandam scilicet domini resurrectionem*. Three times (9.15, 12.14, 36.6: all listed above) Tertullian quotes the biblical expression *non ueni dissoluere legem* (Matt. 5.17, slightly adapted). This infinitival construction should be compared with similar phraseology elsewhere in the book, with his own constructions: 11.2 *descendit ad legem destruendam*, 15.1 *ad quorum uenerat destructionem*, 18.2 *ad quam infirmendam et destruendam magis uenerat, non ad comprobendam*. Other such rephrasings will come up in the next two paragraphs.
- (2) *ut* + subjunctive. There are three instances of this construction (7.7, 18.3, 37.2), none taken from a biblical source. We saw above that in the third of these passages (37.2) Tertullian paraphrases a biblical expression, converting an infinitive of purpose into *ut* + subj. The same thing happens in the first of the three passages: 7.7 *uenisse se, non ut legem et prophetas dissolueret, sed ut potius adimpleret*. Here Tertullian

in a discussion of Matt. 5.17 changes the infinitive of the original into *ut* + subj.

- (3) The future participle. This is used twice with a verb of motion, and in neither case is it quoted from a biblical source: 9.11 *in uanum ergo descendit quasi legem destructurus* (see above, (1), for variants of this construction in exactly the same context), 31.8 *et si] uenturus est autem, puto, non quasi uocaturus adhuc conuiuas, sed iam collocaturus*.
- (4) *Ad* + verbal noun, used like *ad* + gerundive. There are three examples of this construction, none in a biblical quotation: 7.13 *si ad perditionem daemonum uenisset et non potius ad hominum salutem*, 15.1 *ad quorum uenerat destructionem*, 15.2 *ad quorum destructionem post tantum aevi deus optimus motus est*.

In (1)–(4) there are 20 cases of four different purpose constructions accompanying verbs of motion, of which 19 are in the words of Tertullian himself, and only one from a biblical quotation. In this book Tertullian himself prefers the other constructions listed by 19:2, whereas in biblical quotations the infinitive outnumbers the other by 10:1. There is another biblical construction that has not been taken into account here, namely verb of motion + present participle, and that is because it is usually hard to assess the function of the participle in a given context (see e.g. 19.7, from Matt. 16.1).

What emerges from Tertullian's usage is that a second wave of Greek influence (following that noted above in classical poetry) is certainly visible. The source is the Vetus Latina, which had taken the construction over from the Greek New Testament. However, there is no evidence in Tertullian that the language in general had been much, if at all, influenced. Tertullian treats the construction as biblical, and he has it mainly in quotations. The construction had entered his consciousness, but the occasional examples outside quotations tend to be in biblical contexts. Tertullian's usual constructions are classical, and also match those found in non-literary documents of the period immediately preceding his own.

## 9. A Christian narrative text of the early third century

The *Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* is an account of martyrdoms that took place in Africa in the amphitheatre at Carthage on 7 March 203 (see Bremmer and Formisano 2012: 2). It contains narratives of events attributed to two of the martyrs themselves. The work seems to have been written within a decade or so of 203 (see Heffernan 2012: 60–7 for a

discussion of the evidence, dating the composition of the text to 206–7 or possibly 208; see also Bremmer and Formisano 2012: 2). There is a Greek version of the work, but current opinion has it that this is a translation of the Latin. The Latin of the redactor's framework is rather formal, that of the narrative parts informal but correct. The latter have low-register terms and some late usages, such as replacements of the acc. + inf. and a non-classical word order. The use of purpose complements with verbs of motion would seem to confirm one of the conclusions offered in the previous section, that by this period the language in general was not really influenced by Greek. Our use of the infinitive does not occur in the text. Here are the alternative constructions (which include the future participle, which was seen in Tertullian and will come up again).

3.3 mittit se in me ut oculos mihi erueret.

5.1 ascendit ad me, ut me deiceret.

6.1 rapti sumus ut audiremur.

6.5 cum staret pater ad me deiciendam.

6.7 mitto ad patrem Pomponium diaconum, postulans infantem.

1.5 cui missus est idem omnia donatiua administraturus.

7.7 et extendebat se Dinocrates quasi bibiturus.

10.6 et exiuit quidam contra me Aegyptius foedus specie cum adiutoribus suis pugnaturus mecum.

### 10. Fourth century: *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*

This text was written right at the end of the fourth century. Ever since Löfstedt's commentary (1911) it has been regarded as an archetypal piece of non-standard Latin, anticipating the Romance languages in many respects, though the author was not without stylistic pretensions (see below). She was also familiar with the Latin Bible, including the NT, and refers to or quotes it often. Her style was influenced by it. The subject matter has biblical connections, because it recounts visits to holy places, but it is primarily a travel narrative and not (in the manner of Tert. *Adv.* 4) a theological discussion of biblical passages.

Because the work describes travel, it has verbs of motion, which are sometimes accompanied by purpose complements. Despite its biblical background, it has hardly any cases of the infinitive. There are nine instances of *ut*, eight of *ad* (or *propter*) + gerundive (for this use of *propter* see TLL 10.2.2122.44ff., but without reference to this text; the construction



goes back to the classical period), and about three miscellaneous constructions, such as *orationis gratia* ‘to pray’ (see further below). Finally, there are just two instances of the infinitive. The examples are set out at the end of this section in the order in which they have just been referred to. Both cases of the infinitive come late in the work. Both can be seen as alternatives to or replacements of different constructions that Egeria (Aetheria?) had used earlier. 37.1 *uadent in Syon orare ad columnam* ‘they go to Syon to pray at the column’ is in an identical context to the three earlier instances of *orationis gratia*. The other example (43.4 *reuertitur ergo omnis populus unusquisque in domum suam resumere se*) is very similar to 25.7 *uadent se unusquisque ad ospitium suum, ut se resumant*. In both the purpose complement has the reflexive verb *se resumere*. Neither of these contexts is biblical or theological. The second example (at 43.4) is particularly striking, because the infinitive is at a long distance (separated by seven words) from the verb of motion. By contrast in both of the passages where Tertullian uses the infinitive outside quotations it is juxtaposed with the verb of motion. An infinitive of purpose at a remove from the higher verb has a real equivalence to an *ut*-clause or *ad* + gerund(ive), both of which may be well away from the verb of motion.

The infinitive looks to be a construction with which Egeria was familiar outside biblical contexts. If one may speculate, it seems possible that towards the end of the text there is some slippage into what might have been becoming a mundane construction by this time. If this were the case we would have to say that Egeria had been deliberately classicising, even artificially so, for most of the time, only to lapse late in the work. Certainly *propter* + gerundive looks to be artificial (it was never common), and the same might have been so of *gratia* (see Löfstedt 1911: 221). We tentatively suggest that there are signs in the text that the infinitive had by this time gained some ground at a mundane level.

- 3.7 *ascendisset in montem dei, ut acciperet denuo tabulas.*
- 8.1 *ut ueniremus ad mansionem Arabiae, per media Ramesse transiuimus.*
- 16.5 *mouere se et descendere ad ciuitatem Carneas, ut commoneret episcopum.*
- 20.9 *ut peteret Rebeccam ... in Charra uenerit* (speech by Egeria herself).
- 23.2 *perexire illuc, ut statua ... ibi facerem.*
- 25.7 *uadent se unusquisque ad ospitium suum, ut se resumant.*
- 35.2 *reuerti in domum suam, ut manducet.*
- 36.5 *habemus hic omnes conuenire in isto loco, ... ut lectionibus et orationibus usque ad noctem operam demus* (this from a speech).
- 44.3 *necesse est illum ... ire, ut euangelium legat.*

- 5.10 qui tamen pro etate aut inbecillitate occurrere in monte dei ad oblationem faciendam non poterant.
- 7.7 ad quae singula uidenda necesse nos fuit ibi descendere.
- 13.1 uolui ... accedere propter uisendam memoriam sancti Iob.
- 13.1 uenientes in Ierusalem ad uisenda loca sancta (note that this is a context in which the infinitive is found in early Latin).
- 17.1 accedere ad uisendos sanctos monachos (another context with the infinitive in Old Latin).
- 20.10 ad accipiendam sanctam Rebeccam huc uenerit (another speech).
- 23.4 murus missus est ad custodiendam ecclesiam.
- 42 uadunt propter uigilias celebrandas.
- 17.1 ad quos orationis gratia me tenderam.
- 17.2 qui non se tendat illuc gratia orationis.
- 23.3 ubi illa gratia orationis ascenderat.
- 37.1 uadent in Syon orare ad columnam.
- 43.4 reuertitur ergo omnis populus unusquisque in domum suam resumere se.

## II. Late Latin

In this section we consider some later texts which suggest that the infinitive of purpose had become better established in ordinary Latin.

### II.1. *Gregory the Great, Dialogues*

Gregory the Great (*ca* 540–604), of noble Roman family, became Pope in 590. His *Dialogues* can be dated to the years 593–4 (de Vogüé and Antin 1978–80: I.25–7). Gregory presents himself as taking part in the dialogue, his interlocutor being a deacon called Peter (on the identity of whom see de Vogüé and Antin 1978–80 I.44). The purpose of the *Dialogues* is explained in the prologue to book 1, 7–10. Peter states (1.prol.7) that he does not know whether there have been Italians whose lives have been marked by miracles, and the Pope undertakes to narrate what he knows of such people. Numerous Italian saints are then described (see de Vogüé and Antin 1978–80: 46). The Latin of Gregory is learned, but the linguistic interest of the *Dialogues* lies in the speeches that are put into the mouths of humble characters. We have looked at a sample of about 100 pages. The text has many verbs of motion with purpose complements, and Gregory sticks very much to the classical constructions, *ad* + gerund(ive),

*qui* + subjunctive and *ut* (illustrated below in that order). He also has some miscellaneous constructions, such as *pro* + gerundive and *ad* + verbal noun (see the last section below).

- 1.4.8 egredere ad praedicandum.
- 1.5.4 ad uidendum eum quidam rusticus uenit.
- 1.5.4 is qui ad uidendum eum uenerat (note that the last two examples are in a context with the infinitive in early Latin).
- 1.7.5 ad exhibenda extraneis opera pergerent.
- 1.9.8 ut ... ad benedictionem dandam in sua domo declinaret.
- 1.9.10 ad exercendum aliquod opus discessit.
- 1.10.2 ad dedicandum oratorium processit.
- 2.7.1 ad hauriendam de lacu aquam egressus est.
- 2.7.1 qui ad hauriendam aquam perrexerat.
  
- 1.4.11 mittatur igitur, si placet, qui huc eum exhibeat.
  
- 1.4.13 hunc ego misit, ut eum ad se sub celeritate perduceret.
- 1.4.21 coeperunt eosdem monachos foras trahere, ut eos aut per tormenta discuterent.
- 1.6.1 concurrerunt omnes ut ignem extinguerent.
- 2.5.1 laboriosum semper ad lacum descendere, ut aquam haurire debuissent.
- 2.13.1 ut serui dei orationem perciperet et germanum fratrem uideret, ... uenire consueuerat.
- 2.14.1 misit ... ut ante serui dei oculos ... eius lateri obambulant.
  
- 1.2.11 cumque pro utilitate monasterii ad constiutionem causae egressus fuisset.
- 1.4.4 cum ... dei famulus pro exhortandis ad desideria superna fidelibus paulo longius a cella digressus est.
- 1.9.14 ad eum Gothi hospitalitatis gratia uenerunt.
- 2.3.13 in loco eodem ad omnipotentis dei sunt seruitium congregati.

We have noted just two instances of the infinitive, both in significant contexts: 1.4.14 *qui uehementer iratus coepit clamare, dicens: 'quid est hoc? ego te misi hominem deducere, non faenum portare'*, 2.30.1 *ei antiquus hostis in mulomedici specie obuiam factus est, cornu et tripedicam ferens. quem cum requisisset, dicens: 'ubi uadis?', ille respondit: 'ecce ad fratres uado, potio-nem eis dare'*. Both are in direct speeches, neither of which is put into the mouth of either Gregory or Peter. The first is addressed angrily by a certain Julian to a servant *puer*. The second is spoken by the devil in the guise of a humble *mulomedicus* (a vet).

The *Dialogues* are eminently Christian, but they purport to be about ordinary Italians. Gregory assigns various other non-standard usages to uneducated speakers or those addressing the uneducated (note above *ubi* for *quo* with *uadis*), and he seems to be implying in his use of purpose constructions a distinction of level between *ad*, *ut* and *qui* on the one hand, and the infinitive, which is kept out of his narrative. It is a reasonable guess that Gregory associated the construction with ordinary speech, while maintaining a classical purism when writing in his own voice.

### 11.2. *Gregory of Tours*

Gregory of Tours is another who has a variety of purpose constructions (we rely here on the collections by Bonnet 1890). *Ad* + gerund(ive) is common (see Bonnet 1890: 655, but usually not quoting the main verb): e.g.

*Hist. Franc.* 1.10, p. 11.9 (2nd edn) de hac ciuitate rex ad persequendum Hebraeos ... directus est.

2.37, p. 87.3 de cellola sua egrederetur ad consolandum eos.

2.42, p. 92.11 ille speculatores plerumque ad cognoscendum transmitteret.

3.10, p. 107.4 cumque ad eosdem petendos in ciuitatem regrederetur.

For *ut* see e.g.

3.13, p. 109.17 egressi foras ut ... se ... reconderent

and for *qui* + subjunctive

6.5, p. 270.16 non poterat deus mittere prophetas aut apostulos, qui eum ad uiam reuocarent salutis.

The future participle is common, according to Bonnet (1890: 653): e.g.

2.7, p. 49.18 et ecce nunc illum propero uiuentem adhuc exinde reducturus.

2.37, p. 87.5 ille in occursum hostium quasi pacem rogaturus perget intrepidus (note here quasi, an old and originally Grecising addition: see above, 5 (3)).

The infinitive of purpose has taken on a different dimension in Gregory of Tours. It is common. Bonnet (1890: 647) quotes eight instances with verbs of motion, and cites another three, but this is a selection (he quotes more cases of this construction than of the future participle or gerund). It is not confined to the type of speeches seen in Gregory the Great. Noteworthy is the flexibility with which it is used. Four of the examples quoted have the infinitive before the main verb (e.g. 6.5, p. 271.6 *morbis nostris medere uenturus erat*), and sometimes at some remove from it. This

practice is a departure from that of the Bible translations, in which the infinitive follows the main verb, either juxtaposed with it or placed soon after (on separations see also above on the *Per. Aeth.*). The infinitive of purpose has become for Gregory an acceptable literary usage, and he was not treating it as stigmatised as his namesake was.

### 11.3. Spanish slate tablet (first half of the seventh century)

From Velázquez Soriano 2004, 40.II:

ego Vnigild(us) de locum Langa  
Tomanca, dum uenisse ad loc[um...]  
tum lirigiare ad domo Froilani, ego ad-  
duxsi teste ipse Froila ...

I, Unigildus, from the place Langa Tomanca, when I had come to the place ... to litigate at the house of Froila, I brought as witness Froila himself ...

Here is a text that is cut off from Greek influence. Though it is a legal document (a declaration of a servitude), it is badly spelt and has several proto-Romance and local features. *Lirigiare* is uncertain, but is probably a misspelling of *litigare*. It is undoubtedly an infinitive, and must be a complement of *uenisse(m)*. In early Spanish, verbs of motion are regularly used with an infinitive and without an intervening preposition (which was later to be the norm): see Menéndez Pidal (1944: 349–50), citing examples from the *Poema de Mio Cid* (e.g. *vayamos los ferir, fuesse los molinos picar*: see also section 14 below), and stating that this infinitive use was current in all ancient texts. It would seem that by the seventh century in this area the infinitive of purpose, free from any Greek motivation, was established at a mundane level. For the infinitive in early medieval Latin texts from Spain see also Bastardas Parera (1953: 165).

## 12. *Ad* + infinitive

In very late Latin *ad* + infinitive comes into use as a complement of verbs (see Norberg 1943: 206–31; Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: 378). It is easier to find it with verbs of giving and the like than with verbs of motion (though for a few early medieval examples of the latter type see Norberg 1943: 211; see also further below). For example, in a northern Italian text on falcon medicine of about 900 (Bischoff 1984) we find on the one hand 71 *da illi manducare* and 64 *da illi ad manducandum*, but on the other hand 6 *dona illi ad manducare* and 72 *illi dones ad manducare*.

There are three different constructions here. *Do manducare* seems to be an extension of the old expression *do bibere* (for which see Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 1.681). *Do manducare* turns up first in late Latin (see TLL 5.1.1688.72); for example, in the Vulgate it occurs about nine times in the Gospels: e.g. John 6.31; compare *da mihi bibere* at John 4.7, 4.10. *Do ad manducandum* for its part also makes its appearance in later Latin (e.g. Veg. *Mulom.* 2.148.1 *iecur eius coctum ad manducandum dabis*). *Do ad manducare* looks like a conflation of *do manducare* and *do ad manducandum*. In this falconry text the three constructions alternate in identical contexts, and it is under such conditions of overlap that conflation might have taken place.

Two interesting cases of *ad* + infinitive with verbs of motion are to be found in a sermon (on the descent of Christ into hell) edited by Rand and Hey (1906), at 119, p. 264: *numquid hic ad furtum uenisti facere ... et si hic uenisti ad rapere*. The sermon was based on a Greek original now lost (see Rand and Hey 1896: 253), and it cannot be assumed that the construction here was a Latinisation of something different in the Greek. In koine Greek a quite common construction is εἰς τό or πρὸς τό + infinitive, expressing the purpose of an act as complement of a verb (see Blass *et al.* 2001: 332–3 at §402; also, on earlier Greek, Schwyzler 1950: 370), and it is likely that one of those constructions was rendered here. Could Greek again have had some influence on Latin via translationese in Christian texts? Bastardas Parera (1953: 167–9) in addition cites instances of *ad* + infinitive from Spanish medieval Latin texts, but not accompanying verbs of motion.

### 13. Latin: an interim conclusion

There is no continuity between the use of the infinitive of purpose with verbs of motion in early Latin, and that in late Latin. We may reject the implication of Woodcock and Austin in the statements quoted at the start that after the early period or republic the construction lived on in colloquial or vulgar Latin. It was in decline after Plautus, and in Terence and later republican prose was both subject to a lexical restriction, and rare. Thereafter it disappears, except from poetry, which is both archaising and Grecising, and from a few early imperial archaisers. There is no sign of it in the private writing tablets of the first few centuries AD or in the speeches by freedmen in Petronius' novel, in which corpora other purpose complements of such verbs are attested. It is always possible that

a new discovery will change the picture, but as the evidence stands at the moment the construction had been dropped at all levels in the early centuries AD (except occasionally in the works of those such as Apuleius, who imitated the language of early texts). From about the third century the influence of koine Greek shows up, mainly via Bible translations, and also in bilingual school exercises. From this period Christian writers attest the construction in biblical quotations, but they also start to admit it when writing in their own voice, and it seems to have spread in other varieties of the language in the very late period. The construction was an inherited one, which survived into early Latin and then faded, but was reinvigorated twice thereafter by Greek influence.

#### **14. The expression of purpose in the Romance languages**

The claim on the part of historians of Latin that we noted at the beginning of this chapter for a continuity between the Latin infinitive of purpose and some apparently analogous Romance constructions has found echoes among those whose focus has rather been on the Romance developments. Thus, Champion (1978: 23), in his study of the emergence of periphrastic futures of the form *vado (ad) + inf*, writes: 'The use of the infinitive to express purpose with verbs of motion, then, continues from Early Latin to the Romance dialects.' He bases his case on examples from early Romance texts such as the following:

##### *Old French Chanson de Roland (late eleventh–early twelfth century)*

963: en Rencesvals irai Roland ocire  
I will go to Roncevalles to kill Roland  
500: vait s'apuier suz le pin a la tige  
he goes to lean against the trunk of the pine-tree  
2180: Joes voell aler querre e entercer  
I will go and look for them

##### *Old Spanish Poema de mio Cid (late twelfth–early thirteenth century)*

368–9: El Cid a doña Ximena ybala abrazar  
doña Ximena al Cid la manol' va besar  
The Cid went to Doña Jimena to embrace her and she moves (*lit.* goes) to  
kiss his hand  
1192: quien quiere ir comigo çercar a Valencia  
who wishes to go with me to besiege Valencia

Given the focus of his investigation, he understandably does not cite parallel examples with *venir*, which are well attested nonetheless, as for example:

En Sarraguce vus vendrat aseger (*Chanson de Roland* 474)  
He will come to lay siege to you in Saragossa

si a lui vient juster (3169)  
if he comes to joust with him

Si me vinieredes buscar (*Poema de mio Cid* 1071)  
if you would come to find me

nin los vino huviar (1183)  
nor did he come to help them

In his discussion of infinitival complementation in Old French, Buridant (2000: 393) classifies *aler* and *venir* as ‘verbes présentant exclusivement ou quasi exclusivement la construction  $\emptyset$ ’ (i.e. with no overt preposition between the governing verb and the infinitive). And in French, though not elsewhere in Romance-speaking territory, this construction has survived to the present day: *elle n’a pas envie de venir vous voir* ‘she does not want to come and see you’; *Pierre ira se faire soigner en Angleterre* ‘Pierre will go to get himself treated in England’.

However, once again, as with Latin, examples such as these need to be seen in the broader context, within which three complementary factors are relevant. The first is that when it comes to expressing purpose, the pattern with the plain infinitive is very much a minority option. The more common pattern here, and one which can occur with any governing verb, involves the ‘for’ preposition followed by an infinitive or a finite clause introduced by the complementiser *quel/chel/ca* + subjunctive, as in the following French and Italian examples:

Le président est arrivé pour défendre les intérêts de la France  
The president has come in order to defend the interests of France.

Je te dis ça pour que tu puisses prendre des précautions  
I tell you that in order that you may take precautions.

Il presidente è arrivato per difendere gli interessi dell’Italia  
The president has come in order to defend the interests of Italy.

Ti dico questo perché tu possa prendere delle precauzioni  
I tell you that in order that you may take precautions.



Elsewhere the ‘for’ preposition forms part of a compound as in Spanish and Portuguese *para* and Catalan *per a* < Lat *per ad* or Romanian *pen-tru* < *per intro*. Moreover, this construction is also available with verbs of motion if the intention is to place the emphasis on the purpose, as in the following passage from *Amarok. Le Royaume du nord* by Bernard Clavel:

– Je suis pas venu pour t’écouter plaider. Je suis venu pour ...  
Raoul a failli dire: pour toi, pour t’aider

I didn’t come to listen to you plead. I came for ...  
Raoul almost said: for you, to help you

Beside the ‘for’ construction most Romance languages have also developed markers built on *finis* ‘end, goal’, such as French *afin del’que*, Italian *affinché*, Spanish *a fin de que*, Portuguese *a fim de*, with the meaning ‘in order to’.

The second relevant factor is that side by side with the plain infinitive seen in the foregoing examples there is also a construction in which the infinitive is linked to the governing verb by the preposition *a*. This is a separate, though related, development from that discussed in [section 12](#) above and is part of the more general phenomenon whereby Latin prolative or dependent infinitives come in many contexts to be introduced by one of the prepositional complementisers *a* or *de*. As noted in Vincent (1988: 68–9), there is considerable variety in the way this develops in the modern Romance languages with one language requiring such a marker and the next one not, as for example Spanish *deber de* + inf beside French/Italian *devoir, dovere* +  $\emptyset$  + inf. In French, as we have noted, the zero construction is still possible with *aller*. In modern Portuguese the zero construction is also used although in the sense of future rather than motion: *vai chover* ‘it is going to rain’. In modern Spanish the same development is to be found but here the future periphrasis includes the linking *a*: *va a llover* ‘it is going to rain’. By contrast, in modern Italian the sole possibility is also *andare a* + infinitive but it only expresses movement and not futurity. Amenta and Strudsholm (2002) show moreover that what is true in modern Tuscan-derived Italian holds of a number of dialects and regional varieties and of earlier stages of the language.

The third factor lies in the consequences of the fact that, as we have seen with Spanish and Portuguese, the construction with the ‘go’ verb may develop a periphrastic value. This, of course, is also the case in French, where perhaps the most frequent use of *aller* + infinitive in the modern

language is to express futurity, and hence where main verb and auxiliary can both be *aller*, as for example *nous allons aller au fond des choses* ‘we are going to get to the bottom of the matter’. Just to make matters even more complicated exactly the same structure of ‘go’ + infinitive in medieval and modern Catalan (and some varieties of Occitan) expresses simple past:

L'equip de Ricard Muñoz **va ser** inferior en la primera part, però **va ressorgir** en la segona (*El Punt* 14 September 2014)

RM's team was the weaker in the first half but came back in the second

Meanwhile, the construction with *a* also exists and can have a future meaning: *vaig a parlar* ‘I am going to speak’, although this latter is not as frequent as its French and Spanish counterparts, perhaps because of the risk of confusion between two very similar forms expressing opposite points on the temporal scale. As Radatz (2003) shows, however, this is not a borrowing from Spanish but an autochthonous and somewhat later development.

Taken together, these considerations suggest that the most plausible diachronic scenario is that the core concept of purpose, or what is traditionally known as a final clause, comes to be expressed across the Romance languages, and therefore has to be reconstructed for any putative proto-Romance, by the structures built with *per* and its reflexes. As we have seen, these can be used with verbs of motion just as with any other verb when attention is focused on the purpose – e.g. Italian *sono venuto per aiutarti*, French *je suis venu pour t'aider* ‘I have come to help you’. It is however an intrinsic property of verbs of motion that they specify or imply a goal for which the appropriate preposition is *a(d)*. At the same time there is a fine line between goals and purposes so it is natural that there should be some slippage in meaning. This tendency is reinforced when the motion verb and the infinitive are directly juxtaposed as in the so-called ‘expressive motion’ uses of *venir* and *aller* in modern French analysed by Tellier (2015): *et là, tu viens me dire que le compte est à sec* ‘and now you have the gall to tell me the account is empty’ (her translation). By contrast, when there is intervening material, the meaning is more literal and the construction with *pour* is to be expected, just as we saw with the examples with *ut* ... after an intervening phrase in section 7.3. Add to this the variability in the way the different languages come to mark dependent or prolativ infinitives (zero, *ad* and *de*) and there is a pool of potential variation out of which the modern standards can develop, without there being any need to postulate continuity between the Latin and Romance constructions.

## **15. Conclusion**

When we put together the picture that we have drawn in detail for Latin and more sketchily for Romance, we can see that although there are similarities between what is attested in the construction that is our focus here, these are similarities due to the independent recurrence at different points in time of the natural mechanisms of grammatical change. Similarity, however, is not continuity.

## *Causatives in Latin and Romance*

*Nigel Vincent*

In this chapter we reverse the perspective adopted in the rest of this volume and look back towards Latin from the situation attested in the Romance languages. Across the whole family, with the exception of Daco-Romance, we find a causative construction based on a verb derived from Latin *facere* plus an infinitive as in French *je ferai parler Paul* ‘I will make Paul speak’, Italian *ha fatto uscire lo studente* ‘he made the student leave’, Catalan *fas treballar molt el nen* ‘you make the boy work hard’, Portuguese *a mãe fê-la arrumar o quarto* ‘her mother made her tidy up her room’.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in all these languages the construction is attested continuously from the time of our earliest texts. A representative selection of examples is displayed in (1):

- (i) a) lo incantatore l' à incantato et àlli facto renegare lo buono deo  
'the enchanter enchanted him and made him renounce the good God'  
(*Libro di Sidrac* 2141, Salentino, fifteenth century)
- b) lo coiro k' è de sovra le fa parir plu belle  
'the skin that is over them makes them seem more beautiful'  
(Bonvesin *La scrigiura negra* 57, Milanese, thirteenth century)
- c) en Sarraguce fait suner ses taburs  
'in Saragossa he makes his drums sound'  
(*Chanson de Roland* 852, Old French, twelfth century)

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In modern Portuguese the construction with *fazer* is less frequent, the role of causative verb having mostly been taken over by *mandar*. However this is a recent development and does not affect the general argument of the present chapter, hence we will leave the constructions with this verb aside in what follows. See Sheehan (2016) for some discussion and references. Detailed studies of these constructions in Old French and Old Italian are to be found in Pearce (1990) and Robustelli (2000). The latter also contains a valuable compilation of relevant Latin material.

- d) fan los autrus enfans als maritz tener  
     'they make their husbands look after the children of other men'  
     (Marcabru 34.24, Old Occitan, mid-twelfth century)
- e) faem aturar Don Pero Corneyl  
     'we make Don Pero Corneyl stop'  
     (Jaume I, *Fets*: f. 102R. 22, Old Catalan, thirteenth century)
- f) por fazer a las yentes perder la sospecha  
     'to make people lose their suspicion'  
     (*Estoria de España* 80r, Old Spanish, thirteenth century)
- g) lhe fez cõfessar todollos arrtigos da ffe perfeittamente  
     'he made him recite all the articles of faith perfectly'  
     (*Batlaam* 69.1, Old Portuguese, fourteenth century)

In this construction, an external agent or force is expressed as subject of the 'do' verb and the state of affairs that is brought about is conveyed in the infinitival complement of that verb. If the infinitival verb is intransitive, whether unaccusative as in (1b) or unergative as in (1e), then its subject is expressed as the direct object of the 'do' verb. If instead that verb is transitive then it retains its own object and its subject is marked by the preposition *a* (1d, f) or by a corresponding indirect object pronoun (1a, g).

As we move back through the centuries, corresponding Latin examples are not hard to find until, that is, we come to classical and immediately post-classical times. Thus, in texts contemporary with the early Romance documents cited in (1) the construction proliferates. To take just one case in point, the following are some of the many instances to be found in the Paduan chronicle by Rolandino written in the 1260s (Vincent 2007):

- (2) Ecelinum ipsum ... decenter conduci fecit Baxanum (I.9.27); nominari fecit Marchiam taruisinam et Paduam usque in partibus transmarinis (I.11.18); se poni fecit cum aliis ciuibus paduanis in coltam (II.1.13); ipsum ... faciebat custodiri per Sarracenos (IV.6.77); et dampnificare fecit ... inimicos (IV.13.3); fecerat fabricare Ecelinus illas letteras (XI.2.30).

More generally, abundant use is made of this construction in chronicles and legal texts throughout the medieval period, as the examples in (3) demonstrate:

- (3) Gregory (sixth century) *Hist. Franc. I.prol.* p. 5.14–15 hoc etiam et Victurius cum ordine paschalis solemnitates inquirere fecit, VI.17 silicet ut, quem credere uoluntariae non poterat, audire et credere faceretuel inuitum;  
     Iordanes (sixth century) *Rom.* 364 eos fecit imperium perdere, *Get.* 53 et appellari faciunt et uideri, *Get.* 298 ad se eum facit uenire;

Fredegarius (seventh century) 7 ad Christianam legem baptizare omnes Gothos fecit, 40 gentes ... procul fecit abesse, 68 ut negotiantes ... et res ... cum iustitia faceret emendare;

Einhard (ninth century) *Life of Charlemagne* 18 quam ... magno cum honore fecit humari, 29 iura quae scripta non erant describere ac litteris mandari fecit;

*Chronicon Salernitanum* (tenth century) 11 coronam ... disrumpere fecit, 12 Arichis exercitus copiam adunare fecit.

The construction is also common in technical writers from the late Latin period such as Apicius (fourth century), Cassius Felix (fifth century) and Palladius (fifth century), as seen in (4):

- (4) Apic. 2.2.8 et lento igni feruere facias, 3.2.3 facies betaciorum fascies detergi;  
 Pallad. 1.40 sic eueniet ut flamma altum petendo cellas faciat plus calere, 3.10 quae res uitem faciet altius fundare radices, 6.12 quae res scissuris eos faciet aperiri, 11.23 October Martium similibus umbris sibi fecit aequari;  
 Cass. Fel. (ed Fraisse) 48.19 quietam noctem laborantes transire facit, 57.2 <in> piscinam descendere facies, 70.2 ceruina pellis substrata facit non timere serpentes.

Nor should we forget biblical usage in both Old and New Testaments (for further examples and discussion see [Mengoni 1980](#); [Hoffmann 2008](#); [Rubio 2009](#)):<sup>2</sup>

- (5) Exod. 10.19 qui flare fecit uentum ab occidente uehementissimum,  
 Num. 11.24 quos stare fecit circa tabernaculum,  
 Judges 16.19 at illa dormire eum fecit super genua sua,  
 Gen. 50.23 ascendere uos faciet de terra ista ad terram quam iurauit Abraham;  
 2 Chron. 25.8 superari te faciet Deus ab hostibus;  
 Eph. 2.6 et consedere fecit in caelestibus in Christo Jesu;  
 Apoc. 10.9 et faciet amaricari uentrem tuum;  
 Apoc. 13.16 et faciet omnes pusillos, et magnos, et diuites, et pauperes, et liberos, et seruos habere characterem in dextera manu sua, aut in frontibus suis.

There is extensive geographical as well as chronological spread of the construction. For example, in a study devoted to Latin texts and

<sup>2</sup> We cannot however agree with the observation by Rubio (2009: 223) that the *facio* + infinitive construction is 'widely attested in Classical Latin'. As we shall see, this structure has a very limited and specialised occurrence in the classical language and for that reason it is unlikely that it is the source or the model of the biblical usage.

inscriptions from the Balkans Mihăescu (1978: §260) writes: ‘La construction des verbes *curare*, *facere*, avec l’infinitif au lieu du gérondif est attestée par les textes et les inscriptions dès le III<sup>e</sup> siècle av.n.è. Elle était sans nul doute répandue dans le langage parlé et s’est conservée dans les langues romanes.’

Among his examples are the following:

- (6) *CIL* 3.4796, Noricum, inscription, AD 311, a novo restitui fecit;  
*AE* 1968, 455, Thrace, gravestone, 3rd century, fatus aut genesis me fecit carere parentes;  
*CIL* 3.3955, Pannonia, inscription, n.d., ne quis in hac ara porcos agi facere uelit

In addition, the eighth-century texts from northern France edited by Pei (1932) yield the examples in (7) and many more of this kind:

- (7) Charter, Compiègne, 716, solidus cento ... eis dare et adimplire faciatis;  
 Charter, Paris, 753, dinarius quattuor dare fecissent;  
 Charter, Paris, 811, commemorare ipsas congregationes faciant.

Similar evidence is to be found in the west of the Latin-Romance territory. Citing an eleventh-century example from San Millán: *facio scire omnibus meis, matri et germanis et propinquis quia nolo ...*, Bastardas Parera (1953: 174) concludes ‘podemos decir que la construcción del tipo *hago saber a todos* estaba en España plenamente desarrollada antes de la aparición de los primeros textos románicos’.

Indeed, ever since the seminal study by Norberg (1945), endorsed by Löfstedt (1959: 131) and, with additional examples, by Chamberlain (1986), it has been agreed that this construction can be traced back to late Latin. Thus, Chamberlain (1986: 140) writes: ‘The infinitive complement was the rule for causatives in Latin as early as the sixth century’, and, we may add, arguably a good deal earlier given the biblical uses and the third-, fourth- and fifth-century passages quoted in (4)–(6) plus occasional examples from writers such as Tertullian and Cyprian. Of these last two, Thielmann (1886: 186) observes: ‘Auch lassen beide, der vorsichtige Cyprian noch mehr als der kühne Tertullian, den Inf. bei *facere* häufig nur zur Beseitigung eines doppelten *ut* eintreten: Tert. *Marc.* 5, 3 *ut iustos uiuere faciat*, Cypr. ep. 6, 4 *ut ... quos confiteri fecit faciat et coronari*.’ Examples such as these suggest that the construction was already available in the Latin of their era but only deployed in circumstances of stylistic necessity.

What then, one may ask, was the rule before this time? For the classical language, four mutually complementary answers can be given:

- a) There are residues of an earlier causative word formation process in items like *liquefacio*, *feruefacio*, *arefacio* (see [Hahn 1947](#) and [Fruyt 2011: 783–5](#) for fuller exemplification and discussion). In all the instances where *-facio* is attached to a verbal stem such as *are-*, *lique-*, *ferve-* and the like, that stem is a stative one ending in *-ē-*. Since this ending is, as a result of various sound changes, homophonous with the etymologically causative *-ē-* in verbs such as *moneo* ‘lit. make aware’, *torreo* ‘make dry’, it is likely that the *-facio* forms represent a way of deriving a causative without involving an iteration of homophonous affixes. Both inflectional *-ē-* and compounded *-faciol-facio* represent residues of an older synthetic mode of expressing causativity that can be traced back to proto-Indo-European ([Sihler 1995: 531–2](#)).
- b) Instead of a dedicated analytic or synthetic construction, causation was typically expressed in the classical language by main verbs such as *efficio* with a full clausal complement introduced by *ut*, *curo* with a gerund, and the like. In the words of Lehmann (forthcoming): ‘In the written standard of the Latin language, there was no established grammaticalized causative construction. It was only in Proto-Romance that the complex sentence based on *facio* plus a.c.i. was grammaticalized as a dedicated causative construction.’
- c) At the same time, in classical usage *facio* was one of the verbs that could express causation but for the most part only when occurring in combination with a full clausal complement and not with an infinitive, as for example: Cic. *Att.* 2.4.4 *facito ut sciam*, Cic. *Ac.* 1.2.8 *ea ... feci ut essent nota nostris*, Caes. *Gal.* 2.11 *fecerunt ut consimilis fugae profectio videretur*, Lucr. 4.273 *multa facitque foris ex aedibus ut uideantur*.
- d) The combination of *facio* + infinitive is found in the classical writers but the meaning is different. An example is Cic. *Tusc.* 5.115 *Polyphemum Homerus cum ariete conloquentem facit eiusque laudare fortunas*, where the meaning is not that Homer forces or causes Polyphemus to speak with a ram and praise its fate but rather that the poet portrays him as doing these things (cf. *OLD* s.v. 19, 20). Note too how in this example the infinitive is coordinated with a present participle. In another instance the meaning is to portray oneself or pretend, as in Cic. *Fam.* 15.18.1 (= Shackleton Bailey 213, Loeb) *facio me alias res agere* translated by Williams as ‘I pretend to busy myself with other things’ and by Shackleton Bailey as ‘I make believe to be otherwise occupied’.



The meanings of seeming and causing converge in the following passages: Cic. *Brut.* 142 *nulla res magis ... talesque oratores uideri facit, quales ipsi se uideri volunt* ‘Nothing else so causes the orator to seem such a man as he wills to seem’ (trans. G.L. Hendrickson) and Sen. *Her. O.* 434 *terris uideri sceleribus causam suis fecit nouercam*.

This usage is found both in prose – Gel. 9.9.15 *Vergilius ... pharetram tantum facit eam ferre in humero* ‘Virgil shows her (Diana) as carrying a quiver on her shoulder’ – and in poetry. Thus, when Ovid writes *fecit et Asterien aquila luctante teneri/fecit olorinis Ledam recubare sub alis* (*Met.* 6.108–9), he is not describing what Arachne, the subject of *fecit*, caused to happen but how she depicted these events. One distinguishing property of the construction when it has this meaning is that *facio* may be followed by a perfect infinitive, something which is never attested when it is used in a causative sense, thus: *si timuisse eos facis* (Cic. *Dom.* 10) ‘if you have it (= represent to yourself) that they were afraid’.

While the causative use of *facio* + infinitive is notable by its almost complete absence from classical prose, there are a number of instances in poetry where the meaning is clearly causative and which deserve separate comment. A case in point, also from Ovid, is *hoc me ... telum flere facit facietque diu* (*Met.* 7.690–1), where the rationale is arguably metrical. The same explanation has been offered for the often cited instance in the *Aeneid*: *qui nati coram me cernere letum fecisti* (*Aen.* 2.538). Interestingly, in his commentary on this passage, Horsfall (2008) says of the construction that it is ‘dear to Lucretius’. And indeed the Lucretian uses outnumber all the other classical and pre-classical poetic instances taken together. We reproduce them here in (8):

- (8) 3.100 Harmoniam Grai quam dicunt quod faciat nos uiuere cum sensu  
 3.301 quae (= gelidas auras) tremulum faciunt membris existere motum  
 5.662 quae (= ignes et semina) faciunt solis noua semper lumina gigni  
 5.703 qui (= ignes) faciunt solem certa de surgere parte  
 5.761 quae (= loca infesta) faciunt ignis interstingui atque perire  
 6.176 uentus ... fecit ... spissescere nubem  
 6.213 semina, quae faciunt flammae fulgere colores  
 6.267 (nubila) flumina abundare ut facerent camposque natare  
 6.455 haec faciunt primum paruas consistere nubes  
 6.512 (copia nimborum) facit effluere imbris

For these too Thielmann (1886: 182) adduces a metrical explanation. However, an alternative possibility is based on meaning rather than poetic structure. Taken together the passages in (8) reveal a striking difference

when compared to the Romance examples in (1) or the medieval and biblical Latin material in (2)–(6), namely that the subject of *facere*, and thus the external trigger of the action or event described, is in all cases a natural force or cause of some kind (the wind, storm clouds, particular places and so forth). In later Latin and Romance, although a non-animate subject is not impossible, for instance the skin in (1b) or the month of October in the Palladius example in (4), the vast majority of cases have a human subject as instigator of the action. This distribution in Lucretius reveals a remarkable parallel to that described for the analogous Greek construction with ποιέω + infinitive by Gibson (2002). She notes in particular that in philosophical writers like Aristotle and Plato, the proportion of uses in which the subject in this construction is non-human is much higher than elsewhere, and that in Aristotle ‘causative constructions with ποιέω occur mostly in the context of the physical world, where natural cause is being described’ (Gibson 2002: 31). She is however at pains to make clear that it does not follow from this that the construction itself is limited to philosophical contexts, arguing instead that it is likely to be the result of natural mechanisms of linguistic change and quite plausibly popular in origin but was then deployed in this special way by Aristotle and, to a lesser extent, Plato.

It is noteworthy that this explanation would extend to the two pre-classical poetic occurrences in (9) which commonly figure in discussions of this construction:

(9) Lucil. 1224 *purpureamque uam facit albam pampinum habere.*

Enn. *Ann.* 439 (Skutsch) *quom soles eadem facient longiscere longe.*

In both these examples, the subject and external cause is the sun, and both these poets, admittedly in very different ways, make use of Greek sources and models, so it is not implausible that the same effect is at work here. Another regularly cited instance which may perhaps fall under this heading is *indumentum illud oris clarescere et resonare uocem facit* (Gel. 5.7.2 quoting Gavius Bassus). This is not to say that the construction in Latin is a borrowing from Greek, but rather that the special use made of it by these poets, and in particular by Lucretius, draws on Greek models (cf. in this connection the comment by Kay 2013: 140 on the example *facit articulos ore silente loqui* from the *Anthologia Latina*).

And just as Gibson suggests a popular source for the Greek construction, so scholars have often claimed that the origin of the Latin construction lies in the popular language. Thus, Thielmann (1886: 180) observes: ‘Während die klassische Schriftsprache der Römer *facere* “machen” regelmässig mit

*ut, ne* oder dem blossen Konjunktiv verband, fügte die Volkssprache in leichter und bequemer Manier zu diesem Verbum häufig den Infinitiv.' His view is perpetuated by Ernout and Thomas (1953: 278), who state: '*Facio* + prop. inf. au sens de «faire que» (= *facio ut*) appartient à la langue familière' and they go on to assert the continuity with the Romance construction: 'Ce tour a subsisté dans son correspondant français: «faire venir qqn»'. Compare too Biville (1995b: 41), who adduces the inscriptional example in (10a) and the technical usage in (10b) (where however the causative verb is *efficio* rather than *facio*), to which we can add a further frequently cited use from Varro (10c) as evidence of the construction's early appearance in technical writing:

- (10) a) *CIL* 3.9532 maritus super arcam tesella(m) infigi fecit.
- b) Vitr. 2.6.4 calida umoris ieiunitas ... uehementer ea coire celeriterque unam soliditatis percipere uirtutem.
- c) Varro, *R.* 3.5.3 quod earum aspectus ac desiderium facit macrescere uolucres inclusas.

Here too there is a contrast between the presence of an animate agent in the obviously colloquial (10a) and the controlling role of external forces as expressed in the more structured prose of (10b, c).

In short, at first sight this construction appears to have all the ingredients of a typical 'submerged' profile: examples from early texts; only rare attestation within the classical literary corpus; some attestation in technical or archaising writers; extensive use in later texts; and a successor construction in the Romance languages. However, there are two important considerations that argue against this account.

In the first place, when we complete the picture of the use of *facio* in pre-classical Latin, it becomes clear that it was regularly used with almost any type of complement except an infinitival one. To judge by the long list of examples compiled by Bennett (1910: 224–8), *facio* plus subjunctive, with or without an introductory *ut*, is the dominant construction in the earlier period. Bennett notes further that many of these uses involve a controlling imperative as *fac uideam* 'let me see her' (Pl. *Epid.* 567) and that in the earliest cases *fac* typically in turn governs a second person: *fac fidelis sis fideli* 'be sure to be faithful to those who are faithful to you' (*Capt.* 439); *fac Amphitruonem ... ut abigas* (*Am.* 978); *syngraphum facito adferas* (*As.* 238); *illud facito ut memineris* (*Aul.* 257). In other words it is often directed at the same subject as the governed verb rather than introducing a different subject. It is also, as one might expect of an imperative, oriented towards future events rather than descriptive of past events, as

is commonly and contrastively the case with *facio* plus infinitive. In the words of Biville (1995b: 40):

Suivi d'une complétive au subjonctif introduite ou non par *ut, facere* (var. *efficere*) se charge d'un sens prospectif et prescriptif ... *facere* est, dans cet emploi, essentiellement employé à la 1re et à la 2de personnes, aux formes temporelles-modales prospectives: désideratif, futur, subjonctif (classique et archaïque), impératif: *faxo, faciam, faxim, fac(e), facite, facito*.

It is uses such as these that we find continued in Cicero and other classical prose writers as in the examples already cited under point (c) above. It is clear too that this imperative construction belongs to Italic more widely since it is also attested in the first century BC Oscan *Tabula Bantina* **Lu 1 = TB** (Rix 2002: 123–4):

(11) factud	p{o}us	touto	deiuatuns	tanginom
make.IMP	ut	people.NOM	sweat.PRPRT.NOMPL	opinion.ACC
deicans				
say.PRS.SUBJ.3PL				

facito ut populus iurati sententiam dicant (this Latin rendering is due to Buck)

‘let him cause the people to declare their opinion under oath’ (Buck 1904: §315)

In addition to the construction with finite verbs, we also find the imperative and other forms constructed with a perfect participle as in Ter. *An.* 680 *me missum face* ‘let me go’, Hau. 341 *ademptum tibi iam faxo omnem metum* ‘I will have all fear removed from you’. In her contribution to the present volume (p. 186–7), Haverling comments that the participle with *facio* ‘seems to be particularly frequent in early and in late Latin’ but dies out subsequently. In this connection she observes that ‘where Chiron uses a construction with *facio* (Chiron 390 *munitos facies et fasciabis* “you shall cover and bandage it”), the more elegant Vegetius chooses a simple verb (*Mulom.* 2.54.3 *munies et fasciabis*)’. In short, we can say that in the classical and pre-classical periods *facio* was often used in constructions expressing causation but only very rarely with an infinitive and when it was constructed with an infinitive it usually did not express causation.

The second reason to doubt the ‘submerged’ account is that there are significant structural differences between the Latin and the Romance constructions that remain unexplained on this hypothesis, most notably the facts that *facio* + infinitive in Latin is clearly biclausal while the Romance construction is monoclausal and that the subject of the

embedded infinitive in the Romance construction is marked by the 'to' preposition, as in French *Le professeur a fait lire l'article à ses étudiants* (and compare also examples (1d, f) above). Let us take each of these points in turn.

As Bolkestein (1976) makes clear, there are two constructions in Latin underlying the surface combination  $V + N_{acc} + V_{inf}$ . The first involves the noun as object of the main verb followed by an infinitive whose subject is co-referential to the object as in Caes. *Gal.* 1.49 *tertiam (aciem) castra munire iussit*, a type of construction that has been called object control. In the second, there is no semantic or syntactic relation between the main verb and the accusative noun, and instead the accusative noun and the infinitival verb together form a clause which is embedded as complement of the main verb. This is the accusative and infinitive (AcI) construction *stricto sensu*, in which the infinitival verb may be either active (Cic. *Att.* 1.3.3 *quibus de suspicionibus etsi audisse te arbitror*) or passive (Sal. *Cat.* 23 *Ciceronis invidiam leniri credebant*) as befits the intended sense. The boundary between the two constructions however is blurred if the complement of a verb like *iubeo* is passive as in Ter. *An.* 484 *quod iussi ei dari bibere* or Cic. *Rep.* 2.7 (*urbem*) *quam e suo nomine Romam iussit nominari*, sentences which express generic orders given to whoever the relevant person or body may be. Just as the voice may be independently selected in the AcI construction so may the tense, hence the possibility of a past infinitive in the above passage from Cic. *Att.* or a future one as in Sal. *Cat.* 48 *cum se diceret indicaturum de coniuratione*, and, combining the two, the periphrastic expression of past and future passives: Cic. *Catil.* 1.4 *te interfectum esse, Catilina, conuenit*, Cic. *In Verrem* 2.1.9 *quis hoc non perspicit, praeclare nobiscum actum iri*.

When it comes to the complement of *facio*, these tests suggest that here too we have an instance of AcI. Consider again the Lucretius example *faciunt solem certa de surgere parte*. One could at a stretch argue that the sun is the object of the force which causes it to rise, but in context it makes more sense to treat the force of the fires (*ignes*) as simply bringing about the event of a new sun rising. In any case, once the infinitival verb is passivised, as in the another of our Lucretian examples *faciunt solis noua semper lumina gigni*, the alternative reading is no longer available, nor is it in cases where a passive and an active infinitive are coordinated as in a third instance from the *De rerum natura*: *faciunt ignis interstingui atque perire*. Rather what is caused is the entire situation. Henceforth, therefore, we will assume – as do Chamberlain (1986) and Lehmann (in press) though without argumentation – that

the complement of the *facio* + infinitive is in origin an AcI clause (cf also Kühner Stegmann 1955: §126e).

In the examples cited thus far, form and meaning of the infinitives are in regular alignment, but there are some contexts where the match fails. This need not in principle cause surprise since, as Norberg (1945: 96) reminds us, the infinitive was in origin a verbal noun and hence neutral as to distinctions of voice. There may therefore be occasions when an active infinitive seems to require a passive interpretation, as in the example he cites: *Aen.* 1.319 *dederatque comam diffundere ventis*, and more generally in what is usually called the final infinitive.<sup>3</sup> Once we come to Romance, however, things are very different since no change in the form of the infinitive is possible even when the agent is marked with the preposition normally associated with the passive (*par*; *por*; *per*; *da*), as in the examples in (12):

(12) a) Il a fait photographier ses enfants par un de ses amis.

b) Paolo fece scrivere la lettera dalla segreteria.

c) L'alcalde ha fet enderrocar el pont per un especialista. (Catalan)  
'The mayor had the bridge demolished by a specialist (Alsina 1996: 187)'

Norberg attempts to connect these two stages via a version of the submerger hypothesis. In his words, 'il faut supposer que cet infinitif s'est maintenu aussi, à travers toutes les époques, dans le langage du peuple illettré' (Norberg 1945: 97), whence it blossoms into the passive interpretation in examples of the type in (12). It is true, as he states, that such an active infinitive with passive interpretation needs to be explained, and we can readily grant his argument that Muller's explanation based on the alleged phonetic convergence of forms such as *tenere* and *teneri* or *audire* and *audiri* is untenable. Nonetheless, the gap to be bridged is too large and the proposed link too tenuous and unsubstantiated to be really convincing.<sup>4</sup> In any case, an alternative morphosyntactic explanation is available. This change in the status of the infinitive is to be expected if it is no longer an independent grammatical entity heading its own clause but instead combines directly with the 'do' verb to create a so-called complex predicate that is the head of a monoclausal structure (Rosen 1997). Thus, in example (1a) above, repeated here as (13), the complex predicate *far*

<sup>3</sup> For further discussion of this latter construction see the chapter by Adams and Vincent in this volume.

<sup>4</sup> For similar scepticism about this part of Norberg's argument, see the review by Hatcher (1947: 112).

*renegare* has an agent subject (*lo incantatore*), a direct object expressing what is renounced (*lo bueno Dio*) and the cliticised indirect object (*li*) expressing the renouncer:

- (13) *lo incantatore l'à incantato et àlli facto renegare lo bueno deo*  
 'the enchanter enchanted him and made him renounce the good God'  
 (*Libro di Sidrac* 2141, Salentino, 15th century)

The marking and linear placing of these items is exactly as it would be in a clause with a simple verb such as *gli ho dato il libro* 'I gave him the book'. Once the infinitive had become united with the 'do' verb in this way, it was no longer available for grammatical operations such as passivisation, which instead targeted the governing finite verb. To judge by the figures cited by Chamberlain (1986: 132), this process has already been completed by the seventh or eighth centuries. Thus, in his survey of the uses of the infinitive in the *Chronicle* of Fredegar and the eighth-century texts collected in Pei (1932), in 40 out of 52 instances where the meaning is passive the infinitive is active in form. The revival of the passive infinitive in later medieval texts, starting with Einhard and continuing on through much later writers like Rolandino cited in (2) above, provides evidence of the effect of a reimposition of classical norms following the Carolingian reforms. In other words, there is a rather different kind of submerged pattern according to which the Romance type of structure that had already come into existence in the early medieval period disappears from later medieval texts only to reappear in the early vernacular texts.

If anything, therefore, it is the 'do' verb itself which should, like any simple transitive verb, have the potential to be passivised, as indeed it can in some but not all Romance languages; witness the Italian and Catalan examples (14a, b), but contrast the ungrammaticality of French (14c):

- (14) a) *Piero fu fatto entrare nella sala*  
 b) *Els conills van ser fets sortir del can*  
 'The rabbits were made to come out of the burrow'  
 c) \**L'enfant a été fait dormir*

We return to the lessons to be drawn from this kind of variability within modern Romance at the end of the chapter.

The difference in the case marking of the infinitival subject provides a further diagnostic of a difference in clausal structure. As far as Latin is concerned, there are various hypotheses in the literature as to why this

should be in the accusative case, but the details need not detain us here. Suffice it to say that the consensus among both traditional grammarians and those who have approached the question from a more modern theoretical perspective such as Jøhndal (2012) and Danckaert (2015b) is that the accusative is generated clause-internally, either as a special case assignment determined by the non-finite nature of the clause or as an instance of so-called default case. In particular, we cannot treat the accusative as the object of the governing verb since AclIs can be complements of impersonal verbs that do not take an object (e.g. *conuenit* in the Ciceronian example above) or of verbs that take an indirect rather than a direct object (*credo*). In some instances, there is no overt accusative if the argument can be construed from context as with the example from Cassius Felix 57.2 cited in (4) above: *<in> piscinam descendere facies* ‘you will make (him) go down into the pool’. Things are different with the Romance construction. Here we find two possibilities. If the infinitival verb is intransitive, then its subject takes the position in the clause of a direct object and is pronominalised in exactly the same way. Thus, in French *Jean a fait cuire les pommes* is structurally akin to *Jean a mangé les pommes* and both can be pronominalised with *les*, although with the difference that there is no agreement marker in the causative *Jean les a fait cuire* vs. *Jean les a mangées*. Similar facts obtain for the other languages and argue once again for the noun in question being treated as a direct object in a simple clause, albeit one with a complex verb.

When the verb constructed with the ‘do’ verb in Romance is transitive, the story is a little more complicated but the conclusion is the same. Here, as we have seen, the logical subject of the infinitive is marked by the ‘to’ preposition, the same item as marks the indirect object in a simple clause. This is consistent with the general pattern elucidated in typological studies of languages belonging to a variety of different families by Comrie (1975) and Song (1996). In the words of the latter: ‘It seems that what these languages are doing is keeping the number of core arguments in the causative sentence from exceeding the maximum number of core arguments permitted in the ordinary noncausative sentence’ (Song 1996: 174). One way to avoid the effects of this constraint is of course for a language to have a biclausal causative, as with English *Mary made [her sister write a letter to the minister]* or the Latin *facio ut* construction, since then each clause can have its own full complement of arguments. If, however, we have a monoclausal causative (whether periphrastic as in Romance or inflectional as in languages like Turkish and Japanese) and the subject and object slots are



already filled, then the only way to add a further argument is mark it as the indirect object.<sup>5</sup>

Viewed from the diachronic perspective within Latin and Romance, this state of affairs immediately raises the question of the origin of this third argument strategy. Perhaps the natural first step is to look back to the Latin dative. This is exactly the move made by Muller (1912), who seeks to trace the source of this marking of the third argument in a causative to Latin datives of agent such as Pl. *Poen.* 855 *ubi mihi uapulandum sit*, Enn. *Ann.* 1.44–5 Skutsch *tibi sunt ante gerendae aerumnae*. Since this structure is well attested in early writers, this fact could in turn be construed as a piece of evidence in favour of the notion of submerged Latin with respect to this construction. Muller's hypothesis, however, is convincingly refuted by Norberg (1945) on the grounds first that the dative of agent has a very restricted distribution, being preferentially used, as in the examples above, with the gerund or gerundive, and second that it belongs exclusively to a formal register of Latin and not to the colloquial registers out of which the Romance languages are standardly assumed to have developed. There are however examples of dative subjects in later texts which can be construed as precursors of the Romance construction. Norberg identifies as the earliest the following from the *Vitae patrum* (5.10.28): *nunc igitur propterea ego suscepi, ut faciam ei, qui surrexit, inuenire mercedem*. It is perhaps not coincidental that this occurs as a complement to *faciam* within a purpose clause and thus avoids a nesting of one *ut*-clause inside another (Thielmann 1886: 186). Biville (1995b: 42), following Väänänen (1981: §326), sees a precursor several centuries earlier in Petronius 51.2: (*phialam*) ... *deinde fecit reporrigere Caesari et illam in pauimentum proiecit*. She translates the relevant part here 'il fit rendre (le flacon) à César', which is ambiguous between Caesar as donor or recipient. Interestingly, Andrea Aragosti's Italian version also uses the modern causative construction but makes clear the intended meaning through recourse to the passive preposition *da*: 'se la fece dare indietro da Cesare'. He differs too in drawing on an alternative textual tradition (see e.g. Müller's Teubner edition) where the relevant passage is *fecit reporrigere Caesarem*, with an accusative rather than a dative, a reading which is consistent with interpreting this as a straightforward AcI in which *Caesarem* functions

<sup>5</sup> A complication arises if the situation caused contains its own indirect object as in the English example above. To go into the details would take us too far from our main theme but see Lepschy (1978) for some discussion of the alternatives in one Romance language.

as subject and *reporrigere* is construed with a null object (cf Schmeling 2011: 212 and references there).

Biville cites in addition the example in (15) from a letter by an Egyptian soldier dated to the beginning of the second century AD (the translation is hers):

- (15) item litem (h)abuit Ptolemes pater meu(s) sopra uestimenta mea et factum est illi uenire Alexandriae con tirones (P. Mich. 471)  
 ‘Mon père a eu un procès à propos de mes habits, et on l’a fait venir à Alexandrie avec les recrues.’

The problem in this instance, however, is that the dative *illi* combines with the unaccusative *uenire* whereas the Romance pattern is only attested when the infinitival verb is transitive. Moreover, as Adams (1977: 64) notes, the construction as used here may well represent Greek influence. In sum, it seems that there are no persuasive occurrences of dative subjects of the relevant kind earlier than those of the sixth century and later collected by Norberg. And even then for a period accusative and dative appear to exist side by side as in another of Norberg’s examples: *Capitularium Hludouici*, December 828: *exorare, ut qui fecit nos iustissima dispensatione flagella sentire, faciat nobis peccata nostra ... cognoscere*.

A question which now arises is: how did the dative come to assume the function that had hitherto belonged to the accusative? According to Norberg (1945), the model is to be found in main verbs like *mandare*, *imperare* and *permittere*, which had always taken a dative and which belonged to the broader semantic class of verbs of ordering and permitting. They contrasted with a verb like *iubere* which in origin took an accusative and only later came to be used with the dative as well. From here the dative would have been extended by analogy to uses of *facere*. More generally, ‘on peut imaginer un développement par lequel le datif se dégage de la dépendance du verbe principal et finit par se rattacher à l’infinitif. Par suite d’un tel développement, le datif formerait avec l’infinitif une construction indépendante, et à peu près analogue à la proposition infinitive avec un accusatif sujet’ (Norberg 1945: 83). The problem here is that it is not at all clear what it means for the dative to ‘disengage itself’ from its governing verb. And if it could do so, why did this not also happen with intransitives as well as transitives? There is no real comparability with the Latin Acl in which, as we have seen, the subject is always accusative even if this leads to two accusatives in the same clause. A case in point is our example in (9) from Lucilius, where it is our external knowledge of the world and not grammar which tells us that vineshoots bear grapes rather than the other

way round. The complex predicate hypothesis instead provides a ready answer: the dative arises automatically not via any ill-defined semantic analogy with *iubere* or any other verb but as a simple consequence of the move to a monoclausal structure and hence the operation of the general principle identified in the quotation above from Song (1996). Only in this way are we able to explain the fact that if the infinitival verb is intransitive then its subject can be accusative, but if the accusative is required for a transitive object, then the subject defaults to, or in another terminology is demoted to, the dative, now marked prepositionally with *a/à*.

A final argument for the monclausality of the Romance construction is that it cannot be iterated. Compare in this respect the English biclausal causative with *make*, which can be repeated with one causative embedded inside another as in *John made his brother make the dog stop barking*. In principle, the same would hold for the Latin *facere* construction since no rule of grammar would rule out an AcI inside another AcI, though there are good stylistic reasons why such a combination is not widely attested in any stage or register of the language. By contrast a direct translation of this English sentence into for example Italian – *\*Giovanni fece far tacere il cane a suo fratello* – is impossible.

What then, we may ask, is the mechanism of change which yields the Romance construction out of the Latin ingredients? Given that the AcI disappears across the whole of Romance,<sup>6</sup> it is logical to assume that the sequence *facere* (and kindred items such as *uidere* and *laxare*) + infinitive underwent a reanalysis and came to form a complex predicate prior to the loss of the AcI. The surface signs of this, as for any reanalysis (Langacker 1977), will not be immediately easy to detect, although an increased tendency to find *facere* and the infinitive adjacent to each other is one possible indicator (Chamberlain 1986: 133–7), as are the first instances of dative-marked subjects of the infinitive collected by Norberg. However, as the use of AcI as the unmarked form of sentential complementation lessened, the fact that this loss did not affect the structures with *facere* would make it clear that these were now different and independent of their structural origin in that construction.<sup>7</sup> In metaphorical terms, the receding waters

<sup>6</sup> There are constructions that bear a close similarity to the Latin AcI in learned prose in the Romance languages in the Renaissance, but these are clearly a borrowed pattern and therefore not relevant to the present argument (cf. the exemplification, discussion and references in the introductory chapter to this volume, pp. 12–13).

<sup>7</sup> An explanation which has some similarity to what is proposed informally here, but couched within a very different theoretical framework, is that advanced in Danckaert (2015b). I am grateful to the author for supplying me with a copy of this unpublished paper.

of the Acl left behind islands of complex predicates which have survived until the present day.<sup>8</sup>

As we noted at the outset, this pattern of a causative complex predicate based on the reflex of Latin *facere* is found across the whole of Romance, with the exception of Daco-Romance. That said, there have been a number of local developments, including the already mentioned replacement of *fazer* by *mandar* in European Portuguese and the wholesale loss of the construction in Brazilian Portuguese. There are also instances where the combination of the ‘do’ verb with another verb has become lexicalised as a fixed expression with a more specific meaning so that *faire voir*, *far vedere* usually means something more like ‘show’ rather than literally ‘cause to see’, much in the same way as some Latin compounds with *-facio* came to have more specific meanings than their etymological ingredients might suggest, as when *olfacio* means both ‘emit a smell’ and ‘perceive a smell’ (Hahn 1947). There are also instances where the ‘do’ verb appears to be redundant, as discussed in particular for Old French by Gougenheim (1971: 330–8), and again there are Latin parallels. Lexically, we find cases like *cauefacio*, which appears to be synonymous with *caueo*, or *perterrefacio*, where *-facio* is added to a verb which is already causative in meaning (Hahn 1947). Similarly, on the syntactic side the *facio* (*ut*) construction can in certain contexts add little if anything to the meaning as with our Plautine example *fac fidelis sis fideli* or the occurrence of the sequence *rogo facias ut venias* in a letter from Vindolanda discussed by Adams (2016).

We will finish however with a significant extra dimension of complexity within the diachronic profile of these constructions which emerges from the study of the history of Spanish causatives by Davies (1995). He considers the four contrasts exemplified in (15):<sup>9</sup>

(15)

- |    |                                 |     |                                 |
|----|---------------------------------|-----|---------------------------------|
| a) | le.DAT hicieron comer el pastel | vs. | la.ACC hicieron comer el pastel |
|    | they made him eat the cake      |     |                                 |
| b) | me lo hicieron comer            | vs. | me hicieron comerlo             |
|    | they made me eat it             |     |                                 |

<sup>8</sup> On the diachronic longevity of such constructions when compared to the development of temporal and aspectual auxiliaries, see Butt and Lahiri (2013).

<sup>9</sup> In his study Davies considers a wider range of verbs than causative *hacer*, including in particular *dejar* ‘let’ and *ver* ‘see’. For simplicity, and because it does not affect the overall argument, I have restricted attention to *hacer* and have accordingly modified some of his modern Spanish examples.

- |  |     |                                     |
|--|-----|-------------------------------------|
| c) lo hicieron sentar<br>they made him sit down                        | vs. | lo hicieron sentarse                |
| d) le hicieron comer el pastel a Pedro<br>they made Pedro eat the cake | vs. | le hicieron a Pedro comer el pastel |

In (15a) the contrast is between accusative and dative case marking of the clitic pronoun which expresses the subject of the caused action; in (15b) the place of the clitic object varies between attachment either to the main finite verb or to the embedded infinitive; in (15c) the difference lies in the presence versus the absence of the reflexive pronoun *se* on the embedded infinitive; and in (15d) the nominal subject of the caused action occurs either before or after the infinitive. As Davies demonstrates all four of these properties show parallel diachronic profiles with the pattern on the left being more prevalent in the earlier stages of the language and the pattern on the right having developed in more recent times. In his terminology the pattern on the left involves a ‘reduced’ complement clause without an independent subject position and that on the right a ‘non-reduced’ complement with its own subject slot. This is equivalent in our terms to monoclausal and biclausal respectively. His account is consistent with the more general survey reported in Sheehan (2015), where she concludes that in some Romance varieties the causative is reverting to biclausal status: ‘Descriptively speaking Romance varieties follow a continuum from those in which the construction is more monoclausal (Italian/E. Portuguese) to those in which it is more biclausal (French/Spanish/Catalan) or has been lost altogether (Brazilian Portuguese).’

An extreme instance of this development is the Piedmontese dialect Borgomanerese described in Tortora (2014), where we find not only clitics attached to infinitives constructed with *fare* as in (16) but also after past participles in compound tenses as in (17):

- (16) a) i faghi cosa-lu bil bel  
‘I’m cooking it [*lit.* make cook-it] on a low fire’
- b) al fa risté-vvi incantà  
‘it makes you become enchanted’
- c) fé mja ghignè-mmì  
‘don’t make me laugh’
- (17) a) j umma capè-nni  
‘we have understood each other’
- b) j ò cugnosö-lla  
‘I have met her’

In the light of examples such as these Tortora (2014: 106) states: 'I will argue that the facts exhibited strongly suggest a bi-clausal analysis of the compound tenses.' Assuming that she and Sheehan are right in their conclusions, this diachronic sequence teaches us that similar structures (biclausality in this instance) can arise for different reasons at different times. Just as we cannot equate the monoclausality of Italian *fare* + infinitive with the biclausality of early and classical Latin *facere* + infinitive, no more can we equate the latter with the newly emergent biclausality of Spanish and Borgomanerese.

The time has come to draw some conclusions of our own. On the basis of the construction studied in this chapter we can say:

- a) There are significant differences both of meaning and structure in the Latin and the Romance constructions with the 'do' verb. In particular, there is a clear historical shift from a biclausal construction with *facere* + infinitive in Latin to a monoclausal one in Romance (with a subsequent shift back to a biclausal construction in some Romance varieties). Given the nature of our historical record, the exact point of transition is hard to define but it appears to be somewhere between the sixth and seventh centuries.
- b) Initial appearances to the contrary, this historical development does not constitute an example of 'submerged' Latin. Rather, the change involves a complex mix of period and register and is not reducible to a single linear profile.
- c) From a methodological point of view it is never enough simply to juxtapose apparently similar examples and claim a diachronic continuity. The properties of the constructions in question must be analysed and each must be embedded in the context of the appropriate synchronic grammar.

*The development of the comparative in  
Latin texts*

Brigitte L. M. Bauer

**1. Introduction**

The topic of submerged continuity turns out to be rather thorny in relation to the evolution of the Latin comparative. First the development itself is inherently complex because changes affect both the comparative adjective and the standard of comparison,<sup>1</sup> at different times and rhythms as we will see in this chapter. Moreover the attestations in the documents do not entirely correspond to patterns of submerged continuity: those of phenomena in early Latin, absent in classical texts, but resurfacing in low-register and later varieties.

Focusing on the development first, we find that the Latin comparative construction with the ablative of comparison and the *quam* construction is counterbalanced in Romance by particle and prepositional constructions. While the historical link between the Latin and Romance particle constructions has never been a bone of contention, the precise relation between the ablative of comparison and the prepositional construction has traditionally been a neglected topic. As to the comparative proper, we observe the well-known innovative shift from synthetic forms in Latin to analytic constructions in Romance, featuring reflexes of Latin *plus* or *magis*. Consequently, the evolution of the comparative brings together continuity and change: continuity in the survival of the particle construction, change in the expression of degree and – allegedly – in the emergence of prepositional constructions. Yet since there is a historical link between the early ablative of comparison and the preposition, as details below show, there may be more continuity in the emergence of the prepositional construction than may appear on the face of things.

I am much obliged to Jim Adams and Nigel Vincent for valuable comments on an earlier version of this chapter.

<sup>1</sup> 'Standard of comparison' refers to the element(s) with which the comparison is made.

Reconstruction of these processes is possible because (1) both ends of the development are known and (2) the grammatical contexts of the different structures allow us to determine the underlying regularity. The distribution of data, however, is a different matter: attestations do not exclusively come from early and late Latin documents and popular registers. Instead we find relevant attestations in texts that are qualified as ‘classical Latin’ as well. Moreover our evidence presents substantial lacunae in late Latin documents and is not consistent in all popular registers.

This chapter aims to determine change and continuity both in the development of the comparative and in its attestations. To this end we will examine two types of data: existing evidence – primarily from the republican period – and a vast amount of new data from texts reflecting a variety of periods, genres and registers (see [section 4](#)). We will first briefly assess the comparative construction in Latin and Romance ([section 2](#)). Subsequently we will re-evaluate results of previous studies, focusing on analysis of the Latin ablative and *quam* constructions and their context ([section 3](#)). Examining new data in [section 4](#), we determine the incidence of the comparative construction as opposed to isolated comparative forms, investigate the correlation between type of standard, comparative form, and context, and evaluate the potential Latin antecedents of the Romance prepositional construction. Identifying the relation between the different changes and their attestations, we will determine whether this evolution reflects submerged continuity ([section 5](#)).

## 2. Both ends of the development: standard of comparison

The standard in Latin takes the form of an ablative or particle: ‘in Latin the [ablative] construction is frequent from the earliest literature ... *quam* with the appropriate case is already well established in our earliest extant literature’ (Bennett 1914: 292; on the originality of the construction, see Bauer 1995: 144–9; 2009):

[ABLATIVE CONSTRUCTION]

frons occipitio prior est (Cato *Agr.* 4)

locum potioem rure beato (Hor. *Ep.* 1.10.14)

[QUAM CONSTRUCTION]

altera... ad curationem ualidior est quam quae supra scripta est (Cato *Agr.* 157.2)



At the other end of the historical spectrum, the particle construction in Romance is widely attested and prevalent, even if the particle itself was replaced over time. *Quam* came to be ousted by *quia*, which took over many functions of *quod* as well and survives, for example, as *que* in Spanish and French and as *che* in Italian. In certain Italian dialects – especially in the South – a form *cal/ka* is attested, which according to some can be traced back to *quam* (Belletti 1991: 838–40), according to others to *quia* (Rohlf 1969: 189; for a parallel formation – the subordinating conjunction *ca* (< La. *quia*), see Rohlf 1969: 179). The comparative construction in Romance may include a prepositional construction as well, as in:

Fr. il y a plus de 20 ans  
'more than 20 years ago'

It. più intelligente di Paolo/lui  
'more intelligent than Paul/him'

Sp. hace más de 20 años  
'more than 20 years ago'

The individual Romance languages show that the occurrence of the preposition or particle is context-related and subject to change. In Italian, for example, the preposition *di* typically occurs in nominal and pronominal contexts (see above), whereas *che* is attested elsewhere:

It. è più intelligente che non creda  
'she is more intelligent than I thought'

Moreover, in earlier times *che* was more common, as reflected in early Tuscan and certain dialects today (Rohlf 1969: 84), cf.:

Old Flor. e fugli più caro che altro uomo che'egli avesse (Franco Sacchetti, *Trecento novelle*, Nov lxii)  
'and he was dearer to him than any other man he had'

Similarly in Old French, the preposition *de* occurs in pronominal contexts and when the standard of comparison includes a numeral, whereas *que* is attested elsewhere, cf. examples from the *Chanson de Roland* (CdR; Moignet 1969):

OF n'avez barun ki mienz de lui la facet (CdR 750)  
'you have no peer who would do it better than he'

OF plus ad de.II.C. anz (CdR 553)  
'he is more than 200 years old'

In today's French the preposition exclusively occurs with a numeral, cf.:

Fr. il y a plus de vingt ans/de 4000 militaires

But:

Fr. il est moins riche que son père/lui

While the recurring pattern in Romance is that of the particle and preposition as the comparative marker, the actual forms (extended or non-extended particle or the choice of particle vs. preposition) are the result of developments that took place in the individual languages. They do not contradict the trend that we see: in Latin the standard was marked by *quam* or an ablative where we find a particle or preposition in Romance. It is relevant to note that in Italian – as in Romance in general – there is some variety as to the form of the particle, but there is only one preposition: *di* (< La. *de*). Since the distribution of the particle and the preposition demonstrates that we are dealing with inherited structures, we have to assess the historical scenario in Latin, including changes that affected the expression of degree.

### 3. Interpretation of existing data

The literature on Latin comparative constructions traditionally focuses on the evaluation of the two types of standard. Bennett (1914), for example, points out that the ablative of comparison in early Latin appears in 'well-recognized categories' of contexts: negative expressions including *nihil* or *nemo* (e.g. *ingrato homine nil impensiust* (Pl. *Bac.* 394)), rhetorical questions implying negation (e.g. *qui me est uir fortiori?* (Pl. *As.* 557)), proverbial expressions (e.g. *lapide silice stultior* (Pl. *Poen.* 291)), fixed expressions (e.g. *opinione melius* (Pl. *Cas.* 338)) and numerical constructions featuring *plus* or *minus* (e.g. *plus annis decem* (Pl. *Bac.* 818; Bennett 1914: 292–7). In other contexts 'the ablative of comparison is extremely rare' in early Latin (Bennett 1914: 297).

Representing a long tradition, with recently again Orlandini-Pocetti (2010), other studies focus on the semantics of the construction, e.g. the normative value of the ablative comparative. In *melle dulcior*, for example, one compares the sweetness of something in reference to honey, which is considered the norm. In line with the original value of the ablative, Benveniste (1948: 135), for example, assumes a difference between the following two clauses:

Cato Cicerone eloquentior

'Cato is more eloquent than Cicero the great speaker'

vs.

Cato eloquentior quam Cicero

‘Cato is more eloquent than Cicero or whomever’

Others submit that ablative constructions focus on similarities and are therefore ‘Ähnlichkeitsausdrücken’ (Löfstedt 1956: 1.310): *luce clarior* ‘brighter than light’ > ‘as bright as light’ (Neville 1901: 61). By contrast, *quam* typically features in ‘common comparisons’ that genuinely compare (Löfstedt 1956). Yet other scholars refer to the distinction between the *quam* and ablative construction in terms of ‘concrete’ vs. ‘abstract’ or ‘poetic’ vs. ‘theoretical thinking’ (cf. Mørland 1948). In the absence of independently motivated criteria or definitions, these interpretations are problematic.

In addition, focus in the literature is on ablative rather than *quam* constructions as the titles of important publications show, cf. Wölfflin (1889), Neville (1901), Clark (1922), Van der Heyde (1930), Löfstedt (1956) or Orlandini-Pocetti (2010). Yet comparison of both types of standard reveals important structural patterns, as I have discussed elsewhere (Bauer 1995: 149–57). Assessing around 250 instances from corpora of republican texts (Neville 1901; Bennett 1914) I identified syntactic differences between the two structures: the ablative of comparison systematically occurs in non-complex contexts, which include two nouns or pronouns, one of which combines with the comparative adjective (comparatives with two nouns), as in:

ingrato homine	nil impensius	(Pl. Bac. 394)
(2)	(1)	

In this example pronominal *nil* (1) combines with the comparative *impensius* and is linked in comparison to the non-complex noun phrase *ingrato homine* (2). By contrast, instances featuring *quam* typically are complex, for a variety of reasons. In example (a) below, for instance, two nouns are compared, but the comparative (*meliore*) is grammatically connected to a third noun (comparison of three elements). Examples (b) and (c) involve three elements as well; moreover, the nouns that are being compared function as dependents in a higher syntactic entity, a noun phrase (b) and an adjectival phrase (c) respectively:

#### [COMPARISONS WITH QUAM]

- a. senex ... est ... meliore condicione quam adolescens (Cic. *Sen.* 68)
- b. maior uis est animi quam corporis (Cic. *Phil.* 11.4)
- c. lingua quam manu promptior (Sal. *Jug.* 44.1)

In example (a) the comparative *meliore* depends on the third noun *condicione*; in (b) *animi* and *corporis* are dependents of *uis*, and *lingua* and *manu* in (c) are dependents of *promptior*. Similarly in the next example (d) the compared nouns *possessionis* and *uitae* are dependents of the adjective *cupidiore*s, which combines with a third noun *homines*. *Caesari* and *illi* are dependents of *amicior* in (e), whereas *mercennariis* and *seruis* are dependents of the verb *colere* in (f):

[COMPARISONS WITH QUAM]

d. homines possessionis cupidiore quam uitae (Cic. *Caec.* 47)

e. amicior C. Caesari umquam fui quam illi (Cic. *Att.* 8.11D.8)

f. grauia loca utilius esse mercennariis colere quam seruis (Var. *R.* 1.17.3)

In addition, the *quam* construction typically occurs in contexts characterised by deletion or specification, as already pointed out by Neville (1901: 26):

[COMPARISONS WITH QUAM: DELETION]

salubrior pars septemtrionalis est quam (pars) meridiana (Var. *R.* 1.2.4)  
‘the northern part is healthier than the southern (part)’

[COMPARISONS WITH QUAM: SPECIFICATION]

locus is melior ... quam is qui ... (Var. *R.* 1.6.6)  
‘this place is better than the one that ...’

Examples (b), (d) and (e), which feature no ablatives, show that the occurrence of *quam* is not simply a question of ambiguity. In the *quam* constructions above the grammatical contexts do not allow for an ablative. Conversely, *quam* may occur in non-complex contexts as well, encroaching on the territory of ablative constructions, as instances from early times onward show, for example:

homo leuior quam pluma (Pl. *Men.* 488)

Taken at face value these findings could suggest that, because of its correlative origins, *quam* at first typically occurred in complex comparative constructions and with time came to be used in non-complex contexts as well, at the expense of the ablative. Plautus’ example above featuring *pluma* would illustrate this shift. This scenario is undermined, however, by the widespread and consistent occurrence of prepositional *de* constructions in Romance, indicating a Latin origin. On the basis of their non-complex contexts, I have accordingly posited a genetic link between the Latin ablative of comparison and the Romance prepositional construction (Bauer 1995: 157–9; 2009). This reconstruction on the basis of republican

data needs further confirmation from later texts. If accurate, the correlation between complex context and *quam* construction on the one hand and between non-complex context and ablative of comparison on the other is important for our understanding of the emerging prepositional constructions. In the next section we will trace the development of the comparative in a larger variety of texts.

#### 4. New data and their interpretation

Using an extensive corpus of new data, this section addresses the following topics: incidence of comparative constructions as opposed to isolated comparative forms (4.1), occurrence of synthetic vs. analytic formations (4.2), correlation between comparative proper and type of comparative construction (4.3), correlation between type of standard and context (4.4) and finally prepositional constructions (4.5).

Our corpus comprises early and late documents, prose and poetry texts from the classical period, documents reflecting popular registers and Christian texts. Authors and texts included are: Cato (*De agri cultura*, *Origines*; FRH II.5), Plautus (*Captiui*, *Casina*, *Cistellaria*, *Miles gloriosus*, *Stichus*, *Truculentus*), Sallust (*Catilina*), Varro (*Res rusticae*), Catullus, Horace (*Epodi*, *Carmina* 1, *Epistulae* 1), Petronius (Mueller 1995), Apicius (*De re coquinaria* (DRC); André 1974), Anthimus (*De obseruatione ciborum* (DOC); Liechtenthau 1928), St Jerome (*Vulgata* Gospels, *Vita Pauli*, *Vita Malchi*, and *Vita Hilarionis*; Morales 2007), Vegetius (*Mulomedicina*; Lommatzsch 1903), Cassius Felix (*De medicina*; Fraisse 2002), Antoninus Placentinus (*Itinerarium*; Milani 1977). The following texts are included as well: *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (Pétre 1948), *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* (first recension, Panayotakis 2012), *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* (Musurillo 1972), *Testamentum Porcelli*, *Colloquia Monacensia-Einsidlensia* (Dickey 2012b), the Vercelli falconry text (Bischoff 1984), *Physica Plinii Bambergensis* (cap. 1–34; Önnersfors 1975), and the *Antidotarium bruxellense* (*Secundum*; Rose 1894).

##### 4.1. Incidence of the comparative construction

A question commonly neglected is how often COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS – including a standard of comparison – occur in any given text and how often we find isolated COMPARATIVE FORMS (formations in *-ior*, *magis*, etc.), without an expressed standard. It is notable that all documents examined here – independently of their date, genre, and

register – show the same pattern: despite numerous comparative forms, there are relatively few comparative constructions. This information is relevant for several reasons. First both the comparative proper and the standard underwent fundamental changes. As it is, we do not know about their chronological or causal relation, or even the potential link between types of comparative form and standard. Moreover, frequency is often – explicitly or implicitly – assumed to be a key factor in language change, especially in processes of grammaticalisation, which are at play here as well (e.g. *plus*, *magis* and *de* becoming degree and standard markers respectively). Hopper and Traugott, for example, state that in processes such as decategorisation, ‘the more frequently a form occurs in texts, the more grammatical it is assumed to be’ (1993: 103, 146). While our data will further assess the accuracy of that claim, research into other constructions shows already that frequency is of relative importance in language change (e.g. the development of *-mente* adverbs; cf. below). Finally, analysis of (submerged) continuity requires the complete picture: the low incidence of comparative constructions in later texts for example does not mean that comparatives simply did not exist – they did, as isolated instances convincingly show. Similarly, the spread of analytic comparatives and potential effects on *quam* constructions can only be evaluated against the background of the totality of comparative forms.

Table 1 presents the data for the synthetic comparative forms, both adjectival and adverbial. It shows that overall comparative constructions are relatively rare, except in Catullus and Horace – where occurrence reaches 50 per cent and 40 per cent respectively – and Plautus and Sallust, where close to 33 per cent of all synthetic comparative forms feature in a comparative construction. In Varro and Petronius incidence is above 20 per cent. Moreover it is significant that low-register texts feature few comparative constructions, or none at all.

Instances featuring *plus*, *magis*, and *minus* are taken into account in Table 2. This table demonstrates that while isolated instances of *plus*, *magis*, and *minus* still significantly outnumber comparative constructions, the proportions are less striking than in Table 1: in many texts incidence of comparative constructions reaches 50 per cent, suggesting that there is a connection between type of comparative and the occurrence of a standard. Two exceptions are Catullus and – to a lesser extent – Horace, where constructions including *plus*, *magis*, and *minus* are outnumbered

Table 1. Occurrence of comparative vs. comparative construction

## -SYNTHETIC COMPARATIVES-

Author/title	Total	W/standard	Ablative	Quam	Other
Cato	124	16	10	4	App. 2 (*)
<i>De agri cultura</i>					
Cato	14	6	0	6	
<i>Origines</i>					
Plautus	253	87	12	75	
plays					
Varro	239	56	4	52	
<i>Res rusticae</i> 1					
Sallust	61	19	3	15	App. 1
<i>Catalina</i>					
Catullus	94	47	37	9	App. 1
Horace	142	56	43	13	
<i>Carmina</i> 1, <i>Epodes</i> , <i>Epistulae</i> 1					
Petronius	246	61	26	33	App. 2
Apicius	25	0			
<i>DRC</i>					
Anthimus	70	10	0	7	Prep. 3
<i>DOC</i>					
<i>Peregrinatio Aetheriae</i>	113	9	3	6	
Antoninus Placentinus	13	0			
<i>Itinerarium</i>					
Vegetius	innumerable	(22)	(0)	(22)	(**)
<i>Mulomedicina</i>					
Cassius Felix	191	3	2	1	
<i>De medicina</i>					
St Jerome	100	50	37	11	Gen. 2
<i>Vulgata</i> Gospels					
St Jerome	58	25	6	19	
<i>Vitae</i>					
<i>Historia Apollonii regis</i> <i>Tyri</i>	39	5	3	1	Prep. 1
<i>Passio Perpetuae</i>	18	4	1	3	
<i>Testamentum Porcelli</i>	0				
<i>Colloquia Monacensia-</i> <i>Einsidlensia</i>	8	2	1	1	
<i>Antidotarium Bruxellense</i> <i>(Secundum)</i>	14	0			
Falconry text	4	0			
<i>Physica Plinii</i>	12	0			
cap. 1–43					

\* 'App.' refers to 'appositive construction' (section 4.3); 'Prep.' refers to 'prepositional phrase' (section 4.5).

\*\* Given the high incidence of synthetic comparatives in Vegetius, we here only provide the forms that combine with *quam*. The ablative of comparison is well attested as well.

Table 2. Occurrence of comparative vs. comparative construction

-PLUS/MAGIS/MINUS-

Author/title	Total	W/standard	Ablative	Quam	Other
Cato	31	11	1	4	App. 6
<i>De agri cultura</i>					
Cato	7	5	0	2	App. 3
<i>Origines-</i>					
Plautus	141	60	3	55	App. 2
plays					
Sallust	49	23	4	19	
<i>Catalina</i>					
Catullus	28	8	4	3	App. 1
Horace	32	12	8	4	
<i>Carmina</i> 1, <i>Epodes</i> ,					
<i>Epistulae</i> 1					
Petronius	57	29	0	25	App. 4
Apicius	5	0			
<i>DRC</i>					
Anthimus	12	3	0	3	
<i>DOC</i>					
<i>Peregrinatio Aetheriae</i>	8	4	0	0	App. 4
Antoninus Placentinus	2	0			
<i>Itinerarium</i>					
Vegetius	39	22	1	19	App. 2
<i>Mulomedicina</i>					
Cassius Felix	30	9	0	6	Prep. 3
<i>De medicina</i>					
St Jerome	53	25	7	18	App. 0
<i>Vulgata</i> Gospels	(*)				
St Jerome	26	15	2	12	App. 1
<i>Vitae</i>					
<i>Historia Apollonii regis</i>	11	4	1	2	App. 1
<i>Tyri</i>					
<i>Passio Perpetuae</i>	2	1	0	1	
<i>Testamentum Porcelli</i>	0				
<i>Colloquia Monacensia-</i>	0				
<i>Einsidlensia</i>					
<i>Antidotarium</i>	1	0			
<i>Bruxellense</i>					
Falconry text	8	2		2	
<i>Physica Plinii</i>	2	1		1	
cap. 1–43					

\* Instances of lexicalised *seniores* are not included in this overview.



by synthetic comparative constructions (Catullus 50 per cent (synthetic form) as opposed to 32 per cent (*plus*, ...); these percentages are 39 per cent vs. 37 per cent for Horace).

While standards are more common in contexts with *plus*, *magis*, and *minus*, there is another finding that is significant: the overwhelming majority of instances of *plus*, *magis*, or *minus* do not combine with an adjective but rather with a verbal element, most often a finite verb. In other words, the instances featuring *plus*, *magis*, and *minus* are NOT automatically analytic comparative forms. It is therefore important to underscore that *plus*, *magis*, and *minus* occur in two types of contexts: they feature – with or without standard – in combination with a (finite) verb as in (a) and in combination with an adjective or adverb as in (b):

a) *plus loquimur quam sat est* (Pl. *Cist.* 122); *plus docet quam scit* (Petr. 46.6); *amicis placeat conditio magis* (Pl. *Capt.* 180); ...

b) *magis aridum* (Catul. 23.13); *plus congrua* (Anthim. *DOC* 17.13); ...

Combinations of *plus*, *magis*, and *minus* + adjective/adverb will be discussed in greater detail in [section 4.2](#).

Moreover, [Tables 1](#) and [2](#) also show that comparative constructions with *plus*, *magis* and *minus* and a (finite) verb (examples as under (a) above) are attested in all authors and registers. By contrast, constructions featuring a standard and a form in *-ior/-ius* typically are well attested in high-level prose and poetry, in addition to being relatively less frequent.

Finally, our evidence reveals another correlation: texts that score high in comparative constructions such as those of Plautus, Sallust and Petronius, also show relatively high incidences of constructions that – without being formal comparatives – imply an underlying comparison and include *quam*. While this category of instance is occasionally mentioned in the literature (e.g. [Ernout and Thomas 1953](#): 174, ‘constructions analogiques’), the co-occurrence to my knowledge has not been noticed. Instances typically feature verbs such as *malle* or *praestare*, as in:

*nam med aetatem uiduam esse mauelim,  
quam istaec flagitia tua pati quae tu facis*  
(Pl. *Men.* 720–1)

‘I would rather live without a husband all my life, than put up with the outrageous things you do’

*qui sibi mauult assem quam uitam nostram*  
(Petr. 44.13)

‘who cares more about his money than about our lives’

emori per uirtutem praestat quam uitam miseram ... per dedecus  
amittere

(Sal. *Cat.* 20.9)

'it is better to die bravely than to lose one's miserable life shamefully'

Other constructions that remind us of comparative structures include a preposition like *ultra* and *alius/aliter*:

nihil aliud quam caedem et sanguinem cogito

(Petr. 82.2)

'I thought of nothing but slaughter and blood'

Because of their formal parallels and co-occurrence with comparatives these examples show that particle constructions were not an isolated phenomenon, but that there were a host of constructions presenting strong grammatical similarities.

In sum, data demonstrate a link between comparative form and comparative construction and restricted occurrence of comparative constructions, especially in late and so-called popular texts. One may wonder whether comparative constructions were simply scarce or whether they were infrequent in certain types of text, such as (medical) recipes. While tempting, predictions to this effect may be rather precarious. Moreover, the wide variety of topics and genres of our corpus aims precisely to detect any patterns of that kind. The picture that emerges is clear: comparative constructions are not limited to any given topic. Anthimus' treatise, for example, includes ten comparative constructions (out of a total of 70 synthetic forms; for *plus* the numbers are three out of 12), whereas comparative constructions are absent in Apicius, suggesting that the topic of the text is not a key factor.

#### 4.2. *Synthetic vs. analytic comparatives*

Tables 1 and 2 also provide information about the type of comparative form that we find in our corpus. First of all, we notice a strong predominance of synthetic forms, in all genres, registers and periods. Out of a total of more than 2,350 comparatives (Tables 1 and 2), around 1,830 are forms in *-ior* or *-ius*. Remaining instances feature *plus*, *magis*, and *minus*: the numbers in Table 2 refer to all instances of *plus*, *magis*, and *minus*, including structures with adjectives/adverbs as well as those with a (finite) verb. In most texts there is a distinct preference for either *plus* or *magis*. While Cato, Horace, Apollonius and the *Peregrinatio* prefer *plus* (43 in total vs. 14 *magis*), *magis* predominates in Sallust (31 vs. 4 *plus*), Catullus (19 vs. 5), Petronius (22

vs. 13), Cassius Felix (18 vs. 4) and Jerome's *Vitae* (17 vs. 9). In Plautus, Anthimus and the Gospels the two elements numerically are in balance.

In the following pages we will focus on instances of *plus/magis/minus* + adjective/adverb. It is well known that analytic forms are attested throughout Latin when the adjective/adverb does not readily feature a synthetic comparative form, for example adjectives ending in *-ius*, *-eus* and *-uus* (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: 165, and Maltby this volume for an analysis and further details).

As already briefly indicated above, the number of instances in which *plus*, *magis* and *minus* are part of analytic comparative forms is low: only 35 out of the 544 instances. In 31 instances the comparative marker combines with an adjective (*plus* (7), *magis* (15), *minus* (9)), in four instances we find an adverb. In three instances *plus* occurs in a time indication, e.g. *hora plus decima* (Per. 43.6), *plus media die* (Per. 18.3); these instances obviously are not equivalents of synthetic comparatives.

Investigating individual authors, we observe that out of a total of 155 comparative forms in Cato's *De agri cultura* only two combine with adjectives/adverbs: *magis cupide adpetant* (Cato Agr. 103) and *flamma minus fumosa* (Cato Agr. 38.4), cf. also:

*magis ... opportunam ad colendum*  
(Var. R. 1.2.4)  
*alii uillam minus magnam fecerunt, quam ..., alii maiorem ...*  
(Var. R. 1.11.1)  
*mente minus ualidus quam corpore toto*  
(Hor. Ep. 1.8.7)

In Catullus and Horace we find the occasional analytic comparative form with *magis* (four and two respectively), whereas Sallust has no analytic forms with *magis*; two of his 14 instances of *minus* combine with an adjective (*minus gratus* (Sal. Cat. 23.3) and *minus bonos* (Sal. Cat. 51.27)), cf.:

*magis aridum* (Catul. 23.13)  
*penite magis* (Catul. 61.178)  
*magis apta ... dona* (Hor. Ep. 1.7.43)

Plautus and Petronius include a fair number of analytic comparatives: nine instances of *magis* + adjective and three of *minus* + adjective in Plautus with seven instances of *minus* + adverb/adjective in Petronius. There are no occurrences of *plus* + adjective/adverb in either Plautus or Petronius. There are five instances of *magis/plus* + positive in Jerome's *Vitae* and Gospels (see below) and the relatively short text of Jerome's *Vita Malchi* features three instances of *magis* + adjectival element:

magis ad austrum sita est (Hier. *V. Malchi* 3.3)  
 magis mirum (Hier. *V. Malchi* 7.2)  
 minus grauate (Pl. *St.* 763; *Cas.* 875)  
 magis libera (Pl. *Cist.* 128)  
 magis ... amicus (Pl. *Truc.* 216)  
 non minus ... acido cantico (Petr. 31.6)

Moreover, in Petronius (97.1) there is one occurrence of *magis* in a comparison featuring two adjectives:

facemque fumosam magis quam lucidam

Several of the adjectives in the examples above have regular synthetic comparatives (e.g. *amicior*, *liberior*, *dignior*), but the numbers are too low to identify a trend.

In texts such as the *Colloquia Monacensia-Einsidlensia*, *Passio Perpetuae*, *Testamentum Porcelli*, *Peregrinatio Egeriae*, Antoninus Placentinus' *Itinerarium*, *Historia Apollonii*, and in Cassius Felix, analytic comparatives do not occur, with an occasional exception, such as one instance with *plus* in *Historia Apollonii* (see below). Anthimus has four analytic instances (two *plus*, two *magis*), including double comparatives (more below):

magis durior (19.7)  
 esicium ... tenerior magis fiat quam durior (15.13–14)  
 plus congrua (17.13)  
 plus sorbilia (18.1)

The observed paucity of analytic comparatives is further supported by observations in commentaries. In Iraenaes' translation for example analytic forms with *magis* are well attested, but only in the usual contexts: adjectives that either have no comparative form or that end in *-ius*, *-eus/-uus* (Lundström 1948: 43).

In addition to the widespread survival of synthetic comparatives, the very large majority – in our corpus – are true comparatives from a semantic perspective. Accordingly there are also few instances of *plus/magis/minus* in combination with a comparative rather than a positive adjective (e.g. *magis deterius* (Vulg. Mark 5.25), *minus acriori chystere* (Cass. Fel. 42.17 Fraisse) and Anthimus' example above (*DOC* 15.13–14)). Out of the four instances of *plus* + adjective/adverb in our corpus, two combine with a comparative, cf.:

plus magis intra se stupebant (Vulg. Mark 6.51)  
 dulcius plus (*Hist. Apoll.* 16.8)

Yet overall *plus* + comparative is rare (Hoffman and Szantyr 1972: 167; Panatoyakis 2012: 237). By contrast, in a high number of instances the comparative combines with an intensifying element other than *plus* or *magis*, as in Jerome, cf. e.g. *multo magis* (Mark 10.48; Luke 18.39), *multo magis* (V. Pauli. 18.1), *multo grauior* (V. Malchi. 9.4), *uelocius multo* (V. Hilar. 29.13), *multo amplius* (V. Hilar. 30.5). Examples are attested in early texts as well: *multo facilius* (Pl. St. 627; for examples in other texts, see Wölfflin 1879: 34–42).

Finally, the few instances of *plus/magis* + positive contrast with the high incidence of positives that combine with an intensifying element, such as *satis*, *modice*, *bene*, *multo* and so forth (e.g. *satis apti* (Anthim. DOC 7.8); *bene maturi* (Anthim. DOC 22.14); *non multum longe* (Itin. Anton. Plac. Ra 12.4)). Especially *ualde* is frequent:

non ualde magnum (Mon.-Eins 4F)  
 arduo ualde nisu (V. Hilar. 21.6)  
 terribilem ualde (V. Hilar. 31.4)  
 ualde delectatus (V. Hilar. 31.5)  
 locus sterilis ualde (Itin. Anton. Plac. Ra 40.4)  
 gaudio magno ualde (Vulg. Matt. 2.10)  
 iratus est ualde (Vulg. Matt. 2.16)

Moreover, while *ualde* was extremely rare in early Latin (including Plautus) and – with a few exceptions – classical Latin, it typically occurs in ‘the speech ... of freedmen’ in Petronius (Maltby this volume).

Overviews as presented by Wölfflin (1879: 7–29) not only show the variety of these intensifiers (*multo*, *ualde*, *satis*, *uehementer*, *bene*, *sane*, ...), but also the diversity of documents in which they are attested. The following example from Anthimus is interesting because it features a standard introduced by *quam*: even if the construction may be identified as appositive, it approaches a comparative, cf.:

modice tenerum sit quam durum  
 (Anthim. DOC 18.9)  
 ‘so that the dish may be quite soft, rather than hard’

It is noteworthy that texts with few or no analytic comparatives may include numerous instances of this type of formation, as the *Peregrinatio*, where the 20 examples of *ualde* + adjective (17) or adverb contrast with the lack of analytic comparatives, e.g. *ualde pulchram* (Per. 1.1), *ualde sanctos* (Per. 5.10), *ualde humane* (Per. 5.10), *ualde eriditus* (Per. 8.4).

While generally referred to as ‘absolute superlatives’ (e.g. Väänänen 1981: 118–19), these formations are difficult to classify. Forms in *-ior/-ius*

(and *-issimus*) convey the grammatical category of degree and therefore are synthetic grammatical formations. Strictly speaking intensifier + positive can only be considered analytic if the combination conveys the grammatical category of degree. *Valde pulchram* 'very beautiful' conveys the value of an absolute superlative. Along this line one could argue that *satis boni* (Anthim. *DOC* 21.10) 'rather good', *bene apta* (Anthim. *DOC* 32.1) 'rather suitable' qualify as absolute comparatives. Yet the variety of intensifiers may be reason not to classify them as analytic grammatical items. In terms of grammaticalisation, no element has been singled out as marker of grammatical category, in the way *plus* and *magis* eventually will be degree markers. While the precise grammatical value of these formations may remain contentious, they undoubtedly prepared the ground for the later analytic comparative forms including *plus/magis*. In this light their high incidence and propagation in later texts is of importance.

In sum, we find a consistently high incidence in all periods, genres and registers of synthetic comparative forms. The dearth of analytic forms is especially compelling in texts by Sallust, Catullus and Horace because of the high number of comparatives that we there find (61, 94 and 142 synthetic comparatives respectively). Yet in view of later developments the lack of analytic forms in later texts is even more puzzling. Only Plautus and Petronius offer a fair number of analytic comparatives in comparison to others. Yet in relation to the total of synthetic forms (253 in Plautus; 246 in Petronius) their incidence remains low. Maltby reports for all Plautus' plays 36 instances of *magis* + positive; one instance of *plus* + positive (this volume). These numbers confirm our findings and underscore the observation that, more frequent than *plus* in this type of context, *magis* typically combines with adjectives and adverbs. Our corpus does not provide enough instances to observe a trend (see Maltby this volume, including later texts).

On the basis of our findings we conclude that the 'analytic trend' of comparatives proper was very late and may have been anticipated by instances of intensifier + adjective/adverb, which are commonly attested in later and low-register texts. Consequently where the comparative in Italian (and Romance) can be qualified as 'analytic both in the expression of degree ... and in the expression of the comparand' (Vincent 1997: 102), the Latin comparative is partly analytic in the expression of the comparand, but solidly synthetic in the expression of degree.

#### 4.3. Correlation between comparative proper and type of comparative construction

Tables 1 and 2 showed that standards of comparison occur substantially more often in contexts with *plus*, *magis*, or *minus* than in combination with synthetic comparatives. There are more patterns to observe.

First, comparatives in *-ior* overall combine more frequently with the ablative construction than any other formation. In Horace, 20 forms in *-ior* with standard combine with the ablative of comparison (out of a total of 25 forms in *-ior* with standard) and in Catullus all instances of comparative constructions with forms in *-ior* feature the ablative. Overall the ablative is well-represented in Horace and Catullus, also in combinations with forms in *-ius* albeit to a lesser extent: 23 out of 31 forms in *-ius* in Horace and 16 out of 26 instances in Catullus combine with an ablative. The high occurrence of synthetic forms in *-ior* with ablative constructions in Horace and Catullus suggests that these combinations reflect stylistic refinement. This observation is more specific than the general assumption that the ablative prevails in poetic texts (see e.g. Löfstedt 1956: 1.317–18), a trend observed for Greek and Old English as well (Schwab 1894: 41–3; Small 1929: 31–55, 56–83).

Moreover, our texts show a correlation as well between comparatives in *-ius* and the *quam* construction. In Varro we find overall few ablative constructions: none with forms in *-ior* and only two with a comparative in *-ius*. It is interesting to note, however, that the trend to have *quam* is much stronger in constructions featuring *-ius* (34 out of a total of 83) than *-ior* (18/156 forms). In Sallust (two instances of *quam* with comparatives in *-ior*) *quam* features in 13 out of the 16 comparative constructions in *-ius*.

The high incidence of *quam* with comparatives in *-ius* probably is related to the grammatical nature of the forms involved: while formations in *-ior* are exclusively adjectival, comparatives in *-ius* may be adjectival or adverbial. Indeed *quam* is especially prominent when the form in *-ius* is adverbial. Because of the presence of a finite verb this type of comparative construction inherently is more complex. Compare:

postremo ferocius agitare quam solitus erat  
(Sal. Cat. 23.3)

diligentius et securius iam in eo loco ex consuetudine  
Faranitae ambulant nocte,  
quam aliqui hominum ambulare potest in his locis,  
ubi uia aperta est (Per. 6.2)

Table 3. Plus/magis/minus *and type of standard*

<i>PLUS</i>	W. STANDARD	<i>PLUS</i> + ABLATIVE	<i>PLUS</i> + <i>QUAM</i>	<i>PLUS</i> + OTHER
	96	14	65	App. 17
<i>MAGIS</i>	W. STANDARD	<i>MAGIS</i> + ABLATIVE	<i>MAGIS</i> + <i>QUAM</i>	<i>MAGIS</i> + OTHER
	84	11	73	0
<i>MINUS</i>	W. STANDARD	<i>MINUS</i> + ABLATIVE	<i>MINUS</i> + <i>QUAM</i>	<i>MINUS</i> + OTHER
	32	5	19	App. 5 / Prep. 3
<b>TOTALS <i>PLUS/MAGIS/MINUS</i></b>				
	W. STANDARD	+ ABLATIVE	+ <i>QUAM</i>	+ OTHER
	212	30	157	App. 22 / Prep. 3

*Note:* Data from Vegetius are not included in this overview.

Data from our corpus also show that *plus*, *magis*, and *minus* tend to occur more often in comparative constructions featuring *quam* (Table 3): out of 505 instances, 212 feature a comparative construction, with *quam* (157 instances; 73 per cent), an ablative (30 instances; 14.2 per cent), or ‘other’ (25 (11.8 per cent), cf. below).

While the ablative construction predominates in Horace (8 ablative vs. 4 *quam* constructions) and slightly so in Catullus (4 ablatives vs. 3 *quam*), we find a preference for *quam* elsewhere. It is strongest in Plautus (55 out of 60 instances) and Petronius (25 out of 29) for all three elements; Sallust has a strong preference for *quam* in contexts with *magis* (17 vs. 4 ablatives), and less so in contexts with *plus* (2 vs. 0; there are no instances of *minus*). As to the overall distribution of *plus*, *magis*, and *minus* in relation to ablative vs. *quam*, we find that *magis* typically combines with *quam* (73 vs. 11 abl.), whereas the numbers of *minus* are more in balance (18 *quam* out of 31 examples) and *plus* occurs relatively often in combination with an ablative (e.g. *uidua haec pauper plus omnibus misit* ... (Vulg. Mark 12.43), see more below).

In the later texts we observe fewer instances of *plus*, *magis* and *minus* – if at all – but the predominance of *quam* constructions is constant: in Jerome’s *Vitae* (12 out of 15 instances with a standard), Cassius Felix (6 out of 9) Anthimus (3 vs. 0 ablative).

Elias plus nobis uidetur quam monachus  
(Hier. *V. Pauli* 1.1)



cicutam herbam plus amare et comedere quam alias herbas  
(Anthim. *DOC* 14.26)

But:

frater multo minus solito colligens  
(Hier. *V. Hilar.* 17.9)

The standard *solito* in the last example is formulaic.

Comparative constructions that include a numeral are of special interest. First, synthetic comparatives in this context are rare. Cato has one example, with an ablative of comparison:

arbores crassiores digitis V quae erunt, eas praecisas serito ...  
(Cato *Agr.* 28)

More commonly, quantitative expressions feature *plus*, *minus* and *amplius* and three types of structure: *quam* constructions (relatively rare, (a) below), occasional ablative constructions ((b) below), and constructions in which the standard takes the form dictated by the syntactic context of the clause ((c) below). Often these last instances are time indications including an accusative of duration or an ablative of time. They have been classified in this study as appositive constructions (see also [Tables 2 and 3](#)), cf.:

[PLUS]

- a. plus quam quingentos passus de mari per heremum ambuletur (Per. 6.1)
- c. super terram ne plus IIII digitos transuorsos emineant (Cato *Agr.* 45.3)
- c. plus annos decem (Pl. *St.* 160)

[MINUS]

- b. erant autem, qui uescebantur, non minus tribus milibus (Hier. *V. Hilar.* 17.7)
- c. interuallum sit ne minus pedes singulos (Cato *Agr.* 161)
- c. interposita minus hora (Petr. 87.9)

[AMPLIUS]

- b. cum initio non amplius duobus milibus habuisset (Sal. *Cat.* 56.2)
- c. amplius horam suffixum in summa me memini esse cruce (Catul. 99.3–4)
- c. amplius annos triginta tribunus ... fuerat (Sal. *Cat.* 59.6)

In early appositive constructions the numeral + noun come first, followed by the comparative adverb, which underscores the appositive nature of the structure (e.g. [Ernout and Thomas 1953](#): 171):

agnos XXX ne amplius promittat  
(Cato *Agr.* 150.2)  
'that he promise thirty lambs, no more'

binas gemmas ne amplius relinquito  
(Cato *Agr.* 49.2)  
'leave two buds, no more'

Appositive constructions are attested at all periods, in Cato (*minus* (3 instances) and *plus* (6)), Plautus (*plus* (2)), Petronius (*minus* (1) and *plus* (3)), *Peregrinatio* (*plus* (4)), Vegetius (*minus* (2)), and *Historia Apollonii* (*plus* (1)), but only one instance in Catullus (*plus*) and none in Horace and Sallust (on apposition and numerals, Bauer forthcoming). The corpus features no example of *magis* in this context, which from early on typically does not combine with quantifying elements.

#### 4.4. *Correlation between standard and nature of context*

Our data further demonstrate that the ablative of comparison consistently occurs in non-complex constructions, whereas *quam* constructions are connected to complex syntax, such as larger syntactic units or even subordinate clauses. In the following paragraphs we will focus on instances involving synthetic comparative formations in authors who commonly use comparative constructions.

In Horace all ablative constructions are non-complex. In Catullus as well ablative constructions are exclusively non-complex and there is a correlation between *quam* and complex contexts – most commonly in combination with the comparative in *-ius*. Sallust prefers the *quam* construction for both comparatives in *-ior* (2/3) and *-ius* (13/16), but his patterns are similar to those of Horace and Catullus: the ablative occurs in non-complex contexts, *quam* typically is found in complex contexts. Similarly, in Cato all ablative and appositive constructions are non-complex (with a recurring quasi-fixed *hoc amplius*, e.g. *Agr.* 57, 94, 140, 142, 157.10), while *quam* instances are complex or feature deletion, cf. 105.2:

hoc uinum deterius non erit quam Coum

In Plautus, the ablative occurs in non-complex contexts, whereas *quam* with a few exceptions is attested in complex constructions. In Varro's *Res Rusticae* we find a pattern similar to that in Cato in terms of occurrence,

but the *quam* construction is more prominent. Yet here again the distribution of ablative and *quam* over complex and non-complex contexts is similar, as the following examples show:

[NON-COMPLEX ABLATIVE CONSTRUCTION]

(terram) cultiorem Italia uidistis (Var. *R.* 1.2.3)

[COMPLEX QUAM CONSTRUCTION]

infimis alia cultura aptior quam summis (Var. *R.* 1.6.2)

And with deletion:

quaedam facienda in agris potius crescente luna quam senescente (Var. *R.* 1.37.1)

Among the later authors, finally, only Vegetius has a substantial number of comparative constructions, which – in addition – typically feature the comparative in *-ius*: the very large majority of *quam* constructions are complex, featuring finite verbs, subordinate clauses or embedded phrases, as in:

laudabilior industria est, quae incolumitatem tuetur quam quae cupit laesa curare (Veg. *Mulom.* 2.59.1)

hydrops non leuius animalia quam homines frequenter infestat (Veg. *Mulom.* 2.89.1)

et necessitati aptius quam decori, ... (Veg. *Mulom.* 2.67.6)

The correlations found here confirm the patterns first observed in the corpus of randomly selected republican texts (section 3): the variety of documents underscores the consistency of these patterns. This is an important finding because it further shows that the ablative and *quam* construction are distinct structures in their own right, each with its own specific syntax. It also demonstrates that ablative and *quam* constructions did not impinge on one another's territory, even if *quam* may occasionally occur in non-complex contexts. The identification of the ablative and the *quam* construction as two distinct structures sheds new light on the situation that we find in Romance, featuring two distinct constructions as well. Since particle and prepositional constructions in Romance can be traced back to Latin, the syntactic regularity – ablative in non-complex context vs. *quam* in complex context – as attested independently of time, genre or register points towards continuity in change as we will see in further detail in the next section.

4.5. *Prepositional constructions*

Before examining the occurrence of prepositions in comparative constructions, we will briefly assess genitives and datives of comparison. Our corpus provides no instances of dative constructions and therefore does not support Ernout and Thomas's statement that this type of dative – rare in earlier periods – is 'nettement attesté en bas latin' (1953: 172). The dative of comparison therefore is less common than the prepositional construction (see below) and occurs in isolated texts, such as the *Tractatus Originis* (e.g. *illi inferior* (4.14), Bulhart 1967: xxii) or *De excidio Britanniae*, where Kerlouégan interprets it as a type of 'vulgarisme' that tends to occur in translations or technical works by 'gens de plume sans prétentions littéraires' (1968: 152–3). Evidence seems too scarce to allow for such conclusions. Most of the limited number of examples that we find in the literature are non-complex and feature formations in *-ior*: e.g. *melior tibi* and *luci clarior* (Greg. Tur. *Glor. conf.* 44; 88), *cuiquam inferior* (Sal. *Hist.* 2.37), *humilior omni creaturae* (*Vitae. Patr.* 5.1.8), *alii coaeterno inferior* (Tert. *Adv. Hermog.* 11; see also Wölfflin 1879, 1889; Bonnet 1968 (1890): 545; Hoppe 1903: 27; Mørland 1948: 112; Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 468–9; Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: 113–14).

More common than the dative, the genitive is attested in earlier texts as well and also in our corpus, cf.: *maius horum aliud mandatum non est* (Vulg. Mark 12.31) 'there is no other commandment more important than these', and in the Vetus Latina translation *maior eius est* (Matt 11.11 *Cod. Veron.*; Ernout and Thomas 1953: 171). Because of the singular pronoun this last example is more convincing as a full comparative construction because the reading 'the greater among them' is excluded. Earlier instances include Vitruvius (e.g. *longius sit ... sagittae missionis* (1.5.4; Wistrand 1933: 96)) or Apuleius (*sui meliores* (*Met.* 8.27)).

Genitive and dative constructions have been identified by certain scholars as due to Greek influence (i.e. genitive), as 'doubtful' (i.e. genitive), or as the result of formal confusion with the ablative (i.e. dative; e.g. Wölfflin 1967: 447). A potential Greek influence should indeed not *a priori* be excluded as explanation, especially when the genitive occurs in translated texts, as in the example from the Vulgate above (Mark 12.31; Gk μεῖζων τούτων) or the translation by Irenaeus, who renders several instances of the Greek genitive with a Latin one (Lundström 1948: 32–3). In that light the genitive of comparison is remarkably rare in the Vulgate.

Our corpus of texts includes several instances of prepositional comparatives, which all come from late texts: Anthimus' *De obseruatione ciborum*, *Historia Apollonii*, and Cassius Felix's *De medicina*, cf.:

a solito minus cibos accipiant (Cass. Fel. 1.12 Fraisse)  
 et ipse a supra dictis minus sitit (Cass. Fel. 76.3 Fraisse)  
 minus a solito excludere (Cass. Fel. 19.5 Fraisse)  
 saniores ab aliis sunt (Anthim. *DOC* 9.15)  
 mussiriones uero et tuferas meliores ab aliis boletis sunt (Anthim. *DOC* 18.4–5)  
 tructa et perca aptiores sunt ab aliis piscibus (Anthim. *DOC* 18.7)  
 uidit hanc nauem e ceteris nauibus meliorem et ornatiorem esse (*Hist. Apoll.* 39.6)

Adams notes that *a solito* has a limited number of attestations elsewhere and that the standard *solito* without preposition ‘continued until very late’ (2013: 368), as examples from our corpus indeed show: *plus solito mugientes* (Hier. *V. Hilar.* 18.7; see also 17.9, section 4.3).

The instances above are characterised by non-complex syntax, a certain degree of repetition (*ab aliis*), and variation in preposition, with a preference for *ab*. This pattern is further confirmed when we examine the examples provided in the various individual studies and the *TLL*: occurrence is typical of late authors only (with an occasional example in earlier writers, see Ernout and Thomas 1953: 171), is widespread but very thin and not consistent in any given author or even work. Moreover in these examples as well, prepositions vary (*ab*, *super*, *ante*, *prae*, late *de*) and typically occur in non-complex contexts. Yet despite variation, *ab* stands out as the most frequent preposition in this context, and *de* as least frequent. Considering the position of the preposition *de* as marker of the standard in Romance, its scarcity in the Latin documents is rather striking, cf.:

a te dignior (Ov. *Ep.* 16.98)  
 usus praestantior ab iis (Plin. *Nat.* 18.34 (126))  
 potiores a scribis (Lucif. *Athan.* 2.5)  
 sceleratius agens ab iis (Vulg. Ezek. 16.52)  
 quid habet amplius sapiens a stulto (Vulg. Eccl. 6.8)  
 minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis (Vulg. Ps. 8.6)  
 sapientioribus a te (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 5.44)  
 senior a Brunichilde (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 4.28)  
 meliores super nos (*Vitae Patr.* 6.1.14)  
 robustior ex ceteris fuit (Ps. Tert. Haer. 3, p. 219.9)

(See Rönisch 1965 (1874): 452–3, *passim*; Grandgent 1907: 95–6; Ernout and Thomas 1953; Kühner and Stegman 1955: 468–9; Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: 111–12; Bulhart 1967: xxii, xxxi–xxxii; Kortekaas 2007: 646.)

The Vulgate presents interesting data. First of all there are several instances of *ab* – see above – and of other prepositions (e.g. *melius ... super diuitias* (Ps. 36.16)). Yet often the preposition in Greek is rendered by *quam*:

qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me (Matt. 10.37)

ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ

Similarly *plus quam trecentis denariis* (Mark 14.5) renders the Greek preposition ἐπάνω ‘above, more than’. Or with an ablative:

prudenter filiis lucis (Luke 16.8)

φρονιμώτεροι ὑπὲρ τοῦς υἱοὺς τοῦ φωτός

From a broader perspective as well these examples are of interest: the vast majority of comparatives that feature ablative and *quam* constructions in the Latin text parallel the Greek original. Exceptions concern the Greek genitive or prepositions being rendered by *quam* (e.g. Matt 6.25, 26.53; Luke 7.26; John 12.43); the reverse is extremely rare. In combination with patterns found elsewhere these instances show the status of prepositions in this context at that time in the same way they show the strong position of *quam*. Texts that draw on earlier Latin documents may be revealing as well, such as the *Tractatus Originis* by Gregorius Iliberritanus, where we find an interesting shift from (*dentes*) *lacte candidiores* (Gen 49.12) to *candidiores a lacte* (6.60; [Bulhart 1967: xxxi](#)).

The picture that emerges is that later documents in our corpus indeed feature a limited number of prepositional constructions, but that the choice of preposition is not consistent – even if *ab* is prominent – and their occurrence seems random. The context in which these prepositional constructions occur typically is non-complex.

The prepositional construction has been extensively discussed by Adams ([2013: 363–70](#)), who makes two important observations. First he argues that *ab* functions as standard in both low and higher registers. Examples such as those in Anthimus above support this observation, but also the examples that Adams found in the texts written by the Latin grammarians and in the various editions of other learned texts ([Adams 2013: 367–8](#)). Moreover, Adams notes that while Latin grammarians prescribe the use of the ablative, Pompeius and Donatus allow *quam* sometimes (Donatus, *GL* 4.375.11–12) or in certain circumstances (Pompeius, *GL* 5.157.28; [Adams 2013: 366](#)). We may even go further and submit that the discussion of the grammarians (e.g. Donatus, Cledonius, Pompeius, Servius) does not focus on ablative as opposed to *quam*, but rather on ablative vs. preposition *ab* (the preposition *de* is not mentioned in these contexts).

Competition between the ablative of comparison and the preposition is in line with Latin's historical development, which links cases and prepositional phrases. The shift from ablative to prepositional comparative constructions seems to be part of that same development and the early occurrence of *ab* in that context is in line with its original semantic value. On the basis of attestations showing that *ab* was used in this context before *de* – which reportedly came up in the fourth century (Ernout and Thomas 1953: 171) – and of the grammarians' discussion of *ab* rather than *de*, we submit that the development of the prepositional construction had two stages: (a) the ablative of comparison in non-complex structures came to be replaced by the prepositional construction predominantly featuring *ab*; and subsequently (b) *ab* came to be replaced by *de* as part of the general spreading of *de*. Interestingly Adams comes to a similar chronology albeit for different reasons: ascribing literary value to the use of *ab* 'by the time that grammarians came to comment on its comparative use', he posits that 'there [possibly] was a late shift from *ab* to *de* as the former fell out of use' (2013: 370). The scenario proposed here is supported by the widespread survival of *de* in comparative constructions in Romance, its late emergence in that use in Latin and its typical occurrence in non-complex constructions, that of numerals, pronouns and nouns, as pointed out in section 2.

## 5. Conclusions

Our analysis of data from a wide variety of texts reveals (1) continuity and innovation in the evolution of the comparative in Latin/Romance and (2) complex patterns of attestation. We will first summarise the evolution proper and then assess the patterns of its attestation in the different types of texts.

In the development of the standard of comparison we observe that the *quam* and ablative constructions in Latin were not merely stylistic varieties, but distinct constructions in their own right that continue in Romance. In the process the ablative came to be replaced by a prepositional phrase. Alternative constructions – appositive, genitive and dative constructions – were too limited in scope and occurrence to play a relevant role in the evolution of the standard.

The shift from synthetic to analytic comparative forms is well known. New is our finding that analytic comparative formations are very rare, even in late and low-register texts, whereas synthetic comparatives continue to be widespread and productive. Moreover, instances of *plus*, *magis*

and *minus* primarily combine with finite verbs. Consequently, our corpus presents limited evidence of an analytic trend in the comparative proper in Latin. By contrast, there are numerous instances of intensifier + adjective/adverb in later and low-register texts, which are potential forerunners of analytic comparatives.

Considering the continued prominence of synthetic comparative forms, there is no link – causal or historical – between the development of the analytic comparative and that of the analytic standard (including a particle or preposition). Yet there is an important parallel between both developments. *Plus* and *magis* in origin typically combined with finite verbs, and only later with adjectives/adverbs. Similarly *quam* typically is attested in contexts with adverbial formations in *-ius*, *plus*, *magis* and *minus*, suggesting that the *quam* construction originally was a verbal construction. By contrast, the ablative of comparison is a nominal construction – as manifest in its syntax and case marking – and inherently of limited usage.

While our data allow us to reconstruct diachronic processes, the attestations in the various types of documents present a complex picture, challenging the hypothesis that the Romance languages solely trace back to vulgar Latin. Recently Adams's (2013) extensive study already found that several Romance constructions did not (exclusively) originate in Latin's popular registers: 'it is not unfair to say that scholars have sometimes blindly assigned phenomena to Vulgar Latin that were well established in the literary language (as well as lower varieties), for no better reason than that these phenomena influenced the Romance languages' (Adams 2013: 842). Moreover, other constructions have been identified as being high-register phenomena in origin, such as *habeo* + perfective participle (Adams 2013: 615–51, 851–3; and Haverling, this volume) or *mente*-adverbs (Bauer 2010).

The comparative in Latin with its two-pronged development further underscores the importance of Adams's findings. The attestations in the documents do not fit the traditional scenario of language change in Latin/Romance characterised by the primacy of vulgar Latin and by innovations that appear in early Latin, are absent in classical texts and reappear in Vulgar and late Latin to survive in Romance ('submerged continuity'). First, attestations of analytic comparatives found in Plautus and Petronius (see also Maltby) and sporadic instances in classical Latin documents – especially Catullus and Horace, contrasting sharply with the numerous synthetic comparatives there – seem to point towards submerged continuity. Yet it remains problematic that many late and low-register texts of our corpus have very few or no attestations. Instead these texts have numerous instances of intensifier + positive.



Moreover, in the development of the standard of comparison the high incidence in Catullus and Horace of the combination of forms in *-ior* with ablative constructions suggests stylistic refinement, undermining the alleged stylistic motivation of the ablative alone. This observation further is supported by the continued usage of ablatives of comparison in late and low-register texts. Forms in *-ius* as well as *plus/magis/minus* in combination with *quam* are attested in all authors, at all times and all registers. Prepositional constructions finally, which are non-existent in early times and very rare in classical Latin, typically occur in late – formal and informal – texts. Yet while instances are widespread, they remain infrequent and must have increased in number only later.

Most puzzling are the rather erratic patterns of attestations: comparative constructions are found most consistently in Plautus and Petronius, but also in Sallust, Varro, Catullus and Horace. Their scarcity or absence in later texts and popular registers brings up the question as to how they survived in Romance in the first place. Frequency may not be a decisive factor in language change as we saw earlier in the emergence of *mente*-adverbs: among all varieties *mente* was distinctly rare. Yet combinations of adjective + noun with adverbial value were widespread (see Bauer 2003, 2010). In a similar way the preponderance of intensifier + adjective/adverb combinations may have prepared the terrain for analytic comparatives and analogous constructions – such as the widespread use of *quam* with *malle*, *praestare*, etc. – may have been at play in the survival of comparative constructions. An explanation remains elusive however.

Examining the variety of attestations from a Romance perspective, we find that the ablative and *quam* construction continue to be used in all registers, that the prepositional construction is late, but not limited to any given register, and that analytic comparatives – found in Plautus and Petronius – are conspicuously absent in our later and low-register texts. These are not the patterns of submerged continuity. In terms of language change, the evolution of comparatives in Latin therefore reflects innovation, continuity and only limited submerged continuity.

If – to date – we do not have an uninterrupted line of attestations, our corpus of texts provides important grammatical data to account for the reflexes of Latin comparatives in the Romance languages, the prevalence of particle constructions and the existence of prepositional constructions.

*Analytic and synthetic forms of the comparative  
and superlative from early to late Latin*

*Robert Maltby*

**1. Introduction**

In addition to the inherited synthetic forms of the comparative and superlative in *-ior* and *-issimus* there existed from the earliest times periphrastic forms constructed by the addition to the positive of such adverbs as *magis* (very rarely *plus*) for comparatives, and *maxime*, *ualde* and others for superlatives. The analytic forms occur from early Latin on but are more common in colloquial and technical contexts, being avoided by stylistic purists in both prose and verse. In Romance only a small number of synthetic comparatives survive (e.g. reflexes of the irregular *maior*, *minor*, *melior*, *peior*), but these are mostly replaced by analytic forms based on *magis* or *plus*. Of these the type with *magis* is preserved in the more peripheral areas of Romance (Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Romanian), whereas reflexes of *plus* are found in the central areas (Italian, Occitan, French) where reflexes of *magis* take on the function of an adversative particle with the meaning ‘but, rather’, e.g. It. *ma*, Occ. *mas*, Fr. *mais*. For further details on these Romance developments see Bonfante (1999: 59, 113–14) and Väänänen (1981: 118–19). In the course of this chapter the hypothesis that the periphery uses the earlier form and the central languages reflect later developments will be put to the test. The superlative *-issimus* mostly disappears (except for Italian and occasional reintroductions in other languages such as French), and their place is taken in the spoken language by analytic expressions introduced by adverbs such as *multum*, *bene*, *sane*, *vehementer* and *fortiter* or by the use of the definite article + comparative, as in the Spanish *la cosa más cara*. The overall aim of this chapter is to investigate the extent to which the developments seen in Romance had their origins in early Latin forms.

The investigation will be structured diachronically beginning with early Latin and moving via classical and post-classical Latin to the late Latin period. It will investigate the types of adjective with which analytic

expressions tend to be favoured from early Latin on, as well as the rhetorical and stylistic contexts in which they occur. At the early period Terence will be shown to be more restricted in his use of some analytic forms than Plautus. In the classical period a comparison of Cicero's letters with his other works will suggest that analytic expressions are more common in colloquial registers, a hypothesis that will be tested in other colloquial contexts, for example in Horace's *Satires*. In dactylic verse the forms *-ior* and *-issimus* are metrically difficult and the alternatives used will be analysed. By the first century AD, beginning with Celsus and Pomponius Mela, analytic forms will be shown to become more common in some technical writing, but their use in colloquial contexts in Petronius or in late Latin texts such as Apicius and the *Peregrinatio* is not as marked as would perhaps be expected. Gradually from the late fourth century onwards discussion in the grammarians shows that the synthetic forms begin to lose their precise sense and have to be intensified by analytic forms in what appear to be pleonastic construction of the type *magis carior*. We may compare the way pleonastic expressions of the type *more dearer* were common in literary English in the time of Shakespeare, but are restricted in modern English to the colloquial register. In Latin this phenomenon is illustrated most clearly in Bible translations where direct comparison with the Greek original shows that Latin comparatives and superlatives are used to translate Greek positives. It is at this stage that the demise of the synthetic forms seen in Romance begins in earnest. A list of the analytic forms used in the authors studied with full references is provided in the appendix at the end of this chapter.

## 2. Early Latin: Livius Andronicus to Accius

This section investigates the usage of the following authors: Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Plautus, Ennius, Pacuvius, Caecilius, Lucilius, Terence and Accius.

### 2.1. *Magis*

Both Plautus (36) and Terence (19) make frequent use of *magis* + positive for comparative (full references in Appendix below under **magis**). Donatus, in his fourth-century commentary on Terence, discusses this as a characteristic of Terence's style:

Ter. *Eu.* 226–7 hoc nemo fuit / minus ineptus, magis seuerus quisquam nec magis continens.

Don. ad loc. animaduerte ut amet Terentius 'magis' addere positio quam comparatium facere.

Ter. *Eu.* 414 is ubi molestus magis est

Don. ad loc. more suo 'magis' addidit, ne diceret 'molestior'

Ter. *Eu.* 934–5 nil uidetur mundius / nec mage compositum quicquam nec magis elegans

Don. ad loc. ne diceret 'compositius' aut 'elegantius', more suo.

Ter. *Hec.* 552–3 nonne ea dissimulare nos / magis humanumst

Don. ad loc. 'magis humanum' nota pro 'humanius' Terentiano more

In fact, as we will see below, such circumlocutions are not absent from Donatus' own time. Many of those singled out for comment by Donatus belong to well-recognised types or contexts where composite forms are favoured at all periods. The majority of these examples from Terence are participial forms (*continens*, *compositus*, *elegans*), to which can be added from Plautus, *continens Mos.* 31, *ecfertus Capt.* 466, *laetans Ps.* 324, *occupatus Mos.* 1008, *sapiens As.* 704, *expectatus Am.* 679, and from Ennius *fretus Ann.* 92. Later, as certain participles become more adjectivalised, they tend to be given synthetic forms: e.g. *effertissimus Pl. Capt.* 775, *As.* 282, *exspectatior Pl. Mos.* 442, *sapientior Pl. Rud.* 359, *Epid.* 525, *sapientissimus Pl. St.* 123. The Latin grammarians usually exempt participles from synthetic comparative forms, e.g.

Char. p. 145.5–6 (Barwick) nomina tantum in comparationibus uersari, non etiam participia

At Ter. *Eu.* 227 *minus ineptus, magis seuerus* considerations of rhetorical balance appear to be at play, though the adjective *seuerus* also belongs to a group of adjectives (those in *-rus*, *-er*, *-ris*) identified in the *Thesaurus* article on *magis* as more likely to be constructed with analytic *magis* on phonetic grounds (*TLL* 8.61.5–23 *propter formam adiect.*).

The groups listed by the *Thesaurus* here account for a good number of the adjectives found with *magis* in early Latin:

- (1) Vowel stems in *-eus*, *-ius*, *-uus* (*idoneus Pl. Poen.* 583, Ter. *Ph.* 721, *Hau.* 133, *propitius Pl. Aul.* 810). This type is well recognised by the grammarians, e.g.

Prisc. *GL* 2.86.23–4. inueniuntur quaedam, quae ... significatio exigat, ut faciant comparatiua, tamen non habentur in usu frequenti. sunt autem ea plerumque, quae uocales ante -us habent ut pius, arduus, egregius, dubius, strenuus.

Priscian goes on to cite a counterexample at Pl. *Epid.* 446 *strenuiori*. These become very rare in later Latin.

- (2) *-r* stems in *-rus*, *-er*, *-ris* (*aeger* Lucil. 14.474, *liber* Pl. *Cist.* 128, *mirus* Pl. *Am.* 829, 1107, Ter. *Hec.* 220, *miser* Pl. *Am.* 167, *seuerus* Ter. *Eu.* 227, *uerus* Pl. *Mer.* 971, Ter. *An.* 698).
- (3) Adjectives with four or more syllables (*curiosus* Pl. *Aul.* 562, *maleficus* Pl. *Ps.* 939a, *manifestus* Pl. *Men.* 594, *opportunus* Ter. *Eu.* 1077, *religiosus* Pl. *As.* 782, *suspiciosus* Ter. *Ad.* 605). A similar restriction applies in English, where synthetic forms are not normally used in words of over two syllables.
- (4) Adjectives with anomalous comparatives (*malus* Pl. *Ps.* 939a).

In some cases, mainly the type (2) *-r* stems, synthetic comparatives of these forms are found alongside analytic uses in early Latin: *aegrior*, Plautus, *liberius* (adverb) Terence, *miserior*, *miserrumus* Terence, *uerior*, *uerissimus* Plautus, *peior*, *pessumus* Plautus and Terence.

After phonetic grounds the *Thesaurus* lists a second category of adjectives whose meaning makes them more likely to have analytic comparatives with *magis* (TLL 8.61.24-61 *propter rem*). The types listed there are again well represented in early Latin. These are: (1) verbal adjectives (*aduorsus* Ter. *Hau.* 699, *aequiperabilis* Pl. *Cur.* 168, *amicus* Pl. *As.* 66, *Mil.* 660, *conducibilis* Pl. *Cist.* 78, *procax* Ter. *Hec.* 159, *uorsutus* Pl. *As.* 119, *utibilis* Pl. *Mil.* 613, *Trin.* 758); (2) others whose meaning is incapable of comparison (*graecus* Pl. *Men.* 9, *idem* Pl. *Mil.* 529, *par* Pl. *Am.* 990, *Cur.* 110, *Per.* 800, *Poen.* 522, Accius *Trag.* 137, *ueri simile* Pacuv. *Trag.* 374, Ter. *Hau.* 802, *unicus* Pl. *Capt.* 150). Of these only *amicus* occurs regularly in the synthetic forms *amicior*, *amicissimus* (Plautus). The combinations of *magis* with *idem* and *unicus* in Plautus are intended for comic effect, as probably are the synthetic forms *uorsutior* Pl. *Epid.* 371 and *parissumus* Pl. *Cur.* 506. One common candidate for analytic comparatives in classical and later Latin, adjectives with privative *in-* such as *incautus*, are not represented at this period.

There remain a small number of analytic combinations with *magis* from this period which do not belong to any of the above categories: *aequus* Pl. *Mer.* 898, Ter. *Ph.* 203 (synthetic comparatives of *aequus* occur in both Plautus and Terence), *argutus* Pl. *Trin.* 200, *concors* Ter. *Hec.* 617, *dulcis* Pl. *Per.* 764 (synthetic comparatives in Plautus), *humanus* Ter. *Hec.* 553, *moles-tus* Ter. *Eu.* 414, *similis* Pacuv. *Trag.* 374, *tranquillus* Pl. *Bac.* 1174 (synthetic comparative in Plautus), *princeps* Ter. *Ad.* 259.

Pleonastic uses of *magis* + comparative are colloquial at all periods, and condemned by the grammarians, e.g.:

Aug. *Loc. hept.* 4.37 p. 587.1 'quoniam fortiori nobis est magis' (= Num. 13.32) usitata esset locutio, si non haberet magis.

Don. *GL* 4.363.3 *magis doctius* ... non dicimus; 374.34 *comparatiuo* ... *gradui* ... *magis* ... *addici* non oportet.

Such uses are restricted in the early Latin period to Plautus. References to his 11 examples (with *apertior*, *certior*, *contentior*, *dulcior*, *facilior*, *inimicior*, *maior* × 3, *mollior* and *plus*) are given in the appendix below under **magis + comparative**. The construction is absent from classical Latin (except for one example at *B. Afr.* 48.3 *magis suspensiore animo*) and appears again only in technical and archaising writers in the first century AD (e.g. Mela 2.86.3 *magis latior*, Apul. *Met.* 11.10.23 *magis aptior*, 9.36 *magis irritatiores*), before becoming more widespread in Latin Bible translations. In Romance it is found, for example, in old Spanish *mas mejor* (*magis melior*). Its avoidance by Terence is a good example of his preference for a more refined stylistic level than that of Plautus. For further discussion of pleonasm in Latin comparative constructions see Löfstedt (1956: II. 199–208).

## 2.2. Plus

Analytic comparatives introduced by *plus* are very rare in early Latin. The single example in Plautus, *plus lubens* 'more willingly', comes in a passage where comparative forms are accumulated for comic effect:

Pl. *Aul.* 419–20 homo nullus te scelestior qui uiuat hodie, / nec quoi ego de industria amplius male plus lubens faxim.

A possible example with *plus potus* at Ter. *Hec.* 139 ... *cum uirgine una adulescens cubuerit* / *plus potus* must be interpreted with McGlynn (1963: 373) as *plus solito potus*. A further example of the same phrase occurs at Ov. *Fast.* 1.216. A clearer example, *plus miser*, is found in Ennius: Enn. *Trag.* 261 *plus miser sim si scelestum faxim quod dicam fore*.

Apart from sporadic examples in Livy, Horace, Ovid and Valerius Maximus, discussed below at 3.1 and 4.1, there is no further example of *plus* + adjective as an equivalent to a comparative in Latin until Tertullian (*TLL* 8.1617.80–1918.11). It appears occasionally, as we shall see below, in Christian Latin, and only in Sidonius Apollinaris with any frequency,

possibly foreshadowing the later preference for this analytic form of the comparative in Gaul. There are no examples of pleonastic *plus* + comparative, as seen in Romance, for example with Occ. *plus mehlor* (*plus melior*) and Old French *plus forçor* (*plus fortior*)

2.3. Maxime/multum/adprime (prime, cumprime)/  
probe/ual(i)de/uehementer/insanum

All the adverbs discussed here are used with adjectives as intensifiers in early Latin, and two of them, *maxime* and *ualde*, are in later Latin to become the regular means of forming analytic superlatives. The use of *maxime* + adjective is relatively rare in early Latin and occurrences are restricted at this period to Plautus and Terence. Its meaning is not normally equivalent to a true superlative, but is usually nearer to 'in particular' or 'specially'. The references to Plautus' four examples, with *alienus*, *concinus*, *liber* and *uerus*, are set out in the appendix under **maxime**. The usage becomes relatively more common in Terence (7), and the adjectives used in Terence belong to the same classes to be found most commonly with analytic comparatives, namely participles *cognatus* Ph. 295, *exoptatus* Hau. 408, *potens* Ad. 501 and verbal adjectives *secundus* Ph. 241 and *utilis* An. 835. The final two Terentian examples are with *consimilis* Hau. 393 and *dignus* Eu. 866; the latter occurring frequently with analytic constructions at a later period. There are no examples in early Latin of *maxime* + comparative or superlative forms, a construction occurring first in Vitruvius and much criticised by later grammarians.

The adverb *multum* is used at this period as an intensifier = 'very' with adjectives only in Plautus. In all cases it occurs with pure adjectives rather than participial forms: *audax*, *beneuolens*, *benignus*, *incommodesticus*, *ineptus*, *loquax*, *malus*, *miser*, *molestus* × 2, *morus*, *stultus* (full references in appendix under **multum**). Given its usefulness in replacing synthetic superlatives with polysyllabic adjectives like *beneuolens* and *incommodesticus* it is perhaps surprising that it is not more widespread at this period. The single use with the comparative *multum improbiores* at Mos. 824, although not pleonastic, is of a type that remains rare at all periods and Apuleius' phrase *multum magis remotum* at Apol. 84.8 is perhaps a deliberate Plautine imitation.

Both Plautus and Terence make use of the adverb *adprime* as an intensifier of adjectives with a positive meaning, Plautus with *nobilis* Cist. 125, and *probus* Rud. 735, Trin. 353 and Terence with *nobilis* Eu. 259, *obsequens*

*Hec.* 247 (where *adprime* is glossed by Donatus as *uehementissime*) and *utilis An.* 61. The form dies out for the most part with adjectives after Plautus and Terence, occurring in the classical period once in Varro *adprime doctus* at *R.* 3.2.17, once in Nepos' life of Atticus 13.4 *adprime boni* and once in Q. Claudius Quadrigarius (*FRH* II.24.F10 10) *adprime summo genere gnatus* (all discussed at 3.2 below). Later appearances are restricted to the second-century archaising writers Apuleius and Aulus Gellius (see 5.1 below). The use of the uncompounded *prime* in this context is very rare, being restricted to two occurrences in early Latin: Pl *Mil.* 794 *prime cata* 'a very clever girl', and the prologue to Naevius' *Acontizomenos* (Rib. Com. 1) *Acontizomenos fabula est prime proba*. The adverb is later used by Servius as a gloss on *ad prima* at Virg. *Georg.* 2.134 (discussed at 3.2 below).

The adverb *probe* is found in Plautus mainly in threats with verbs implying physical violence, e.g. *Am.* 183 *qui mihi aduenienti os ocillet probe*, *Am.* 328 *onerandus est pugnīs probe*. Its use as an intensifier with adjectives occurs most frequently in Plautus with participial forms: *acutus*, *animatus*, *armatus*, *curatus*, *concinatus*, *egens*, *oneratus* (references in appendix below under **probe**). Next come adjectives implying drunkenness or satiety: *adpotus*, *ebrius*, *madidus*, *satur*. The remainder are a mixed group: *curuus*, *memor*, *onustus*, *sterilis*, *tutus*. The use with adjectives is much less frequent in Terence (two *perdoctus* and *similis*) and is not found elsewhere in this sense in early Latin. Apart from two examples in Cicero, both with participles, and 16 (all participles) in the archaising Apuleius the adverb is not found as an adjectival intensifier outside Plautus and Terence.

The adverb *ualde* which is to play such an important role in analytic superlative forms in late Latin, for example in the *Peregrinatio*, is represented in early Latin in Plautus alone, who has only one clear adjectival example *Ps.* 145 *uostera loris faciam ut ualide uaria sint*, where alliteration may have played a role. At *Cist.* 298 *uideo te Amoris ualide tactum toxico* the verbal meaning of *tactum* as a past participle is to the fore. It is with Cicero, particularly in the letters, that the analytic use of *ualde* with adjectives first becomes frequent, but after him it occurs only sporadically, as we shall see below, until the late Latin period.

The adverb *uehementer* is not used as an intensifier with adjectives in early Latin. The nearest it comes is with the verbal forms *iratus* and *tactus* in Plautus (three examples only: *tactus sum uehementer uisco Bac.* 1158, *uehementer nunc mi est irata Truc.* 545, *mater irata est patri uehementer Mer.* 939). Again it is with Cicero that the use with adjectives takes off. The archaising Apuleius uses it with participial forms and then, like *ualde*, it remains rare until late Latin.



The use of *insanum* as an intensifier in Plautus appears to be an *ad hoc* analytical form coined by the author and does not occur in other writers of the period: *insanum bene* (*Mil.* 24, *Mos.* 761), *insanum magnum* (*Bac.* 761), *insanum bonum* (*Mos.* 908). Other such *ad hoc* formations appear in colloquial contexts at a later period, for example, in the speech of the freedman Habinnas in Petronius *Satyrica* 68.7 *desperatum ualde ingeniosus est*. Another *ad hoc* intensifier in Plautus is the use of the cognate adverb *misere* with the adjective *miser* at *Cist.* 689 *ita sunt homines misere miseri* and *Ps.* 13 *misere miser sum*. Apparently similar examples with *bella belle* at *As.* 676 *i sane bella belle* and *Cur.* 521 *sequere istum bella belle* are essentially different as the adverb in these cases qualifies not the adjectives but the verbs of motion (*i* and *sequere* respectively). The *misere miser* type is unlikely to be related to the late Latin and Romance use of double positive for superlative, e.g. It. *piccolo piccolo, freddo freddo*, which has its root in Latin translations of Old Testament Greek, reflecting Hebrew influence (see Wölfflin 1879: 131).

#### 2.4. Early Latin: conclusions

The relatively frequent use of *magis* + positive adjectives as analytic comparatives in early Latin authors may at first sight seem to anticipate the practice of later Latin and of Romance in some areas. However, on closer inspection, it was seen that the examples of *magis* + positive at this period occur (with few exceptions) with certain well-recognised adjectival types and in certain contexts where composite forms are favoured at all periods (see 2.1). The extension of this to the pleonastic use of *magis* + comparative adjectives in Plautus is a colloquial feature not to be found in other authors of the period or even later with any frequency until the time of the first Latin Bible translations. The adverb *plus* hardly figures at all at this period in analytic comparatives and is not frequent in literary Latin of any period. Analytic superlatives are far less developed than their comparative equivalents at this period. Later synthetic forms with *maxime* show an increase in Terence (7) as compared with Plautus (4), especially when the relative sizes of their corpora are taken into account, but in neither author does it achieve the frequency of the *magis* construction. The adverb *ualde* has not yet taken off in this context and is restricted to a single, clear Plautine example. The early Latin intensifier *probe* has little role to play later outside the archaising Apuleius. The Plautine *ualde* and *uehementer* are still infrequent at this period, but are popularised later by Cicero.

### 3. Classical Latin: Varro to Ovid

A selection of prose and verse authors were studied: Varro, Cicero (*Ver.*, *Off.*, *Att.*), Caesar (together with *B. Afr.*, *B. Alex.* and *B. Hisp.*), Vitruvius, Lucretius, Catullus, Sallust, Virgil, Horace, Livy, Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid.

#### 3.1. Magis (plus)

Analytic forms with *magis* are rare in the prose of this period. They were perhaps felt more appropriate in technical writing than in historiography, which would explain their higher frequency in Varro (9). Even here the adjectives in question are restricted mainly to the types listed above, namely: *-r* stem (*uarius*); vowel stem (*assiduus*); polysyllables (*fructuosus*); verbal adjectives/participles (*alibilis*, *apertus*, *delectatus*, *patulus*). The only exception is *apricus* at *R.* 1.54.1. Finally at *L.* 9.72 *luscus* is mentioned as a type of adjective which cannot have a synthetic comparative form because of its meaning: *quod natura nemo lusco magis sit luscus, cum stultior fieri uideatur*. Caesar's single apparent example *Gal.* 3.13.6 *quod est magis ueri simile* is again of a form *ueri similis* which would not admit a synthetic comparative. As a stylistic purist Caesar avoids the analytic construction completely, as do even the more colloquial *B. Hisp.* and *B. Afr.*, and the only example in *B. Alex.* is with the polysyllabic and *-i* stem *necessarius*, an adjective found commonly with analytic forms of comparison. Caesar's contemporary Vitruvius is similarly restricted with only a single example, 9 *praef.* 1 *magis ... dignum*. Cicero's sampled works throw up only four examples from two common types (vowel stems *idoneus*, *necessarius*, *uacuuus* and the participle *solutus*). Unlike analytic superlatives with *maxime* and *ualde*, which are restricted mostly to the letters, these few analytic comparatives are evenly distributed between the different genres in Cicero and, like Caesar's *ueri simile* example, are obviously not felt to be stylistically marked. Sallust, though less restricted than Caesar, has only four examples from three common types: vowel stems (*anxius*, *pecuarius*); *-r* stem (*asper*); participle (*ornatus*). Samples from Livy were taken from the first five and last five books. Of nine examples seven came from books 1–5 and two from 41–5. The archaic flavour of the analytic comparative may have recommended it to the early books, but the examples found are restricted to types found commonly in classical Latin: verbal adjectives and participles (*apertus*, *incautus*, *inpenetrabilis*, *inuissus*, *suspectus*); *-i* stem (*necessarius*); *-r* stems (*celeber*, *popularis*); and *nefas* which has no synthetic

form. In the verse of Lucretius (41) and Ovid (35) analytic forms are used with more freedom than in classical prose and here metrical convenience must play a role. There is a marked preference in Lucretius for the analytic comparative to be used with verbal adjectives and participles (19): *aptus, condensus, contentus, contextus, difficilis, discrepitan, disiunctus, editus, facilis, fecundus, hamatus, inanitus, indupeditus, remotus, rotundus, sanctus, stipatus, uacuatus, uehemens*. This compares with only nine examples in Ovid: *aptus, cautus, excusabilis, placibilis, fidens, motus, timidus, tritus, utilis*. Otherwise both authors make similar use of the regular types: vowel stems (Lucr. *aequus, tenuis*; Ov. *anxius*); *-r* stems (Lucr. *acer, carus, mirus, par, piger, rarus*; Ov. *aeger, durus, mirus, uerus*); polysyllables (Ov. *diuturnus, perlucidus*); others (Lucr. *certus, densus, levis, solidus*; Ov. *certus, dignus, fidus, gratus, orbis, saeuus, superbus*). Catullus has only three examples, not distributed significantly as to poem type: *aridus* 23.13, *carus* 62.58, *uorax* 57.7. It may be significant that only one of these forms occurs in Ovid's *Amores*, namely *aptus* at *Am.* 2.8.4, and that they are excluded altogether from the *Fasti*. Ovid may have felt they were unsuited for higher styles, although they are not avoided in the *Metamorphoses* or in his elegiac works outside the *Amores*. Certainly in the elegies of Tibullus they are avoided altogether and Lygdamus has only a single example with *carus* at [Tib.] 3.1.25. Propertius, with seven examples (*acutus, albus, aptus, dirus, gratus, humilis, subiectus*) is the only poet to make significant use of them in love elegy proper. There is a clear indication in Horace that he found these forms unsuitable for higher genres of poetry. Ten of his 12 examples occur in the *Satires* and one, *aptus*, in the *Epistles*. Their association with Plautus may have lent them a colloquial flavour unsuitable for the *Odes*, where the only example is with the participle *bacchans* at *Carm.* 1.25.11. Virgil, like Horace, is very restricted in his use, with only four in the *Aeneid* (the *-r* stem *carus*, and the participles/verbal adjectives *cunctans, dilectus* and *tremendus*) and two in the *Georgics* *laetus* and *praesens*. In two cases Servius glosses the analytic forms with synthetic equivalents:

Serv. *ad Aen.* 4.31 O LVCE MAGIS DILECTA SORORI id est 'dilectior' ... nam antiqui frequenter pro comparatio iugebant particulam 'magis'. tale et illud est *Aen.* 5.725 '... care magis'.

Serv. *ad Aen.* 5.725 CARE MAGIS pro 'carior'

It is strange that Servius on *Aen.* 4.31 should attribute this construction to the *antiqui*, which for Servius would include Virgil himself, since, as we shall see later, analytic comparatives with *magis* occur ten times in Servius' own commentary.

There is only one example of pleonastic *magis* + comparative in the classical authors studied, namely in *B. Afr.* 48.3 *magis suspensiore animo*. There are two possible examples of *plus* + positive for comparative in Ovid. His use of *plus potus* at *Fast.* 1.216 is similar sense to Terence *Hec.* 139 i.e. *plus solito potus*; the second is *Ep.* 12.41 *Martis erant tauri plus quam per cornua saeui*. A single example presents itself in Livy 38.18.11 *plus quam mediterraneum celebre et frequens emporium*. In Horace it is restricted to *Ep.* and *S.* and to the formula *plus aequo* (*Ep.* 1.2.29 *operatus*, 1.18.10 *pronus*, *S.* 1.3.52 *liber*).

### 3.2. Maxime, multum, adprime, probe, ualde, uehementer

The most significant feature about the use of these intensifiers with adjectives in the classical period is their almost complete absence from verse. Apart from 12 cases of *multum* + positive, which, by contrast, is restricted almost entirely to verse (Catullus, Horace, Ovid – see below), I have counted only three examples: *maxime ... profunda* Catul. 17, *mala ualde* Catul. 69.7, *uehementer noua* Lucr. 2.1024. This cannot be accounted for entirely on metrical grounds, and stylistic considerations of some kind must be at play, although it is not clear from the few examples what this could be.

To begin with *maxime* in prose: it is more frequent in Cicero and the technical writers Varro and Vitruvius than it is in the historians. Sallust avoids it altogether and there are only two examples in Caesar (*contrarius*, *necessarius*) and one in the *B. Alex.* (*nocens*). In Varro only one of his 11 examples occurs in *L.* (*lubricus*), the remainder occurring in *R.* (*alibilis*, *amicus*, *bonus*, *fructuosus*, *idoneus* × 2, *indiscretus*, *necessarius* × 2, *quietus*), where they may have been felt as more appropriate for the conversational style of the work. In Cicero, however, it is distributed evenly between the three genres sampled, court speeches, philosophical works and letters (*Ver.* (14): *aeger*, *clarus*, *dignus*, *diuersus*, *inlustris* × 2, *locuples*, *mediterraneus* × 2, *necessarius* × 2, *nefarius*, *quietus*, *sedatus*; *Off.* (6): *consentaneus*, *necessarius*, *proprius*, *utilis* × 3; *Att.* (5): *consentaneus*, *liberalis*, *necessarius*, ἀναπάντητον, γυμνασιῶδη. The new feature here is its use to form superlatives with adjectives in pure Greek. Of the seven occurrences found in books 1–5 and 41–5 of Livy analytic forms are again more common in the earlier (5: *fnitimus*, *inclitus*, *memorabilis*, *opportunos*) than in the later (2: *fidus*, *nobilis*) books. A peculiarity of Vitruvius' style is his use of *maxime* not with positive adjectives but rather to intensify comparatives (*facilius*, *tutior*, *utilior*) and a superlative (*calidissimus*). This looks forward

to a practice more common in late Latin which, as will be seen below, is criticised by the Latin grammarians.

As mentioned in 2.3 above, the use of *adprime* as an intensifier with positive adjectives dies out for the most part after Plautus and Terence. The only examples in the classical period occur in Varro *R.* 3.2.17 *adprime doctus*, Nep. *Att.* 13.4 *adprime boni*, and the early first century BC historiographer Q. Claudius Quadrigarius (*FRH* II.24.F10) *adprime summo genere gnatus*; in all three examples intentional archaism could be possible. In the case of Quadrigarius *adprime* is to be taken not with the superlative *summo* but rather with the whole phrase *summo genere gnatus* as an equivalent to *nobilis*. The only clear example of *adprime* with superlative occurs at *Schol. Bob. Cic.* 259 *adprime dicacissimi*. Related to Quadrigarius' use of *adprime* here is his use of the much rarer *cumprime* with positive adjectives (*FRH* II.24.F3) *operam ... cumprime fortem atque exsuperabilem*. Gellius 17.2.14 comments on its relative scarcity: '*adprime*' *crebrius est*, '*cumprime*' *rarius*. The only other occurrence is in Cicero *Div.* 1.68 *cumprime hominem prudentem atque doctum*. The use of *ad prima* 'particularly' at Virg. *Georg.* 2.134 *flos ad prima tenax* appears to be unique and is glossed by Servius ad loc. with *prime, maxime*.

If *maxime* + positive is restricted almost entirely to prose, *multum* + positive is restricted almost entirely to verse in the classical period. The only prose example in the works selected was at Cic. *Off.* 1.10 *sunt his alii multum dispares*. The usage is surprisingly rare even in verse, with a single example (*manans*) in Catullus, three examples in Ovid (*indignans* in the *Fast.* and *miser* and *utilis* in the *Met.*) and eight in Horace, spread evenly between his works (*amatus* × 2, *celer*, *demissus*, *dissimilis*, *diuersus*, *facilis* and *fidelis*).

The archaic *probe*, found in Plautus and Terence and then in the archaising Apuleius, occurs in the classical period only in Cicero, who has two examples, both participles (*adfectus*, *ornatus*).

Intensifying *ualde*, which had been rare in early Latin, but which was to become, with *maxime*, one of the main adverbs forming analytic superlatives in late Latin, is rare in the classical period, except in Cicero's letters. It may well have been colloquial in register. Outside Cicero it is found at this period in prose only in the technical writers Varro (with *amplus* and *lapidus* in *R.* and with *rufus* in *L.*) and Vitruvius with *mirandus*. Of the 35 examples found in Cicero's *Ver.*, *Off.* and *Att.* it occurs five times in *Off.* and only once in *Ver.* All the other examples come from the letters to Atticus, especially (8) in the formulaic phrase *ualde gratus*. To test the hypothesis suggested by this sample that *ualde* + adjective is

more common in Cicero's letters, an examination of its occurrence over all Cicero's works was undertaken, with the following results:

**Speeches (10):** bonus × 2, calamitosus, indignus, leuis, longus, mirus × 2, molestus, uenustus.

**Rhetorical Works (12):** absurdus, cupidus, difficilis, doctus, dulcis × 2, modicus, multus, nitens, peritus, probatus, sapiens.

**Philosophical Works (15):** contrarius, decorus × 2, iniquus, paruus, pertinax, probatus, studiosus, ueri similis, uitiosus × 2, utilis × 4.

**Letters (65):** accluius, acutus, amicus × 2, bellus, bonus × 5, conturbatus, cupidus, distentus, dubius, exercitatus, facetus, familiaris × 4, gratus × 15, honoratus, idoneus, impeditus × 2, inimicus, incertus, intemporis, leuis, liberalis, magnus × 2, molestus × 3, multus, necessarius, notus, pertubatus × 3, otiosus, paucus, pusillus, secundus, studiosus × 2, suauis, utilis, ὀξύπεινος, συνηγωνίων. These figures clearly confirm the hypothesis of the greater frequency of *ualde* + adj. in the letters and of its prevalence in this context in the phrase *ualde gratus* (15).

As with *maxime* it is particularly useful in forming superlative equivalents with untranslated adjectives in Greek: ὀξύπεινος *Att.* 4.13.1, συνηγωνίων *Att.* 5.12. In the verse of the period there is only a single example at *Catul.* 69.7–8 *mala ualdest / bestia*.

The adverb *uehementer* is rare as an intensifier with adjectives in the classical period, as it had been in early Latin. The only verse example in the form *uehementer* is with *nouus* at *Lucr.* 2.1025. In prose there are two examples from Varro *R.* (*densus, frigidus*) and the single example from Vitruvius is also with *frigidus*. It is avoided by Caesar, but occurs in the stylistically less pure *B. Hisp.* with *periculosus* and *saucius*. Sallust has a single example with *carus* at *Jug.* 7.4.5. Cicero has four examples, one of which is again with an untranslated Greek adjective: *Off.* 1.69.9 *arduus*, 2.64.19 *utilis*, *Att.* 13.47a.1 *gratus* and 13.19.5 *πιθανά*.

### 3.3. Classical Latin conclusions

In this period the use of analytic comparatives is more restricted than in early Latin, whereas analytic superlatives, although almost entirely absent from verse, show a slight increase in prose writers, with Cicero showing a particular preference for *ualde* in his letters. Purists in both prose and verse, such as Caesar and Tibullus, avoid analytic forms almost entirely, whereas authors such as Cicero and Horace show a preference for their use

in more colloquial contexts such as the *Letters* and *Satires*. They are rarer in the higher styles of prose such as historiography than in the technical writings of Varro and Vitruvius. The preference, already identified in early Latin, for their use with verbal adjectives/participles and with adjectives in *-r* and vowel stems becomes more pronounced. Analytic superlative forms with *maxime*, *ualde* and *uehementer* are particularly useful in Cicero's letters for use with untranslated Greek adjectives.

#### 4. First century AD: Petronius to Martial

The authors sampled from this period were Petronius, Celsus, Mela, Tacitus and Martial. The language of freedmen in Petronius' *Satyrice* is characterised by a number of colloquial features and analytic forms of comparison might be expected to be well represented here, as also in the technical writing of Celsus and Mela. Tacitus' usage can be compared with the classical historiographers and Martial's verse is often characterised by conversational expressions.

##### 4.1. Magis (plus)

An unexpected finding was that analytic comparatives with *magis* were completely absent from Petronius, where synthetic comparatives and superlatives appear regularly in all contexts, including in the language of freedmen.<sup>1</sup> In the medical writing of Celsus analytic forms with *magis* occur frequently (with *albidus*, *coactus*, *exulceratus* × 2, *gratus*, *liberalis* × 2, *naturalis*, *necessarius* × 4, *obnoxius*, *pestifer*, *siccus*, *umidus* *tutus*, *ueri similis*). Often they are used for the sake of rhetorical balance, e.g. 2.11.5 *ut minus uehemens, ita magis tutum*, 4.23.3 *minus utile sed magis gratum*, 5.28.3 *in maiore malo magis necessaria*. In some cases the meaning is closer to 'quite' or 'rather' than to a true comparative, as with *potio magis liberalis* at 3.6.14 and 5.28. 4. Only three of the 18 occurrences are accounted for by participial forms (*coactus*, *exulceratus*, *obnoxius*). Generally speaking Celsus (18) keeps to commonly occurring types such as *necessarius*, *gratus* and *ueri similis*. By contrast half of Pomponius Mela's ten examples consist of participles (*cultus*, *consitus*, *exploratus*, *patens* and *refer-tus*). None of these participial forms is given a synthetic comparative.

<sup>1</sup> *magis* is used in the sense of *potius* 'rather' in the speech of the freedman Echion at *Sat.* 45.8, anticipating its later use in central areas of Romance, where *plus* takes over the comparative function, see Steffenelli (1962: 89).



By contrast the other examples found in Mela are often in free variation with synthetic forms (e.g. *clarus* also comp. and sup., *laetus* also comp. and sup., *longus* also comp. and sup.). The only exception to this is the hapax *magis pernix* at 3.40.4. Again rhetorical balance and considerations of euphony may explain the use of an analytic form, e.g. 1.61.1 *Arabia ... illic magis laeta et ditior*. Mela is the first writer after Plautus to employ the pleonastic *magis* + comparative at 2.86.3 *magisque et magis latior ad occidentem abit ac fit ibi latissima* where the repeated *magis* and the use of the comparative reproduces the progressive widening of the land towards the east. Tacitus (14) is less restricted with analytic comparative than the historians of the classical period, but he still keeps to the well recognised types: participles/verbal adjectives *alaboratus*, *exterritus*, *falsus*, *fidus*, *gnarus*, *pauens*, *pavidus*; vowel stem *anxius*, -r stem *mirus*; polysyllabic *imbecillus*, *opportunos*. Finally Martial (14) does not take the use of these forms beyond what was found in classical poets such as Lucretius and Ovid: *aptus*, *audax*, *dignus* × 2, *fidus* × 2, *flauus*, *gratus*, *mirus* × 2, *pallidus*, *plenus*, *pudicus*, *seuerus*, *turpis*. There are only two examples of analytic forms with *plus* + adjective at this period, both restricted to the phrase *plus iusto* and both from Valerius Maximus.: 8.1.2 *plus iusto placidus*, 8.10.1 *plus iusto concitatus*.

#### 4.2. *Maxime*, *multum*, *ualde*

The intensifiers *adprime*, *probe* and *uehementer* are not found with adjectives in the authors sampled for this period. The use of *maxime* + positive adjective is well represented in both the technical writers Celsus (13) and Mela (20) and the historian Tacitus (15). Tacitus is clearly freer in his use of these forms than the historians of the classical period. In Mela and Tacitus compounds in *in-* (either privative or intensive) predominate (Mela: *incuruus*, *inlustris* × 5; Tac.: *infensus*, *inlustris*, *insignis* × 4, *inualidus*), perhaps because their length would make them unsuitable for synthetic forms. Petronius and Martial use *ualde* (Petr. 4; Mart. 1) never *maxime*, and *multum* is found only in Mela (2: *pressus*, *prominens*). At this period *maxime* is still the main adverb in analytic superlatives, from the late second century, as we shall see below, *maxime* is gradually replaced by *ualde* in these contexts. The absence of *maxime* from Martial is simply for metrical reasons. In Petronius *ualde* occurs in three of its four cases in the language of freedmen, and may have had a colloquial flavour. At Sat. 63.5.2 the speaker, the freedman Trimalchio, refers to a man as *homine ... longum*, *ualde audaculum*, where *ualde* modifies the adjective *audaculus*



whose original diminutive force is no longer felt. Both *ualde falsus* 71.7.2 and *ualde ingeniosus* 68.7.2 are spoken by freedmen. The only exception is *ualde latus* used by the narrator at 31.8.1. Martial's single example is with the polysyllabic *periculosus* at 3.44.5.

#### 4.3. First century AD: conclusions

The evidence from this period shows that analytic forms with *magis* were accepted alongside synthetic forms in both technical writing and in the prose of Tacitus. Its absence from Petronius suggests it was not felt at this stage to be particularly colloquial. Martial follows classical poets such as Lucretius and Ovid in his use of these forms and they probably lacked for him the conversational tone they had had for Horace. The main adverb introducing analytic superlative expressions is still *maxime*, which remains common in technical prose and the writing of Tacitus. Metrical considerations determine its absence from Martial as they had with the classical dactylic writers. In Petronius *ualde* is used in its place, perhaps because of its more colloquial flavour, especially in the speech of his freedmen. Certain archaic intensifiers such as *adprime*, *plus*, *probe* and *uehementer* are not attested in the works sampled for this period, and *multum* is restricted to just two occurrences with participles in Mela.

### 5. Later Latin, the commentators and grammarians

This broad sweep of later Latin uses as its sample texts the second-century archaising Apuleius, the third-century Horace commentator Porphyrio and Apicius' cookery book, the late fourth-century *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* and the fifth-century works of the commentator and grammarian Servius. It will include the discussion of passages from other grammarians from Donatus to Priscian as well as selected examples from Latin Bible translations. Its aim is to establish from these late and vulgar sources the extent to which analytic comparative and superlative forms gained ground in preparation for their complete dominance in Romance. In fact examples proved to be extremely rare and discussions in commentators and grammarians equivocal. In order to gain a better overview of this broad period the chapter will investigate the question via authors and genres rather than via particular analytic expressions, as in the previous sections.

## 5.1. Apuleius

The language of Apuleius (second century AD), particularly in the *Metamorphoses*, is full of archaic and poetic words, as well as Grecisms and colloquial colouring. This is seen in particular in his 16 examples of *probe* as an intensifier with participial adjectives (*aggestus*, *cognitus* × 2, *confirmatus*, *dispositus*, *eruditus*, *immisus*, *litteratus*, *nudatus*, *pectinatus*, *percuratus*, *spectatus*, *suasus*, *temperatus*). This use of the *probe*, as we saw above, is mainly restricted to Plautus (17, not exclusively participles), with two examples each in Terence and Cicero. It is a clear case of an archaism in Apuleius and has no further role to play in the development of analytic superlatives in Latin. Another archaic feature of Apuleius is his reintroduction of *adprime* with positive adjectives (eight in all: *bonus*, *eruditus*, *insignis*, *mirabile*, *modestus*, *nobilis*, *perfectus* *peritus*), which had previously been attested mainly in Plautus and Terence (see 2.3 above). The only other writer to use this at this period is his near contemporary Aulus Gellius (*doctus* 5.21.1, 13.12.2, 17.7.3, *nobilis* 9.13.1, *sciens* 18.5.10), again as a conscious archaism. Apuleius' use of *magis* + positive for comparative, by contrast, is neither frequent nor unusual (*liber*, *mirandus* + 2, *mortuus*, *noxius*), although his use of the pleonastic *magis* + comparative (*Met.* 10.11.23 *uidebatur aequitati magis aptior*) again looks back to Plautus as does his use of *multum* + analytic comparative (*Apol.* 84.8 *a quo magis remota est*). Apuleius' five examples of *uehementer* intensifying participial adjectives (*anxius*, *implicitus*, *indiguus*, *intentus*, *offensus*) are a reintroduction of an earlier feature, although the adverb had been used only sporadically in early and classical Latin. Otherwise Apuleius' two examples of *maxime* (*commodus*, *memorandus*) and two of *multum* (*remotus* and *saucius*) are in no way exceptional. In his preference for *probe* and *uehementer* as well as in his pleonastic use of *magis* + comparative, Apuleius displays an archaising preference for Plautine forms of expression. A notable feature of Apuleius' use of intensifiers is their restriction to participial adjectives.

5.2. *Peregrinatio Aetherae*

Although in many areas a rich source of late and vulgar Latin the *Peregrinatio* is completely lacking in analytic comparative forms. Synthetic comparatives and superlatives are the rule. The only intensifier used with adjectives is *ualde* (19 *admirabilis*, *amoenus*, *eruditus*, *excelsus*, *gratus*, *harenosus*, *infinitus*, *ingens* × 2, *instructus*, *praecisus*, *pulcher* × 6, *sanctus* × 2), which, as we will see from the commentators Porphyrio and Servius,

began taking over from *maxime* as a superlative equivalent from the third century. In Apicius (with *minutus* 4.3.2) and the Vulgate (with *diues* Luke 18.23 and *magnus* Mark 14.4) this is the only superlative analytic form attested. The evidence from this author shows that even in Christian writers analytic forms were not taking over from synthetic even as late as the fifth century. One interesting exception to this as far as comparatives are concerned is Sidonius Apollinaris from fifth-century Gaul. Wölfflin (1879: 149–50) quotes examples from him of *plus* with the adjectives *celsus*, *dulcis*, *felix*, *grauis*, *locuples*, *musicus*, *pretiosus*. It is possible to see here a foreshadowing of the use in this region of *plus* in Romance comparative formations. It may be significant that the Spaniard Orosius writing only one generation earlier uses *magis*, e.g. *magis utilis* 1.28, *magis celebris* 134.

### 5.3. The commentators Porphyrio and Servius

Although Servius' note on the phrase *luce magis delecta* at *Aen.* 4.31: *antique frequenter pro comparatiuo iugebant particulum 'magis'* and his gloss on *care magis* at *Aen.* 5.725: *pro 'carior'* might suggest that analytic comparatives with *magis* were not a feature of the language of his own time, this is not borne out by the ten uses in the words of his own commentary (with *aptus*, *fidus*, *laetus*, *nefas*, *poeticus*, *proprius* × 2, *uerus* × 2, *uicinus*). Two centuries earlier Porphyrio had not commented upon the analytic comparatives in Horace and had used them himself (with *aptus* and *insanus*). What is clear from both commentators is that *maxime* and other intensifiers were gradually being replaced by *ualde*. The adverbs *multum*, *probe* and *maxime* are not found in this function in either author, and *uehementer* occurs only once in Servius (and once in Servius *auctus*). There is one occurrence of *maxime necessarius* in the (probably) seventh-century scholar (Servius *auctus*/Servius Danielis) who added his own comments (possibly taken from Donatus) to his Servius commentary. In both Porphyrio and Servius *ualde* becomes the all-purpose form used to explain other intensifiers, including the prepositional prefixes *e(x)-*, *in-*, *per-*: e.g. Porph. *ad Hor. Carm.* 2.1215–16 '*bene fidum*': *id est ualde fidum*, 3.30.3 '*inpotens*': *pro ualde potens*, Serv. *ad Aen.* 9.1 '*diuersa penitus*': *ualde diuersa*, 8.610 '*eduram*': *id est ualde duram*, 12.44 '*longe maestum*': *ualde maestum*, 7.629 '*adeo magnae*': *ualde magnae*, 5.5 '*pertriste*': *ualde triste*, and similar explanations using *ualde* occur in Servius *auctus* with *adsimilis*, *inprudens* and *praedulcis*. This evidence for the rise of *ualde* at the expense of *maxime* in later Latin confirms what we saw in the *Peregrinatio*. Neither adverb has a role to play in later Romance analytic forms.

#### 5.4. *Latin grammarians: Donatus to Priscian*

All Latin grammarians teach that certain adjectives, usually those with vowel stems, are incapable of forming synthetic comparative or superlative forms and in these cases an analytic form with *magis* + positive for comparative and *maxime* or *ualde* + positive for the superlative.

Char. p. 145.13 (Barwick) ex his quae ante -us aut -e aut -i habent comparationes fieri non possunt neque e necessario necessarius et similibus.

Char. p. 146.25 (Barwick) si inciderit appellatio quae non potest habere perissosyllabum in comparatione, nec componi potest ... nec comparari potest pius (cf. Consent. *GL* 5.343.10), sicut nec idoneor dici potes ... non minus autem excipimus ex comparationibus quacumque nomina -us pure proferuntur, uelut strenuus, necessarius et similia ... his autem adicimus magis (cf. Prisc. *GL* 2.86.23–4)

Dosith. *GL* 7.399.8–9 quaedam nomina ... gradus collationis non habent, ut rudis, sobrius, mediocris, grandis (cf. Diom. *GL* 1.324.5–6) ... quaedam ... unum tantum gradum recipiunt comparatiuum, ut senex ... iuuenis ... quaedam superlatiui tantum ut pius ... bellus ... recipiunt tamen collationem si illis magis aduerbium iungatur ... et maxime similiter.

Diomedes (*GL* 1. 33–4) even argues for the use of *magis* and *minus* in the formation of comparatives and superlatives of irregular adjectives such as *bonus* and *malus* (cf. Consent. *GL* 5.343.2).

Nowhere in the grammarians is it stated that comparative and superlative analytic forms with *magis* and *maxime* (*ualde*) are to be avoided with adjectives outside the groups discussed, although this is perhaps implied. As Biville (2014: 693–4) has shown, Priscian uses these analytic forms himself as part of his own meta-language, e.g. *magis rationabilis* *GL* 2.208.19, *magis prudens* 2.94.20, *ualde celsus* glossing *praecelsus* 3.50.10 and *ualde pulchra* glossing *perpulchra* 3.115.12–14. The same is true, as we have seen above, for the commentators Porphyrio and Servius.

What all the grammarians object to is the pleonastic use of adverbs with comparative and superlative forms of the type *magis dulcior* attested most often in Plautus:

Don. *GL* 4.374.34–375.2 comparatiuo et superlatiui gradui tam aut minus aut minime aut magis aut maxime adici non oportet: adiciuntur autem positui tantum

Similar statements are made at Serv. in *Art. Don.* *GL* 4.431. 19–22 (where *maxime* in the list of adverbs is replaced, significantly, by *ualde*), Cledon. *GL* 5.38.21–2 (where the practice is referred to as *soloecismus*), Pompeius *GL* 5.156.1–3 and Consent. *GL* 5.342.1.

Clearly these pleonastic uses were conceived of as a problem by the grammarians but, as often, these solecisms are not very well represented in our extant texts. Their significance must be that the synthetic forms were losing their exact meaning to native speakers and needed to be intensified by the addition of adverbs which had till now been reserved for use with positive adjectives incapable of synthetic comparison. This is illustrated most clearly in Bible translations where direct comparison with the Greek original is possible, e.g. superlative for positive *carissimus* /ἀγαπητός (Vulg. Mark 9.7), comparative for positive *firmitores* /δυνατοί (Vulg. Rom 15.1), superlative for comparative *plurimam* /πλείονα (Vulg. Hebr. 11.4). More examples of wrongly used synthetic forms in translations from Greek are to be found in Wölfflin (1879: 170–8) and Rönsch (1875: 416–17). A similar confusion between superlative and comparative is seen at *Gloss. Reich.* 1756 *optimos: meliores*. It must be in this uncertainty, which perhaps began earlier with forms such as *senior* and *iunior* where the comparative force was lost as early as Virgil (see e.g. Serv. *ad Aen.* 5.409), that the demise of the synthetic forms seen in Romance had its origins.

## 6. Overall conclusions

The analytic comparative and superlative forms found in Plautus and Terence for the most part are used with adjectives whose form made synthetic forms difficult or impossible at all periods of Latin. Throughout the history of literary Latin *magis* remains the main adverb for analytic comparatives in cases where synthetic forms would present phonological problems. Although avoided by purists such as Caesar, it occurs quite commonly in technical writing and its absence from e.g. Petronius and the *Peregrinatio* suggests it was not specifically a colloquial feature. By contrast, *plus*, which was to play an important role in the central Romance area, is very poorly attested until the time of Sidonius Apollinaris (AD 430–482). This chronological distribution of *magis* and *plus* would support the hypothesis that the central area of Romance (It., Occ., Fr.), where *plus* predominates, reflects innovations that spread out from Italy and had not reached the periphery (e.g. Sp. Rom.) where derivatives of *magis* remain the rule. Many of the intensifiers from the early Latin period such as *adprime*, *probe* and *uehementer* gradually die out, except for occasional revivals in archaising writers such as Apuleius. Even well-established adverbs such as *maxime* give way in later Latin to *ualde*. None of these analytic superlative constructions will have a role to play in Romance, except for *multum* reflected in Sp. *muy* and It. *molto*. Some Romance

intensifiers such as Fr. *très* (from *trans*) and Occ. *fort* (from *fortiter*) are not represented even in late Christian Latin. Evidence from later works such as the *Peregrinatio*, Apicius and the Vulgate does not suggest that the move to analytic forms found in Romance had its roots in late Latin or that this was an early Latin colloquial feature resurfacing at a later date. The need for re-enforcement of synthetic comparative and superlative forms with adverbs such as *magis* and *maxime/ualde*, which is well attested in the discussion of the grammarians, and the confusion of positive, comparative and superlative forms in glosses and late translations from Greek, does however suggest that synthetic forms were gradually losing their distinctive meaning. Their later replacement, however, belongs to the separate history of Romance.

## Appendix of Occurrences

### ADPRIME

Plautus (3): **nobilis** Cist. 125, **probus** Rud. 735, Trin. 373.

Terence (3): **nobilis** Eu. 952, **obsequens** Hec. 247, **utilis** An. 61.

Varro (1): **doctus** R. 3.2.17.

Quadrigarius (1): **summo genere gnatus** FRH 2.24.F10.

Nepos (1): Att. 13.4 **bonus**.

Apuleius (8): **bonus** Pl. 2.19, **eruditus**, Soc. 17, **insignis** Fl. 15.36, **mirabilis** Met. 10.17, **modestus** Met. 9.14, **nobilis** Fl. 4.5, **perfectus** Soc. 17, **peritus** Apol. 31.

Gellius (5): **doctus** 5.21.1, 13.12.2, 17.7.3, **nobilis** 9.13.1, **sciens** 15.5.10.

### PRIME

Plautus (1): **catus** Mil. 794.

Naevius (1): **probus** Rib. Com. 1.

### CVMPRIME

Quadrigarius (2): **fortis + exsuperabilis** FRH II.24.F3.

Cicero (2): **prudens + doctus** Div. 1.68.

### MAGIS

Plautus (36): **aequus** Mer. 898, **aequiperabilis** Cur. 168, **amicus** As. 66, Mil. 660, **argutus** Trin. 200, **conducibilis** Cist. 78, **continens** Mos. 31, **curiosus** Aul. 562, **dulcis** Per. 764, **ecfertum** Capt. 466, **expectatus** Am. 679, **graecus** Men. 9, **idem** Mil. 529, **idoneus** Poen. 583,

- laetans** Ps. 324, **liber** Cist. 128, **maleficus** Ps. 939a, **malus** Ps. 939a, **manifestus** Men. 594, **mirus** Am. 829, 1107, **miser** Am. 167, **occupatus** Mos. 1008, **par** Am. 990, Cur. 110, Per. 800, Poen. 522, **propitius** Aul. 810, **religiosus** As. 782, **sapiens** As. 704, **tranquillus** Bac. 1174, **uerus** Mer. 971, **unicus** Capt. 150, **uorsutus** As. 119, **utibilis** Mil. 613, Trin. 758.
- Ennius (1): **fretus** Ann. 92.
- Pacuvius (1): **similis** Trag. 378.
- Lucilius (1): **aeger** 14.474.
- Terence (19): **aduorsus** Hau. 699, **aequus** Ph. 203, **compositus** Eu. 935, **concor**s Hec. 617, **continens** Eu. 227, **elegans** Eu. 935, **humanus** Hec. 553, **idoneus** Ph. 721, Hau. 133, **malignus** Hec. 159, **mirus** Hec. 220, **molestus** Eu. 414, **opportunist** Eu. 1077, **princeps** Ad. 259, **procax** Hec. 159, **seuerus** Eu. 227, **similis** Hau. 802, **suspiciosus** Ad. 605, **uerus** An. 698.
- Accius (1): **par** Trag. 137.
- Varro (9): **alibilis** R. 2.11.3, **apertus** L. 7.31, **apricus** R. 1.54.1, **assiduus** R. 3.16.33, **delectatus** Men. 519.2, **fructuosus** R. 3.11.34, **luscus** L. 9.72, **patulus** R. 2.9.10, **uarius** L. 9.46.
- Cicero (Ver., Off., Att.) (6) **idoneus** Ver. 11.49.7, Att. 9.11a.2, **necessarius** Ver. 2.3.2, Off. 1.48.1, **solutus** Ver. 1.1.26, **uacuus** Ver. 1.1.26.
- Caesar (1): **ueri similis** Gal. 3.13.6.
- Bellum Alexandrinum (1): **necessarius** 71.1.4.
- Vitruvius (1): **dignus** 9 praef.1.
- Lucretius (41): **acer** 4.709, **aequus** 5.1089, **aptus** 4.669, 677, 6.773, **carus** 1.730, **certus** 1.738, 5.111, **condensus** 1.575, 2.100, 4.57, **contentus** 4.964, **contextus** 4.57, **densus** 6.100, **difficilis** 2.1027, **discrepitan**s 3.803, **disiunctus** 3.803, **editus** 5.1132, **facilis** 5.1288, **fecundus** 2.533, **hamatus** 2.394, 405, 495, **inanitus** 6.1025, **indupeditus** 1.240, **leuis** 2.452, **mirus** 1.730, **par** 2.125, **piger** 3.192, **rarus** 2.532, 3.444, 6.861, **remotus** 4.253, **rotundus** 2.452, **sanctus** 1.730, **solidus** 5.927, **stipatus** 2.294, **tenuis** 4.728, **uacuatus** 6.1025, **uehemens** 3.152, **uentosus** 3.299.
- Catullus (3): **aridus** 23.13, **carus** 62.58, **uorax** 57.8.
- Sallust (4): **anxius** Jug. 55.4.2, **asper** Jug. 89.3.2, **exornatus** Jug. 16.5.5, **pecuarius** Hist. e cod. 116.6.
- Horace (12): **albus** S. 1.2.124, 2.4.13, **alienus** S. 1.9.50, **amicus** S. 1.5.33, **aptus** Ep. 1.7.43, **bacchans** Carm. 1.25.11, **beatus** S. 1.3.143, **exanimis** S. 2.6.113, **excors** S. 2.3.67, **longus** S. 1.2.123, **proximus** S. 1.9.53, **tener** S. 1.2.80.

- Virgil (6): **carus** Aen. 5.725, **cunctans** Aen. 12.940, **dilectus** Aen. 4.31, **laetus** Georg. 3.310, **praesens** Georg. 3.452, **tremendus** Aen. 2.200.
- Livy (1–5, 41–5) (9): **aptus** 3.27.2, **celeber** 43.21.4, **incautus** 5.54.7, **inpenetrabilis** 45.19.6, **inuisus** 2.42.7, **necessarius** 1.32.4, **nefas** 5.53.7, **popularis** 2.24.3, **suspectus** 3.4.6.
- Propertius (7): **acutus** 2.9a.38, **albus** 2.3.10, **aptus** 3.22.19, **dirus** 2.9a.49, **gratus** 3.5.48, **humilis** 1.10.27, **subiectus** 1.10.27.
- Ovid (35): **aeger** Tr. 4.6.43, **anxius** Met. 1.182, **aptus** Am. 2.8.4, Ep. 5.88, 15.6, 17. 235, Rem. 669, **cautus** Ep. 18.110, Pont. 3.2.19, **certus** Ars 3.478, **dignus** Ep. 18.168, **diuturnus** Tr. 3.738, **durus** Ars 1.475, Tr. 5.10.12, **excusabilis** Pont. 3.9.33, **fidens** Epiced. Drusi 455, **fidus** Ibis 297, **gratus** Pont. 3.5.2, **mirus** Met. 7.130, 12.174, 15. 317, Pont. 3.1.31, **motus** Met. 1.766, **orbis** Tr. 3.14.15, **perlucidus** Ep. 15.157, Met. 2.856, **pious** Ibis 361, **placabilis** Tr. 3.5.31, **saeuus** Ep. 20.102, **superbus** Met. 11.218, **timidus** Pont. 3.2.19, **tritrus** Pont. 2.7.44, **uerus** Ars 3.790, Fast. 6.581, **utilis** Pont. 15.53.
- Lygdamus (1): **carus** [Tib.] 3.1.25.
- Celsus (18): **albidus** 5.28.19b, **coactus** 2.3.5, **exulceratus** 5.28.13b, 17a, **gratus** 4.23.3, **liberalis** 3.6.14, 5.28.4, **naturalis** 5.26.27, **necassarius** 1.pr.7, 5.28.3, 6.2.2, 8.10.7h, **obnoxius** 1.pr.58.7, **pestifer** 5.27.10, **siccus** 1.pr.53.2, **tutus** 2.11.5.3, **ueri similis** 1.pr.41.5, **umidus** 1.pr.53.2.
- Mela (10): **clarus** 3.79.6, **cultus** 1.30.2, 2.74.3, **consitus** 2.74.3, **exploratus** 3.49.2, **laetus** 1.61.1, **longus** 3.74.2, **patens** 3.95.3, **pernix** 3.40.4, **refertus** 3.38.6.
- Tacitus (14): **anxius** Ann. 4.69.14, 14.8.13, **elaboratus** Dial. 18.2.6, **exterritus** Ann. 16.15.7, **falsus** Ann. 1.7.2, **fidus** Ann. 1.57.4, 12.13.5, **gnarus** Ann. 15.56.5, 61.6, **imbecillus** Ann. 6.49.7, **mirus** Ann. 2.37.1, **opportunus** Ann. 4.60.19, **pauens** Ann. 4.69.14, **pauidus** Ann. 15.57.16.
- Martial (14): **aptus** 11.60.1, **audax** 12.74.3, **dignus** 5.19.3, 10.13.6, **fidus** 7.2.2, **flauus** 5.68.2, **gratus** 12.24.2, **mirus** 1.48.3, 2.72.5, **pallidus** 12.32.8, **plenus** 8.33.14, **pudicus** 8.54.4, **seuerus** 2.41.13, **turpis** 6.90.2.
- Apuleius (4): **liber** Met. 2.20.2, **mirandus** Apol. 1.11, 27.20, **mortuus** Met. 2.25.17, **noxius** Apol. 85.29.
- Porphyrion (2): **aptus** ad Hor. Carm. 1.15.13, **insanus** ad Hor. S. 2.3.75.
- Servius (10): **aptus** ad Aen. 12.118, **fidus** ad Georg. 1.424, **laetus** ad Aen. 1.35, **nefas** ad Aen. 6.176, **poeticus** ad Aen. 1.251, **proprius** ad Aen. 1.178, 9.653, **uerus** ad Georg. 1.19, 3.355, **uicinus** ad Aen. 1.17.
- Servius auctus (4): **altus** ad Aen. 1.92, **aptus** ad Aen. 1.444, 9.596, **neotericus** ad Aen. 8.7.31.



**MAGIS (+ COMPARATIVE)**

Plautus (11): **apertior** St. 485, **certior** Capt. 644, **contentior** Poen. 461, **dulcior** St. 704, **facilior** Men. 978, **inimicior** Bac. 500, **maior** Am. 301, Men. 55, Poen. 82, **mollior** Aul. 422, **plus** Poen. 212.

Bellum Africum (1): **suspensior** 48.3.

Mela (1): **latior** 2.86.3.

Apuleius (2): **aptior** Met. 11.10, **irritator** Met. 9.36.

**MAXIME**

Plautus (4): **alienus** Capt. 99, **concinnus** Mil. 1024, **liber** Rud. 217, **uerus** Ps. 433.

Terence (7): **cognatus** Ph. 295, **consimilis** Hau. 393, **dignus** Eu. 866, **exoptatus** (**expectatus?**) Hau. 408, **potens** Ad. 501, **secundus** Ph. 241, **utilis** An. 835.

Varro (11): **alibilis** R. 2.11.1, **amicus** R. 2.2.19, **bonus** R. 1.1.5, **fructuosus** R. 1.15.1, **idoneus** R. 2.5.13, 3.9.6, **indiscretus** R. 3.1.7, **lubricus** L. 10.7, **necessarius** R. 1.1.5, 2.7.13, **quietus** R. 2.1.4.

Cicero (Ver., Off., Att.) (25) **aeger** Ver. 2.1.5, **clarus** Ver. 2.2.187, **consentaneus** Off. 3.20.3, Att. 1.20.3, **dignus** Ver. 2.1.103, **diuersus** Ver. 2.3.192, **inlustris** Ver. 2.1.17, 22.7, **liberalis** Att. 12.38a.1, **locuples** Ver. 2.4.12, **mediterraneus** Ver. 2.3.192, 5.70, **necessarius** Ver. 2.5.26, 9.7a.2, Off. 2.30.5, Att. 5.5.2, **nefarius** Ver. 2.2.78, **proprius** Off. 1.64.9, **quietus** Ver. 2.1.63, **sedatus** Ver. 2.1.63, **utilis** Off. 1.89.4, 2.1.8, 11.11, ἀναπάντητον Att. 9.1.3, γυμνασιῶδη Att. 1.9.2.

Caesar (2): **contrarius** Civ. 2.30.2, **necessarius** Gal. 7.32.2.

Bellum Alexandrinum (1): **nocens** 55.5.2.

Bellum Hispaniense (2): **periculosus** 30.2.3, **saucius** 38.2.2.

Vitruvius (13): **firmus** 2.8.5, **grauis** 5.4.3, **idoneus** 2.9.5, 7.1.5, **necessarius** 5.9.8, 8.1.1, 10.7.5, **probabilis** 3.3.6, **recens** 10.14.3, **subtilis** 7.3.3, **tenuis** 7.3.3, **uitiosus** 8.3.5, **utilis** 10.7.5.

Catullus (1): **profundus** 17.11.

Livy (1–5, 41–5) (7): **fidus** 44.43.2, **finitimus** 2.53.3, **inclitus** 1.7.12, **memorabilis** 4.11.2, **nobilis** 45.41.10, **opportunus** 2.13.10, **secretus** 4.27.8.

Celsus (13): **dulcis** 1.3.15, **idoneus** 5.27.13b, **mirus** 2.8.17, 7.4.3a, **necessarius** 6.6.1h, **opportunus** 2.pr.2.4, **pinguis** 1.3.15, **promptus** 6.6.17, **tolerabilis** 8.10.1a, **tutus** 2.pr.2.4, **utilis** 3.21.5, 4.22.3, **uulgaris** 3.5.1.

Mela (19): **angustus** 1.21.1, 2.86.2, **clarus** 2.54.1, **ferax** 2.17.1, 3.79.3, **festus** 1.58.7, **incuruus** 1.102.6, **inlustris** 1.96.1, 1.108.1, 2.4.1, 34.2,

IIO.4, **laetus** 2.I9.4, **memorandus** 3.82.2, **memoratus** 2.II.I, **nobilis** 2.42.3, **pernotus** 2.45.6, **pious** 3.65.I, **similis** 3.50.5.

Tacitus (15): **celebre** Ann. 14.33.3, **exitiabilis** Ann. 6.7.14, **formidulosus** Ag. 39.3.1, **gnarus** Ann. 12.45.12, **infensus** 1.27.3, **inlustris** Ann. 4.9.8, **insignis** Hist. 3.69.19, 73.11, Ann. 1.8.12, 77.13, **inualidus** Ag. 26.1.2, **peruius** Ann. 12.12.8, **promptus** Hist. 4.33.2, Ann. 4.17.18, **uulgatus** Ann. 6.28.8.

Apuleius (2): **commodus** Pl. 1.15.15, **memorandus** Apol. 16.15.

Servius auctus (1): **necessarius** ad Georg. 1.178.

## MAXIME + COMPARATIVE

Vitruvius (3): **facilius** 1.1.4, **tutior** 1.5.5, **utilior** 2.3.2.

## MAXIME + SUPERLATIVE

Vitruvius (1): **calidissimus** 6.4.4.

## MVLTVM

Plautus (12): **audax** Men. 731, **beneuolens** Mer. 887, **benignus** Rud. 261, **incommodesticus** Capt. 87, **ineptus** Men. 316, **loquax** Aul. 124, **malus** Men. 731, **miser** St. 206, **molestus** Capt. 272, Men. 572, **morus** Mil. 370, **stultus** Mil. 433.

Cicero (Ver., Off., Att.) (1) **dispar** Off. 1.109.1.

Catullus (1): **manans** 101.9.

Horace (8): **amatus** Carm. 3.27.47, Epod. 17.20, **celer** S. 2.3.147, **demissus** S. 1.3.57, **dissimilis** Ep. 1.10.3, **diuersus** Ep. 2.2.62, **facilis** Carm. 1.25.5, **fidelis** S. 2.3.147.

Ovid (3): **indignans** Fast. 6.745 **miser** Met. 4.155, **utilis** Met. 11.697.

Mela (2): **pressus** 1.76.1, **prominens** 2.37.2.

Apuleius (3): **remotus** Apol. 4.22, **saucius** Met. 10.26.25.

## MVLTVM (+ COMPARATIVE)

Plautus (1): **improbior** Mos. 824.

Apuleius (1): **magis remotus** Apol. 84.8.

## PLVS

Plautus (1): **libens** Aul. 420.

Ennius (1): **miser** Trag. 314.

Terence (1): **potus** Hec. 139.

Livy (2): **celeber** + **frequens** 38.18.11.

Horace (3): **liber** S. 1.3.52, **operatus** Ep. 1.2.29, **pronus** Ep. 1.18.10.  
 Ovid (2): **potus** Fast. 1.216, **saeuus** Ep. 12.41.  
 Valerius Maximus (2): **concitatus** 8.10.1, **placidus** 8.1.2.  
 Servius auctus (1): **humilis** ad Georg. 2.434.

## PROBE

Plautus (17): **acutus** Mil. 1379, **adpotus** Am. 282, Rud. 566, **animatus** + **armatus** Bac. 942, **concinnatus** Men. 466, **curatus** Trin. 138, **curuus** Cas. 124, **ebrius** Mos. 342, **egens** Per. 123, **madidus** Aul. 573, **memor** As. 342, **oneratus** Mil. 935, **onustus** Ps. 218, **satur** Poen. 804, **sterilis** Mil. 609, **tutus** Mos. 473.  
 Terence (2): **perdoctus** Hau. 361, **similis** Hau. 1020.  
 Cicero (all) (2): **adfectus** Tusc. 3.15.9, **ornatus** Fam. 2.10.2.  
 Apuleius (16): **aggestus** Met. 1.11.13, **cognitus** Apol. 62.11, Fl. 18.48, **confirmatus** Met. 9.22.6, **dispositus** Met. 8.29.6, **eruditus** Fl. 7.30, **immisus** Met. 4.7.16, **litteratus** Met. 10.2.4, **nudatus** Met. 4.14.15, **pectinatus** Met. 6.28.16, **percuratus** Met. 9.7.11, **spectatus** Met. 3.6.12, 7.6.8, **suasus** Met. 9.22.6, **temperatus** Met. 10.25.20.

## VAL(I)DE

Plautus (2): **uarius** Ps. 145, **tactus** Cist. 298.  
 Varro (2): **amplus** R. 3.14.4, **lpidosus** R 1.9.3, **rufus** L. 7.83.  
 Cicero (Ver., Off., Att.) (35): **amicus** Att. 9.13.3, **bellus** Att. 4.6.4, **bonus** Att. 1.19.11, 15. 13. 4, **conturbatus** Att. 14.18.1, **decorus** Off. 2.64.15, **distentus** Att. 9.13a.1, **gratus** Att. 3.7.1, 20.2, 4.5.4, 15.1, 6.1.13, 12.30.1, 14.16.4, 15.27.3, **idoneus** Att. 12.44.2, **impeditus** Att. 4.2.7, 11.18.1, **liberalis** Att. 4.7.13, **mirus** Ver. 2.1.117, **molestus** Att. 10.10.3, 11.17a.3, **otiosus** Att 12.39.1, **perturbatus** Att. 10.17.3, **pusillus** Att. 12.27.1, **secundus** Att. 2.1.6, **studiosus** Att. 16.16a.1, **uenustus** Att. 9.9.4, **uitiosus** Off. 1.144.3, **utilis** Off. 3.81.7, 103.1, 110.11, Att. 14.3.4, ὀξύπτεϊνος Att. 4.13.1, συνηγωνίων Att. 5.12.  
 Vitruvius (1): **mirandus** 6.7.5.  
 Catullus (1): **malus** 69.7.  
 Petronius (4): **audaculus** 63.5.2, **falsus** 71.7.2, **ingeniosus** 68.7.2, **lautus** 31.8.1.  
 Martial (1): **periculosus** 3.44.5.  
 Porphyrio (3): **fidus** ad Hor. Carm. 2.12.15-16, **pallidus** ad Hor. S. 1.2.129-30, **potens** ad Hor. Carm. 3.30.3.  
 Apicius (1): **minutus** 4.3.2.

Servius (12): **aptus** ad Georg. 1.378, **diuersus** ad Aen. 9.1, **durus** ad Aen. 8.610, **frigidus** ad Ecl. 1.52, **idoneus** ad Aen. 11.439, ad Georg. 1.373, **maestus** ad Aen. 12.44, **magnus** ad Aen. 7.629, **multus** ad Georg. 3.48, **peritus** ad Aen. 2.307, **tristis** ad Aen. 5.5, **uirens** ad Aen. 6.679.  
 Servius auctus (4): **dulcis** ad Aen. 11.155, **pretiosus** ad Aen. 1.647, **prudens** ad Aen. 9.384, **similis** ad Aen. 6.603.  
 Vulgate (2): **diues** Luke 18.23, **magnus** Mark 14.4.  
 Peregrinatio (19): **admirabilis** 47.5, **amoenus** 15.2, **eruditus** 8.4, **excelsus** 11.4, **gratus** 47.5, **harenosus** 6.4, **infinitus** 8.5, **ingens** 2.1, 21.1, **instructus** 20.9, **praecisus** 12.10, **pulcher** 1.1, 11.2, 18.1, 19.3, 18, 23.1, **sanctus** 5.10, 20.11.

## VEHEMENTER

Plautus (3): **iratus** Men. 923, Truc. 545, **tactus** Bac. 1158.  
 Varro (2): **densus** R. 1.9.7, **frigidus** R. 1.12.2.  
 Cicero (Ver., Off., Att.) (4) **arduus** Off. 1.66.9, **gratus** Att. 13.47a.1, **utilis** Off. 2.64.19, **πιθανά** Att. 13.19.5.  
 Bellum Hispaniense (2): **periculosus** 30.2, **saucius** 38.2.  
 Vitruvius (1): **frigidus** 9.1.16.  
 Lucretius (1): **nouus** 2.1024.  
 Sallust (1): **carus** Jug. 7.4.5.  
 Apuleius (5): **anxius** Met. 9.17.25, **implicitus** Met. 10.9.5 **indiguus** Met. 9.12.6, **intentus** Met. 2.16.16, **offensus** Met. 9.29.13.  
 Servius (1): **infestus** ad Ecl. 8.27.  
 Servius auctus (1): **sanctus** ad Aen. 2.143.

*Left-detached constructions from early  
to late Latin*  
(nominatiuus pendens *and* attractio inuersa)

*Hilla Halla-aho*

### 1. Introduction

This article is about left-detached syntactic constructions (also called left-dislocations) in the history of Latin. These constructions seem to appear more frequently in early and late Latin than in the intervening classical period. On the basis of this distribution, the view prevails in earlier research that we have here an instance of spoken continuity from early to late Latin. Detached constructions supposedly resurface in late Latin as a reflection of this, having been largely submerged during the classical period (Löfstedt 1911: 225 ‘die Erscheinung auch in spätlateinischer Zeit lebendig ist’; Kroll 1910: 15 ‘vielleicht ... nie ausgestorben’; Mohrmann 1933: 21; Norberg 1943: 79; Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: 731, 567–8; Rosén 1992: 256–7). A different view was presented by Havers (1926: 226) who was not aware of much of the later evidence and saw a decline in the use of the construction as we move towards late Latin. Most recently Bortolussi and Sznajder (2014) have studied the question of continuity and the role of biblical Latin in that process. They too do not refute the old view of a submerged continuity from early to late Latin (Bortolussi and Sznajder 2014: 169).

This conclusion is not unexpected in view of the fact that, generally speaking, left-detached constructions in languages typically belong to spoken and informal registers (e.g. Lambrecht 1994: 182). Standard written varieties in most cases avoid them as a regular strategy because they are thought to be in conflict with the requirements of logical and balanced syntax usually associated with such registers. Their appearance in spoken conversation, on the other hand, is seen to be connected with the lack of

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forehand planning by speakers in such contexts, resulting, as it were, in 'false starts' with the dislocated element, and then starting with the actual line of thought in the following predication. While this undoubtedly happens in actual conversation, left-dislocations are more than reflections of lack of forehand planning, and even in Latin their appearance cannot be solely attributed to spoken language use. They allow the speakers to first define the referent and then express their message about the said referent, and do this economically (Lambrecht 1994: 185). This potential can be put to use in different contexts. I shall discuss examples from a variety of genres, showing that they function according to the same principles and pointing out that something else is at hand other than a submerged spoken continuity between early and late Latin.

## 2. Definition

Left-dislocation means a construction where an initial left-detached nominal or pronominal element is followed by a main clause where the detached element is resumed by a pronoun (or more rarely a noun) expressing the syntactic function of the dislocated element in the predication. In the philological tradition the relevant Latin constructions are known by the names *nominatiuus pendens* and *attractio inuersa*. These terms cover in effect three types of left-detached constructions which are closely related in their structure, use and to some extent also distribution.

First is the relative construction in the nominative where both the head and the relative pronoun are in the nominative; an early Latin example is (1).

- (1) *mulier quae* se suamque aetatem spernit, speculo *ei* usus est  
quid opust speculo tibi quae tute speculo speculum es maximum?  
(Pl. Mos. 250–1)

'A woman who is dissatisfied with herself and her age needs a mirror. Why do you need a mirror? You yourself are the best possible mirror for the mirror.'  
(Tr. W. de Melo)

In this instance the nominal head *mulier* is followed and defined by a relative clause and resumed by the anaphoric pronoun *is* which occurs in the form, here the dative *ei*, which is appropriate to its function in the main clause. This resumption may of course also be in the nominative, as in:

- (2) et *hic qui* poscet eam sibi uxorem *senex*,  
*is* adolescentis est illius aunculus,  
qui illam stuprauit noctu, Cereris uigiliis  
(Pl. Aul. 34–6)

'And this old man who's going to ask for her hand, he's the uncle of that young fellow who violated her chastity by night during the vigil held in honor of Ceres.' (Tr. W. de Melo)

Here the nominative head *hic senex* is resumed by the nominative pronoun *is*, which is the subject of the main clause. It is also possible that there is no resumption, as in Pl. *As.* 621 *patronus qui vobis fuit futurus, perdidistis* where it, if present, the pronoun would be in the accusative. This is, however, the only example of such a null object in comedy (when the dislocation is in the nominative).

The second type is a relative construction where the head and the relative pronoun are in some other case than the nominative. In the overwhelming majority of instances this is the accusative case:

- (3) *hos quos uidetis* stare hic captiuos duos,  
illi quia astant, *hi stant* ambo, non sedent  
(Pl. *Capt.* 1–2)

'Those two prisoners you can see standing here, they're both standing, not sitting, because the people back there are standing.' (Tr. W. de Melo)

Here the antecedent of the relative pronoun, *hos ... captiuos duos*, is in the accusative due to its having taken the case of the relative pronoun *quos*. The coreferent element *hi* in the following main clause is in the nominative since it is the subject of that clause. Such constructions do not necessarily entail a resumption, in which case the attracted case form is the only factor that separates this from a standard Latin construction:

- (4) *eunuchum quem* dedisti nobis quas turbas *dedit!*  
(Ter. *Eu.* 652)

'That eunuch you gave us, pretty trouble he's caused us!' (Tr. J. Sargeant)

Both (3) and (4) are called *attractio inuversa*.

The third type where no relative clause is involved, as in (5) where the preposed element is simply the noun phrase *pater tuos*, is less common:

- (5) *pater tuos, is* erat frater patruelis meus,  
et is me heredem fecit quom suom obiit diem,  
quo me priuatum aegre patior mortuo  
(Pl. *Poen.* 1069–71)

'Your father, he was my first cousin, and he made me his heir when he passed away; it's hard for me to be deprived of him through his death.' (Tr. W. de Melo)

In addition to these, a fourth and more seldom discussed type can be identified. I call this type anticipation (equivalent to 'clitic left-dislocation' in Bortolussi and Sznajder 2014: 192). This is a construction where the

detached element anticipates the case form of the resumption in the main clause but is in some other case than the nominative, most often the accusative.

- (6) *africanas et herculaneas, sacontinas, hibernas, tellanas atras* pediculo longo, *eas* in loco crassiore aut stercoreato serito (Cato *Agr.* 8.1)

‘The African, Herculean, and Saguntine figs, the winter variety, the black Tellanian figs with long pedicles, these plant in soil which is richer or manured.’ (Tr. W. D. Hooper and H. Boyd Ash)

This is a common type in Cato (cf. Probert and Dickey this volume), but it makes an appearance in the later evidence, too (see (15) in Apuleius and especially in the recipe accusative, (21) below).

There is some overlap here in the traditional terminology. Constructions where the detached element and the relative pronoun are in the nominative are open to two interpretations. They can be classified as either a *nominatiuus pendens* or an *attractio inuersa*. Not all earlier studies point out this fact in explicit terms. This has resulted in some confusion in claims made about the *attractio inuersa*. I prefer to interpret (1) as a *nominatiuus pendens* (see already Havers 1926: 249–50). The nominative as a naming case has the potential to appear on its own without any external motivation such as attraction (a point made in Serbat 1991: 28). This can be seen in (5) above where no relative clause is present and in e.g. Pl. *Men.* 57–9 *Epidamniensis ill’ quem dudum dixeram ... ei liberorum nisi diuitiae nil erat* where *Epidamniensis ille* in the nominative is followed by a relative pronoun in the accusative (for variety in the syntax of the nominative see Havers 1928; Svennung 1935: 187; Norberg 1943: 64–74; and Adams 2013: 215–16).

On the contrary, before the very late period, the accusative case always has a motivation, be it attraction or anticipation or something else (on this point Halla-aho 2009: 117–18). This is why the accusative in the *attractio inuersa* is a different matter. I think that the label attraction is not a misleading one in such cases. In early Latin this may reflect the ancient relationship between the relative pronoun and its head noun. On the other hand, as we move towards later Latin we might expect the accusative to appear increasingly in contexts where a ‘trigger’, here the relative pronoun in the accusative, was present. Seen against this background, the evidence for the *attractio inuersa* (in the accusative) in late Latin, although definitely there, is not as strong as might be expected. Those who see the *attractio inuersa* as common in late Latin typically include nominative relative constructions, too (see e.g. Bach 1888, Löfstedt 1911: 225–6; Norberg



1943: 79–80; Hofmann and Szantyr 1972: 567–8). It should be borne in mind that the *tractio inuversa* is not a construction found only in Latin. Examples have been cited from Greek and German as well (Lindskog 1896: 51–2; Wackernagel 2009: 79–80; Löfstedt 1933: 114–15).

Another issue of definition concerns the syntactic interpretation of the relative construction. In (1) and (4) the construction here labelled as left-detached can arguably be merely a variant in word order (with the head fronted out of the relative clause) of the head-internal relative clause such as (7):

- (7) *Lex agraria* (Crawford ed. 1996 no. 2) 13–14 quei ager locus publicus populi Romanei in terra Italia P. Muucio L. Calpurnio // co(n)s(ulibus) fuit, extra eum agrum, quei ager ex lege pl[eb]iue sc(ito), q(uod C. Sempronius Ti.f. tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) rog(auit), exceptum cauitumue est, nei diuideretur e] xtraque eum agrum, quem uetus possessor ex lege plebeiuē [scito –] [– sei quis post hanc legem rogatam agri colendi cau]sa in eum agrum agri iugra non amplius (triginta) possidebit habebitue, <i>s ager</i> priuatus est ‘Whatever public land or piece of land of the Roman people there was in the land of Italy in the consulship of P. Mucius and L. Calpurnius, apart from that land, whose [division was excluded or forbidden] according to the statute or plebiscite [...] that land is to be private.’

Approaching this question from the opposite direction, that of the relative clauses, Probert and Dickey (this volume, Note 1), call these ‘ambiguous examples’. In early Latin, the definition depends on the material we look at. In the republican laws, left-dislocations are indeed open to such an interpretation. In comedy, however, this is very rarely the case. Examples comparable to (1) and (4) are the exception rather than the rule. Many detached elements either contain, or indeed consist of, a demonstrative pronoun, the presence of which rules out the possibility of interpreting them as fronted out of the relative clause (for this view, see Touratier 1980: 153–6; more recent discussion with references in Pompei 2011c: 468–72).<sup>1</sup> The same happens when the left-detached element is a personal name. Whether the inclusive type with a restrictive relative clause is the ‘original’ in a historical sense cannot be decided here, but this is clearly not how Plautus uses it. The laws possibly preserve an ancient state of affairs in their traditional style, if we think that a correlative

<sup>1</sup> It is of course disputable whether pronouns qualify as genuine antecedents (and hence as left-dislocations). They are rather pseudo-heads, a term given by Bortolussi and Sznajder (2014). Even if in strictly syntactic terms such an interpretation is not possible, here they are treated as left-dislocations due to the observable parallelism with actual nominal heads.

construction of the type *qui ager ... is (ager)* is the source of the other relative constructions (for criticism of this view, see Probert 2014: 142–6 with references).<sup>2</sup> The same situation concerning the heads of relative clauses seems to persist in the later period. There are occasional examples where a fronting interpretation is possible, as in (15), (25) and (26), but certainly more of those where e.g. a demonstrative pronoun attached to the head precludes this analysis. Finally, it is to be noted that I have included as left-dislocations those cases where a conjunction precedes the detached element. Of these *nam* is the most frequent, but others occur, too (*quin, sed, unde*). The alternative would be to take these as interruptions of the whole clause and not as left-dislocations.

Left-dislocations are closely related to and partly overlap with another construction type, the relative-correlative sentence (discussed in this volume by Probert and Dickey). Relative-correlative sentences have two co-referent elements, of which the first one includes, or consists of, the relative pronoun and the second is the resumptive expression (a pronoun or a nominal phrase) in the following main clause. Left-dislocation without a relative clause or without a resumptive pronoun does not fall within the scope of relative-correlative sentences (but see Probert and Dickey, Note 1, on the possibility that they have the same underlying structure). On the other hand, the present chapter is not concerned with autonomous relative clauses, whether with or without internal antecedents. Probert and Dickey take a closer look on one genre, Roman agricultural writers, to find out more about the distribution and mechanism of relative-correlative sentences. My focus in this chapter is, by contrast, on collecting data from various sources to see what types of left-dislocations were used after the early Latin period.

### 3. Early Latin

In early Latin the largest variety of left-detached constructions is found in comedy, mainly Plautus. In comedy, the detached element is often a central figure in the play as in (2) and (3) or it forms part of a generalising statement as in (1). They seem to have a tendency to appear in prologues or at crucial points in the play. If the detached element is in the nominative (23 instances + 18 neuters), it is in most cases (though not always, cf. Pl. *Men.* 57–9 cited above) supported by a nominative either in

<sup>2</sup> Detailed discussion of all issues of definition as well as full treatment of the early Latin evidence is to appear in Halla-aho (in preparation).

the intervening relative clause or in the subsequent main clause (or both). Dislocations in the accusative are always motivated either by the relative clause (attraction, 12 instances) or by the main clause (anticipation, usually then also the relative clause is in the accusative, seven instances).

In an overwhelming majority of the instances, the left-detached element is the topic of the following predication (in the sense that it is the constituent about which the following predication holds, see Pinkster 1990: 4 and Lambrecht 1994: 127). The topic introduced by the dislocation is in most cases old or accessible (as in (4) and (5) above), rarely completely new (as in (3) above) unless it is part of a generic statement (such as (1) above). The claim that dislocations in Latin are topics (as predicted by general linguistic research) has been made several times in recent research (e.g. Pinkster 1990: 37; Rosén 1992: 261; Adams 2005: 92–3), but it is worth pointing out that even earlier studies make this observation, formulated naturally in different terms (Havers 1926: 209–11; for the later Latin evidence Mohrmann 1933: 28; Svennung 1935: 181–2 ‘das wichtigste voraus nehmen, eine Grundlage legen, auf der der Satz aufgebaut wird’; Kühner and Stegmann 1955: 586).

Next, I am going to present and discuss material for left-dislocations in later Latinity to see what happened to them after the early Latin period. I shall look first at nominatives which make up most of the later evidence (types (1), (2) and (5) above), accompanied by occasional examples of the anticipation type, (6) above. After these, the *attractio inuversa* in the accusative, types (3) and (4), will be treated separately. This separation is to some extent artificial, and is not to be taken as implying that the two types would be essentially different in their use or distribution. Since, however, the nominative dislocation is in many ways a standard form of expression, I have deemed it necessary to separate the attracted accusatives for a treatment of their own.<sup>3</sup>

## 4. Classical and postclassical Latin

### 4.1. Cicero and other authors of the classical period

Left-detached constructions, though rare, are not excluded in classical Latin. Their origin and function especially in Cicero has been the subject of some debate. There is much important discussion and material

<sup>3</sup> I shall not make use of examples that can be interpreted as absolute nominatives (typically with a participle).

in Reinhardt *et al.* 2005 (Mayer 2005, especially 198–202; Adams 2005; Adams *et al.* 2005). Left-detached nominatives are often included under the heading of anacoluthon in descriptions of classical Latin. The essential point about the motivation for these constructions in classical prose is made in Adams (2005: 91–3): left-dislocations in Cicero show the same linguistic strategy in action (introducing referents) as they do in Plautus, even if the style and genre are different. This can be shown to be true of various types of left-dislocations in Cicero. Here are two:

- (8) Cic. *Fin.* 2.107 omitto dignitatem, honestatem, speciem ipsam uirtutum, de quibus ante dictum est, haec leuiora ponam: poema, orationem cum aut scribis aut legis, cum omnium factorum, cum regionum conquiris historiam, signum, tabula, locus amoenus, ludi, uenatio, uilla Luculli (nam si ‘tuam’ dicerem, latebram haberes; ad corpus diceres pertinere), sed ea quae dixi, ad corpusne refers?
- (9) Cic. *Tusc.* 3.8.16 omnis enim abstinencia, omnis innocentia – quae apud Graecos usitatum nomen nullum habet, sed habere potest ἀβλᾶβειαν nam est innocentia adfectio talis animi quae noceat nemini – reliquas etiam uirtutes frugalitas continet

In both (8) and (9) the period is interrupted with a parenthesis, and the initial element is then resumed, leaving the first part ‘hanging’. In both cases the resulting dislocation is clearly the topic of the predication. Several examples from Cicero’s philosophical works show this same type, either with a parenthesis (Cic. *Tusc.* 1.7.14. *omne pronuntiatum – sic enim mihi in praesentia occurrit ... – id ergo est pronuntiatum, quod est uerum aut falsum*) or a relative clause (Cic. *Fin.* 3.11 *ceterae philosophorum disciplinae ... quae ... numerent, eas non modo nihil adiuuare arbitror neque firmare*). The interrupting element serves to identify the referent, or to offer some particular piece of information about it. Left-dislocations in letters are e.g. at *Att.* 15.3.1 and *Att.* 1.3.2. In both of these it is easy to see how the detached construction is one of Cicero’s topic-introducing strategies. In both letters, a *quod* clause is used for the same purpose in the vicinity of the dislocation. The occurrence of these constructions is not haphazard. They were used in identifiable contexts for a certain purpose. An example in an early speech occurs at Cic. *Ver.* 5.65. Other often quoted examples from classical prose are Pomp. Cic. *Att.* 7.12A.4, Sal. *Cat.* 37.4, Liv. 38.44.5 and Liv. 1.40.2.

What we see here is not imitation of just any spoken irregularity or carelessness (see Adams *et al.* 2005:16–20, especially n. 25 on p. 19), but imitation of a very particular strategy often used by speakers, and here

given an elegant form in philosophical dialogue or in informal epistolary language. An element of discourse is first named and then defined or otherwise characterised, and finally a statement is made about this element. Left-dislocations in Cicero, just as other types of so-called anacolutha or loose syntax in his stylistic repertoire, are the result of careful native speaker judgement based on such factors as genre, message, syntactic context, tradition, stylistic models and individual taste.

The role played by individual taste is highlighted in the case of Varro. Left-dislocations are used as part of his idiosyncratic syntax, and they can take various forms between the simple type in (10) and the more complicated one in (11) (for more examples, see Probert and Dickey, this volume).

(10) Var. *R.* 3.1.3 *Thebae, quae* ante cataclysom Ogygi conditae dicuntur, *cae* tamen circiter duo milia annorum et centum sunt

(11) Var. *L.* 9.15 et *hi qui* pueros in ludum mittunt, ut discant quae nesciunt uerba quemadmodum scribant, idem *barbatos* qui ignorabunt uerba quemadmodum oporteat dici non docebimus, ut sciant qua ratione conueniat dici?  
 ‘And these men who send their boys to school to learn how to write words which they don’t know – shall we not likewise instruct these men, bewhiskered adults as they are, who do not know how the words ought to be spoken, that they may know by what logical theory they may properly be pronounced?’ (Tr. R. G. Kent)

*Thebae* in (10) picks up the town name which has been mentioned in the same paragraph a couple of lines earlier. Rome is the topic of the clauses inbetween. In (11), the left-detached element *hi qui ... mittunt* is taken up in the main clause by the accusative *barbatos* (see Laughton 1960: 23 on this and a similar one in Var. *L.* 7.44). It is part of an argument about how linguistic behaviour should be corrected and devious *consuetudo* weeded out, just like any devious behaviour in a society. The preceding parts begin with *uiri sapientissimi ... multa contra ueterem consuetudinem cum essent* <a>usi at 9.13 and *quis perperam consuerit quid facere in ciuitate* at 9.14.

Finally, I cite one of the rare left-dislocations in classical poetry:

(12) Hor. *S.* 1.2.102 altera, nil obstat

‘With the other, there’s no obstacle.’ (Tr. P. M. Brown)

These three short words mark an important topic-shift in the (somewhat rude) poem. Horace is describing the disadvantages of dating married women and the benefits of turning to the services offered by *togatae*,

prostitutes, for the fulfilment of one's natural needs. The first group has been brought up by the genitive *matronae* on line 94, followed by a listing of obstacles (such as attendants and long clothes) that hinder the way of any man who is after such a prey. With *altera, nil obstat* on line 101, Horace resumes the topic of the better alternative, the *meretrix*, with whom the way is clear and sight unimpeded.

#### 4.2. Gellius and Apuleius

Occasional examples from Gellius and Apuleius are similar regarding the underlying strategy of expression.

- (13) Gel. 19.1.2 nox deinde, quae diem primum secuta est, in ea fere tota uentus a latere saeuienti nauem undis compleuerat

This comes after the opening sentence where Gellius sets the scene, a trip on the stormy Ionian sea. Another one is at Gel. 2.22.10, similarly with a relative clause. This is a list of winds, where the first two are introduced by *qui uentus igitur ... uenit* and *sed qui ab aestiua ... uenit* (7–9). The third is then introduced by *tertius uentus qui ab oriente spirat – uolturnum Romani uocant –*, *eum plerique Graeci mixto nomine ... appellant*. One notes the parenthesis here, similar to the Ciceronian examples.

Apuleius has several examples from the *Florida*. Most of these nominatives are personal names and they open new paragraphs in modern editions (see [Bernhard 1927](#): 288–9).

- (14) Apul. *Fl.* 15 quin etiam Pherecydes Syro ex insula oriundus, qui primus uersuum nexu repudiato conscribere ausus est passis uerbis, soluto locutu, libera oratione, eum quoque Pythagoras magistrum coluit

The passage is about Pythagoras, and here Pherecydes, not mentioned before this passage, is introduced as his teacher. A similar instance occurs at *Fl.* 18.36.3 (*Protagoras qui... eum*), but there Protagoras has been mentioned in the previous sentence. Left-dislocation of *omnia* with a resuming genitive occurs at *Fl.* 9.12.5 (*omnia quae ... eorum*). The long period at *Fl.* 6 does not have a relative clause but instead a long sequence of attributes and definitions of *Indi, gens populosa*, introduced here for the first time and picked up with *eorum* later on. At *Fl.* 22 there is no resumption, but the expected case would be the dative (*Crates ille Diogenis sectator qui ... cultus est: nulla domus umquam clausa erat*). Crates and Diogenes

have been mentioned in [chapter 14](#), but here they clearly constitute a new topic. In addition, Apuleius has at least three examples of the anticipation type. From the *Florida* is:

- (15) Apul. *Fl.* 21.42.15 *fruticem quem* uerberando equo gestant, *eam uirgam* in laeuam manum transferunt

An anticipating accusative with an intervening nominative relative clause occurs at Apul. *Apol.* 4 (*item Zenonem illum antiquum Velia oriundum qui primus ... dissoluerit, eum quoque Zenonem longe decorissimum fuisse, ut Plato autumat*). There is a third one with an intervening parenthesis at Apul. *Met.* 1.2 (*Thessaliam – nam et illic originis maternae nostrae fundamenta ... gloriam nobis faciunt – eam Thessaliam ex negotio petebam*). The accusative *Thessaliam* here begins the whole story of the *Metamorphoses* after the introductory words at *Met.* 1.1.

These examples, often accompanied by long sentences and extensive lists of attributes, are obviously not colloquial in the sense that they would reflect spoken syntax. Again, I argue, the syntactic strategy here is the same as what we saw in Cicero: first naming a referent and then making a predication about it. This strategy, typical of spoken contexts but by no means limited to them, was used by Apuleius mainly in speeches (cf. [Mayer 2005](#): 201 n. 10). The same strategy of introducing topical referents at the opening of new paragraphs is behind two more extreme uses of dislocations in the dative. The example at Apul. *Fl.* 7 where *Alexandro illi, longe omnium excellentissimo regi, cui ... cognomentum Magno inditum est* is picked up after several lines by *eius igitur Alexandri multa facinora ... fatigaberis admirando* is formally close to an *attractio inuersa* in the dative, a rare but attested type (the other dative is at Apul. *Fl.* 2). However, the intervening characterisation *longe omnium excellentissimo regi* sets this apart from the Plautine examples of *attractio inuersa*.

Here one may mention also Petr. 37.8 where the initial exclamation *familia uero babae babae*, is picked up later by *non mehercules puto decumam partem esse quae (...)*.

## 5. Medical texts

So far we have seen little that would differ from the way things are in Plautus and Cicero. In medical texts, however, we encounter a clearly distinct type of left-dislocation (for the evidence, see [Svennung 1935](#): 178–80).

The ingredient of the recipe or remedy is in the nominative, and it is followed by the advice about which part of the ingredient should be used and what is to be done with it. This is why the resumption in the main clause is usually in the genitive.

- (16) Ps. Apul. *Herb.* 4.1 herba simfoniaca, sucus eius tepefactus in aurem stillatus aurium dolorem mire tollit
- (17) Anthim. 57 cucumeres enim, etsi hic non sunt, tamen quando fuerint, semen illorum quod intus est, manducetur
- (18) Diosc. 2 AE' de irundinibus. maiores urundines conbuste, puluer earum melli mixto inuncta caligines oculorum detergit
- (19) Oribas. *Syn.* 9.6 Aa add. item ad cordis pulsum. spatula porcina dextra conbusta, cinus eius ... potus, liberabitur
- (20) Oribas. *Eup.* 2.1 A XXXVI Aa asfodilus quam Romani astulam regiam uocant, radix eius utile est

The majority of the medical examples do not have relative clauses and they are often close to what would be a simple title nominative, but there are examples with a title nominative followed by a left-dislocation (Oribas. *Syn.* 1.17 Aa p. 817 *de herba mercuriale. mercurialis herba quam Graeci lino-gusten uocant, molles eius folia, si coquantur et edantur, deponit stercora*; also (18) above with a title *de irundinibus*).

Here we can identify a genre-specific use of left-dislocation. Another such case in technical Latin is the so-called recipe accusative. Here is an example from Apicius:

- (21) Apic. 4.2.2. aliter patina uersatilis: nucleos, nuces fractas, torres eas et teres cum melle, pipere, liquamine, lacte et ouis

In my classification of left-detached constructions above, this type is the fourth one, anticipation of the main clause case (usually, as here, the accusative). It is in evidence already in Cato, but not only in recipes, cf. (8) above (more data in [Svennung 1935](#), 186–7). In a similar fashion to (14) and a couple of other examples from Apuleius, these dislocations contain new information established as a sort of a topic (as pointed out in [Halla-aho 2009](#): 115–16).

The continuous use of such lists in the accusative (especially in recipes) gave rise to a pattern where no governing verb was necessary and the accusatives could stand on their own, even after the main clause ([Adams 1995a](#): 446–8; for the list accusative in other contexts, see [Adams 1995b](#): 115).



## 6. Christian Latin

### 6.1. Itineraria

First we may cite examples from the informal or substandard literary texts *Itinerarium Egeriae* and the *Didascalia apostolorum* (for the latter see [Tidner 1938](#): 97). Examples (22) and (23) from the *Itinerarium Egeriae* (*Peregrinatio Aetheriae*) have been cited earlier; to these may now be added (24):

- (22) *Itin. Eger.* 14.2 ecce ista fundamenta in giro colliculo isto quae uidetis, hae sunt de palatio regis Melchisedech
- (23) *Itin. Eger.* 20.5 nam ecclesia quam dixi foras ciuitatem, dominae sorores uenerabiles, ubi fuit primitus domus Abrahae, nunc et martyrium ibi positus est, id est sancti cuiusdam monachi nomine Helpidi
- (24) *Itin. Eger.* 16.3 nam hic torrens quem uidetis de ipsa ualle percurrentem in Iordanem, hic est Corra
- (25) *Didasc. apost.* 9.6 pastor qui constituitur in uisitatione presbyterii et in ecclesiis omnibus et parrociis, oportet eum sine quaerella esse

It is noteworthy, as pointed out by Bortolussi and Sznajder ([2014](#): 189) concerning (22) and (23), that left-dislocations from the *Itinerarium Egeriae* come from quoted direct speech. This applies to (24) as well.

Similar constructions are found in the later *itineraria*, too (examples for Theodosius are from [Svennung 1935](#): 178–9; for the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini* see [Geyer 1892](#): 41–3):

- (26) Theod. *De situ* 7 columna quae fuit in domo Caiphae ad quam Domnus Christus flagellatus est, modo in sancta Sion iusso Domni ipsa columna secuta est
- (27) *Itin. Anton. Plac.* (rec. A) 20 nam et titulus qui ad caput Domini positus erat, in quo scriptum est ‘hic est rex Iudaeorum’, uidi et in manu mea tenui

Theodosius’ work, practically a listing of famous places and distances between them, also has instances of nominatives introducing places (Theod. *De situ* 15; *Caesarea Cappadociae, ibi est sanctus Mammes heremita et martyr*; Theod. *De situ* 19; *Ciuitas Leuiada trans Iordanen habens de Hiericho milia xii; in ipsa Leuiada* ...) but these come closer to being title nominatives than dislocations. All manuscripts of the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini* transmit the same text in (27). The main clause follows without a resumption, cf. Pl. *As.* 621 cited above.

## 6.2. Augustine's sermons

The most notable group of examples in late and Christian Latin comes from the sermons of Augustine, presented and analysed by Mohrmann (Mohrmann 1933; see also Bortolussi and Sznajder 2014: 187–8). They are the most extensive collection in late Latin (or indeed anywhere in Latin outside Plautus). Mohrmann's collection can even be supplemented with further examples (see below; reference by number alone is to *Patrologia Latina* 38).

The motivation for the use of the detached construction is in most cases clearly the same as in the material discussed so far. The detached element establishes the referent about which the following main clause expresses a predication. The fact that the nominative in these constructions contained an important element was observed already by Mohrmann (1933: 28). Here are two of the examples with nominal heads which she cites:

- (28) Aug. *Serm.* 4.6.7 homo certe qui est in occidente, si uult iuste uiuere, id est secundum iustitiam, numquid deest illi quam intueatur et uideat secundum ipsam iustitiam?
- (29) Aug. *Serm.* 2.8.9 nam fides quae per dilectionem operatur, etsi non sit in quo exterius operetur, in corde tamen illa feruens seruatur

These can be supplemented here with the following, (30) a basic type of nominative construction and (31) analysable also as an anticipation of the accusative:

- (30) Aug. *Serm.* 317 (*Misc. Ag.* p. 560, 24) Saulus ille qui omnium manibus lapidebat, qui lapidantium uestimenta seruabat, – exauditus est pro illo stephanus
- (31) Aug. *Serm.* 39 (*Sermones Lambot* p. 41, 85) omnes pauperes quos uidetis, potuit illos christus pascere, quomodo per coruum paut heliam

The type *ille qui* seems to be frequent. Example (32) is one of those cited by Mohrmann (1933):

- (32) Aug. *Serm.* 169.8.109 illi autem qui offenderunt in lapidem offensionis, quid de illis dicit ipse apostolus?

Her collection can be supplemented by (33):

- (33) Aug. *Serm.* 286.3 sed ille qui resuscitat mortuos, respexit eum dominus, et fleuit amare

Two further examples of *ille qui* can be added: Aug. *Serm.* 71 (*Revue Bénédictine* 75, pp. 67, 59) and Aug. *Serm.* 168.4. Also *iste* appears as a

pronominal antecedent (Aug. *Serm.* 48.3.3). Left-dislocations without a relative clause occur, too:

- (34) Aug. *Serm.* 158.6.6 ille beatus, dicitur ei, quia non reuelauit tibi caro et sanguis, sed pater meus qui in coelis est

Augustine's language use varies considerably according to the genre and the audience he is writing for (see Dokkum 1900 for the high rate of *quod* clauses in place of the AcI in the sermons; more generally Burton 2012 on the diversity of styles in Augustine). Mohrmann (1933) and recently Bortolussi and Sznajder (2014) have connected the appearance of left-dislocations in the sermons with spoken language. It is true that the construction occurs here in what is by definition spoken delivery for a non-elite audience. But even in Christian Latin left-dislocations are not restricted to texts meant to be delivered by speaking or otherwise close to ordinary language use.

### 6.3. Further examples from Christian Latin

Left-dislocations appear in various other types of Christian prose as well (examples from Mohrmann 1948; Bulhart 1957: xv; and Philip Burton, personal communication). The construction is sporadically used in a classicising and more periodic (narrative) style in (35)–(37) in Lactantius, Sulpicius Severus and Jerome.

- (35) Lact. *Inst.* 4.4.2 Deus autem, qui unus est, quoniam utramque personam sustinet et patris et domini, et amare eum debemus, quia filii sumus, et timere, quia serui
- (36) Sulp. *Seu. Mart.* 19.3 Paulinus, magni uir postmodum futurus exempli, cum oculum grauiter dolere coepisset et iam pupillam eius crassior nubes superducta texisset, oculum ei Martinus penicillo contigit pristinamque ei sanitatem sublato omni dolore restituit.
- (37) Hier. *V. Hilar.* 26.2 scutarius quidam, cum in basilica beati Petri Romae torqueretur, clamauit in eo immundus spiritus: 'ante paucos dies siciliam ingressus est Hilarion, seruus Christi, et nemo eum nouit et putat se esse secretum; ego uadam et prodam illum'.

as well as in commentaries and treatises (38) to (41) in Victorinus, [Eusebius] *De trinitate* and Optatus:

- (38) Victorin. Poetov. *In apoc.* 4.5 haeretici autem, qui testimonio prophetico non utuntur, adsunt eis animalia, sed non uolant quia sunt terrena. Iudaei qui non accipiunt noui testamenti praedicationem, <adsunt eis alae,

sed non uiuunt, id est inanem uaticinationem > nominibus adferunt non audiendam, facta dictis non conferentes

- (39) Optat. 1.3 Vos qui timetis uerbum domini, audite uerbum domini: hi qui uos odio habent et execrantur et nolunt se dici fratres uestros, uos tamen dicite eis: fratres nostri estis
- (40) [Euseb. Verc.] *Trin.* 3.83 unde homo qui denuper natus est, sine dubio ante passionem illi non fuerint subiecta, cum adhuc ipse homo morti esset pro nobis debitor
- (41) [Euseb. Verc.] *Trin.* 4.30 et spiritus autem principalis 'qui de patre processit' naturale nomen est ei

In most cases the detached element (nominal or pronominal) is a person who is relevant in the Christian discourse: often the man who does or does not do something (often a pronominal antecedent), but also inanimate entities appear like *ecclesia* or *fides*. Individuals such as *scutarius quidam* and *Paulinus* are named in the narrative genre, and even *Deus* himself in Lactantius.

#### 6.4. The Latin Bible

Left-dislocations in biblical Latin have been studied recently by Bortolussi and Sznajder (2014). They point out that the Vetus Latina translations often preserve Old Testament left-dislocations from the source text (originating from Hebrew via the Septuagint), but in the Vulgate Jerome eliminated most of these, using three different strategies (fronting of the NP without a resumption, passivisation and *de* + ablative constructions; Bortolussi and Sznajder 2014: 178–81). Here is one of their examples (fronting of the NP):

- (42) Deut. 32.4 Vet. Lat. Deus, uera opera ipsius/illius/eius (codd. lugd., paris., veron.)  
Vulg. Dei perfecta sunt opera

Bortolussi and Sznajder (2014: 178) state that this happens frequently but unfortunately they do not give figures for the total or for the different types.

The rare examples of left-detached constructions in the Vulgate Old Testament consist of *omnis qui* or *homo qui* which were invented as calques from Hebrew (Bortolussi and Sznajder 2014: 193).

- (43) Vulg. Jer. 31.30 omnis homo qui comederit uuam acerbam, obstupescant dentes eius

- (44) Vulg. 1 Esdr. 10.8 et omnis qui non uenerit in tribus diebus iuxta consilium principum et seniorum auferetur uniuersa substantia eius et ipse abicietur de coetu transmigrationis

Sometimes an apparent hebraism has been preserved by Jerome in a poetic context (Bortolussi and Sznajder 2014: 183):

- (45) Vulg. Psalm 10.4 (iuxta Hebr.) Dominus, in caelo thronus eius, oculi eius uident palpebrae eius probant filios hominum

An example from the New Testament where Latin follows the Greek original is (46) (cited by Bach 1888: 35):

- (46) Vulg. Acts 7.40 Moyses enim hic qui eduxit nos de terra Aegypti, nescimus quid factum sit ei  
 ὁ γὰρ Μωϋσῆς οὗτος, ὃς ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, οὐκ οἶδμεν τί ἐγένετο αὐτῷ

According to Bortolussi and Sznajder (2014: 185, esp. n. 12), left-dislocations are not frequent in the Greek New Testament but even Jerome was inclined to keep them in his translation of the Gospels (unlike those where the original was in Hebrew). They cite Vulg. John 15.2 *omnem palmitem in me non ferentem fructum, tollet eum* (with an anticipating accusative), and (55) below shows the same tendency (with *attractio inuersa*).

The view of older studies that the *nominatiuus pendens* is frequent in the Vulgate seems to be based on a wrong generalisation on the basis of autonomous relative clauses (for this old view, see Kaulen 1904: 286; Plater and White 1926: 19; Havers 1926: 226; also Rubio 2009: 205–6). Bortolussi and Sznajder (2014: 184–5) claim that the preposed autonomous relative clause was usually preserved in the Latin translation (even with the resumption) because it had a long history in legal and official Latin (cf. Probert and Dickey, Note 3), e.g. Vulg. Deut 12.32 *quod praecipio tibi, hoc tantum facito*.

We notice that the left-dislocations in Christian Latin look very similar to the construction in earlier Latin regarding both form and function. Their use by Augustine and other Christian writers seems to owe more to general Latin practice than to any specifically Christian tradition (though one does note Augustine's predilection for the phrase *ille qui*, with which compare (53) below). However, influence from the older Latin translations where dislocations are more frequent remains a possibility. Bortolussi and Sznajder (2014: 178 and 185) conclude from Jerome's avoidance of left-dislocations that it was still colloquial in his day. But,

as the material presented above shows, ‘colloquial’ is not the best label here. Rather, left-dislocations in Latin were a resource that was used in a variety of genres. Did they cease to be colloquial at some point? I think that left-dislocations come close to being a discourse strategy, the status of which did not really change with time. Jerome’s decision may have been influenced by the impression that (especially when used often and as a word-for-word translation from the original) left-dislocations had a foreign feel to them.

## 7. Postclassical and late examples of the *attractio inuersa* (accusative)

A submerged continuity from early Latin and into early Romance is often claimed for the *attractio inuersa*. The material cited usually includes the nominative as well. I have discussed the nominative relative construction separately for the reasons stated above. Here I concentrate on the accusative attraction. The accusative case also has some special interest due to its changing status in the linguistic system.

The most famous example of the attraction is Virg. *Aen.* 1.573 *urbem quam statuo uestra est* (see Fraenkel 1954; Mayer 1999: 251–2; Briscoe 2010: 155–6). This is plausibly taken as an archaism in Virgil. It is more difficult to say whether (47) from Varro is an archaism, too, or a reflection of spoken practice:

- (47) Var. L. 8.41 *sin illud quod significatur debet esse simile, Diona et Theona quos dicunt esse p<a>ene ipsi geminos, inueniuntur esse dissimiles, si alter erit puer, alter senex, aut unus albus et alter <A>ethiops, item aliqua re alia dissimile<s>*

The *attractio inuersa* is found occasionally in the non-literary evidence. Example (48) is from a Pompeian inscription (on stone from a necropolis near porta Nuceria):

- (48) AE 1964, 160 *amicum hunc quem speraueram mi esse, ab eo mihi accusatores subiecti et iudicia instaurata.*

Another non-literary example from the first century AD is *TPSulp.* 83 *purpuris laconicas reliquas quas L. Marius Agathemer C. Sulpicio Cinnamo pignori dedisse dicitur, uenib(unt)* for which see Adams (2007: 444). There is also an attraction in the dative in an Augustan edict discussed in Rodger (2000). This is not a well-attested type although in early Latin datives do occur (above related material has been cited from Apuleius).

Petronius and Apuleius have the accusative construction, too:

(49) Petr. 134.8 ‘o’ inquit ‘Oenothra, hunc adolescentem quem uides, malo astro natus est’

(50) Apul. *Fl.* 9.12.16 etiam anulum in laeua aureum faberrimo signaculo quem ostentabat, ipse eius anuli et orbiculum circulauerat

Characteristically Apuleius has a more verbose version, where attributes of the noun intervene between it and the relative pronoun. Later the construction is found in the *Itinerarium Egeriae*:

(51) *Itin. Eger.* 19.11 nam monticulum istum quem uides, filia, super ciuitate hac, in illo tempore ipse huic ciuitati aquam ministrabat

This example, similarly to the nominative dislocations in Egeria (22)–(24), is from quoted direct speech. There is one example with a nominative antecedent followed by *quem* from the *Itinerarium Egeriae* where attraction could have happened but did not:

(52) *Itin. Eger.* 20.12 tunc ait mihi ipse sanctus episcopus: ‘locus ille, filia, quem requiris, decima mansione est hinc intus in Persida’

The intervening vocative may have influenced this, but since the attraction is not a standard procedure in any text, we do not really need an explanation for the nominative here. Of some interest is the fact that in (22), (24), (49) and (51) the dislocation occurs before *quem uides/uidetis*.

There are further Christian examples in Firmicus Maternus’ *De errore profanarum religionum* (fourth century).

(53) Firm. *Err.* 18.6 illum quem despicias pauperem largus et diues est

The same phrase occurs at Firm. *Err.* 5.2 (*illam quam despicias ignitam uenerandi spiritus maiestate decoratur*), and the astrological work of the author has the construction as well (Firm. *Math.* 1.4.13 *illum quem uides natantem ... firmatus ... suspendit*).

The Latin gospels have a couple of examples (from [Bach 1888](#): 35):

(54) Vulg. John 14.24 et sermonem quem audistis, non est meus: sed eius qui misit me, Patris  
καὶ ὁ λόγος ὃν ἀκούετε οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸς ἀλλὰ τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρός

It is notable that Latin here has the attraction against the Greek original. The rare attraction in the dative is found, too, modelled on the Greek:

(55) Vulg. Luke 12.48 omni autem cui multum datum est, multum quaeretur ab eo  
παντὶ δὲ ᾧ ἐδόθη πολὺ, πολὺ ζητηθήσεται παρ’ αὐτοῦ

Jerome also kept the text of his psalm translation based on the Septuagint when he cited it in the Gospels: *lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedificantes, hic factus est in caput anguli* (Matt 21.42; Mark 12.10; Luke 20.17 = Psalm. 117.22 *iuxta LXX ab Hieronymo emendatus* translating the Septuagint λίθον, ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας). The version translated from Hebrew has *lapis quem ... factus est* without the attraction and resumptive pronoun.

Later we find the *attractio inuversa* in two other *itineraria* as well as Gregory of Tours and Gregory the Great:

- (56) Theod. *De situ* 23 Lazarum quem Domnus resuscitauit, scitur quia resuscitatus est, secundam mortem eius nemo cognouit
- (57) *Itin. Anton. Plac.* (rec. A) 13 lapides illos quos leuauerunt filii Israel de Iordane, positi sunt non longe a ciuitate Hiericho in basilica post altarium magni ualde (transmitted also in R and G)
- (58) Greg. Tur. *Glor. mart.* 55 cicatricem quam contemplati estis in capite, scitote me per eam martyrium consummasse
- (59) Greg. M. *Epist.* 9.218 elemosinas quas semper amastis, iam nunc largius atque uberius operam date, ut tanto post crescat uobis in retributione fructus muneris, quanto hic et excreuerit studium laboris

In (59), the resumption is only implied, and the case form is dative. There are further late attractions at Cassiod. *uar.* 9.2.1 (*arborem quam florere uides ... animatur*) and 9.18.4 (*illos quos spes non habet ... priuentur*).

*Attractio inuversa* seems to appear in texts outside the classical period (excluding Varro), thus showing the pattern of submerged continuity. However, the passages cited above do not constitute a large body of evidence and we must bear in mind that the number of accusative (or other non-nominative) attractions is not high even in early Latin. Bach (1888) cites 12 in the accusative and three in the dative. Clearly this is at no period a mechanical process but certain conditions have to be met for the attraction to happen (if we do not think it is accidental). A pragmatic motivation is one possibility. Hofmann and Szantyr (1972: 568) note that only those relatives have the power to attract their antecedents that contain essential information. But to answer this question one would need data on possible contexts where the attraction either does or does not happen.

Finally, there is a clearly different group of examples. These come mainly from Gregory of Tours and the letters of Gregory the Great, accompanied by a two or three from Cassiodorus (Norberg 1943: 75–8). The examples from Gregory's letters derive from Norberg's own reading of the manuscripts and most of them are reproduced in his edition of Gregory the Great's letters in



the *Corpus Christianorum*. These passages were cited by Norberg in support of the view that *attractio inuversa* continues to be a living construction in the last stages of ancient Latinity (I bypass examples later than ca. 600).

However, on closer inspection the majority of these very late examples appear to be something else than the old type of *attractio inuversa*. They do not appear at the start of sentences expressing the relevant topic. Instead, they introduce coordinate or subordinate clauses and express, as it were, subtopics of longer sentences:

- (60) Greg. M. *Epist.* 1.34 quod si ita est, uolumus, tua fraternitas ab huiusmodi se querela suspendat et locum, quem sicut praediximus cum tua conscientia quo congregentur adepti sunt, eos sicut mos fuit ibidem liceat conuenire
- (61) Greg. M. *Epist.* 12.15 ideoque fraternitatem uestram praesenti auctoritate duximus adhortandam quatenus uirum quem uobis de congregatione sua ad ordinem presbyterii obtulerit consecrandum, de eo, sicut est consuetudinis, quaeque sunt discutienda, suptiliter perquiratis
- (62) Greg. Tur. *Glor. mart.* 66 sed nec in hoc defuit miraculum, cum inmensum lapidem quem a multa bouum paria mouere uix poterant, a duobus tantum delatus est bubus

Further examples are at Greg. M. *Epist.* 4.16, Greg. M. *Epist.* 9.33 and Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 4.2 (S. 142.18). Such constructions do not to my knowledge appear in the earlier period. However, the nominative does appear in a similar construction in Augustine:

- (63) Aug. *Serm.* 152.5 admodum enim legitime factum est ut homo qui noluit obedire Domino suo, non ei seruiret caro ipsius

The construction visible in (60)–(62) should be identified as a type of its own and not grouped together with the earlier type of *attractio inuversa*.

## 8. Conclusion

We have seen that left-detached constructions were used in Latin of all periods. The nominative left-dislocation makes a steady appearance during the centuries, and, provided that the material discussed here is representative, does so in more or less the same form. It introduces topics which are then usually picked up by a resumptive pronoun in the following clause. Constructions without an attached relative clause seemingly become more frequent after the early period but this may be an illusion caused by the nature of the evidence. We have seen that left-dislocations often take genre-specific forms. In philosophical dialogue detached elements co-occur with parentheticals, in medical texts they express the

ingredient of the remedy being described and in the *itineraria* we find several cases of left-dislocations (both nominatives and accusatives) occurring before *quem uides* in quoted direct speech. The construction seems to occur more often in certain genres (dialogue, technical writing, spoken delivery), but is by no means restricted to these, as shown by examples in Cicero and other artistic or classicising (even Christian) prose. Locating the construction exclusively in spoken language, or in a low stylistic level, is not possible in view of this evidence. In the case of left-dislocations (at least those in the nominative), we cannot therefore speak of a submerged continuity on the spoken level.

The extent and poorer documentation of the late evidence make it difficult to estimate how the decline in the use of left-dislocations in the agricultural genre as shown by Probert and Dickey (this volume) is related to my observations here (where of course no full coverage of any genre was attempted).

*Attractio inuversa* (if we count only the accusatives as I have done here), on the other hand, was used only sporadically. Its association with spoken and informal written registers is much stronger than that of the nominative dislocations. This view has been corroborated in the preceding discussion. However, it is impossible to decide on the submerged continuity of the construction because the number of examples from all periods is so small. The very late examples are of a different type and should not be used to support the view that the *attractio inuversa* enjoyed a revival in the sixth century.

I wish to raise the more general question of what the status of left-dislocations is in the syntactic system of Latin and the implications of this aspect for the question of continuity and innovation. Left-dislocations are on the borderline between syntax and discourse. They do not belong to those core elements of syntax that are usually inherited from one language form to the next. Given the universal nature of this construction and the fact that it is never very frequent in Latin, it seems that the early, classical and late examples are to some degree independent, in the sense that they are not an integral part of the inherited syntactic system. However, the answer may be different in the case of the relative-correlative sentences (including the ambiguous ones), if they count as left-dislocations.

Related to this, Bortolussi and Sznajder (2014) reach the conclusion that, although Latin and old French left-detached constructions share certain features, a direct route of continuity is in most cases difficult to pinpoint due to essential differences in the relevant constructions. This can

be easily accounted for if we assume that left-dislocations belong less to syntax and more to the domain of discourse or style. The early Romance languages, with their distinctive morphological and syntactic devices, developed their own way of using left-dislocations.

Left-detached constructions are typical of the spoken registers of languages because they offer an easy way for topic identification and subsequent reference. Languages seem to vary in the degree to which such constructions are allowed in the standard or formal styles. In Latin, too, the appearance of such constructions is a matter of finding a balance between the message and its form. In certain cases even a stylistic purist may have intentionally preferred such a construction.

## *Six notes on Latin correlatives*

*Philomen Probert and Eleanor Dickey*

### Introduction

In this chapter we raise several interrelated questions and make some observations concerning the Latin ‘relative-correlative’ construction, exemplified in sentence (1):

- (1) quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum uoce uolnero (Cicero, *Catil.* 1. 9)  
 ‘(Those) who ought to have been put to death by the sword, them I am not (even) wounding with my voice yet.’

Our central concern will be the chronological distribution of the construction. It has often been noted that relative-correlative sentences are most plentiful in early Latin texts and appear to decline in frequency thereafter: they are less common but still clearly present in classical texts<sup>1</sup> and then distinctly rare after the classical period, in both high-register and low-register texts.<sup>2</sup> This is a curious chronological distribution. Did the construction decline sharply after the classical period because it counted as substandard or because it became too difficult to produce? Neither explanation makes obvious sense: it is difficult to see how a construction used by Cicero in his speeches could have come to count as substandard, yet it is also difficult to see how a high-register construction could have fallen out of use even among highly classicising late writers.

The explanation for the overall decline of the construction has most often been seen in the widespread but by no means universal idea that

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<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Bertelsmann (1885: 7, 55); Kroll (1910: 7–8; 1933: 11–12); Durante (1981: 60); Calboli (1987: 143); Lehmann (1979: 14–15). It is sometimes claimed that the construction has all but vanished by the classical period already (e.g. Murelli 2011: 263), but it has also been noted that the construction is hardly rare in Cicero (e.g. Kroll 1910: 8 n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> For clear statements of this point see Fruyt (2005: 34); Pompei (2011c: 535).

Proto-Indo-European relative clauses were exclusively of the relative-correlative type.<sup>3</sup> In an influential development of this view, Kiparsky (1995) argues that Proto-Indo-European lacked a structural slot in which to embed a finite subordinate clause as a constituent of the main clause. Instead, a finite subordinate clause was tacked on (or more technically ‘adjoined’) to the beginning or sometimes the end of the main clause. In Latin finite subordinate clauses can be embedded in their main clauses, even at the beginning of our attestation, but the frequency of correlative clauses in early Latin would remain as a relic of the Indo-European situation, gradually to fade out over the history of the language (see Kiparsky 1995: 155). An alternative line of explanation has been developed by Fruyt, according to whom the main factor was an overall shift in the preferred ordering of constituents in Latin, with a preference for the order ‘déterminé – déterminant’ making itself felt increasingly strongly over the history of the language (Fruyt 2005: 35).<sup>4</sup> Both lines of explanation would suggest that the construction eventually became difficult to produce. But given its visibility in ‘good’ classical authors, it would remain unclear why even highly educated and classicising authors so rarely imitated the construction at a late period.

Furthermore, like Fruyt we do not take the usual Indo-European explanation to be self-evidently sufficient, and one of us has argued elsewhere against the idea that all relative clauses in Proto-Indo-European were of the correlative type.<sup>5</sup> We therefore think it worth asking once again quite why the relative-correlative construction declined in Latin. In order to do so, it will be worth raising a question about the synchronic structure of the construction (Note 1) and providing some evidence that this construction does indeed have the chronological distribution just outlined (Note 2). Notes 3–6 more directly address the reasons for the observed decline in frequency. We shall leave to one side legal texts, in which our construction is known to continue as a feature of the genre.<sup>6</sup>

In order not to prejudice discussion of constructions that may be very closely related, we deliberately adopt a narrow working definition of the relative-correlative construction itself: we take this to comprise first a relative clause and then a syntactically complete matrix clause (the main clause or other clause to which the relative clause counts as subordinate),

<sup>3</sup> For some discussion of this view, with bibliography, see Probert (2014: 146; 2015: 53–4).

<sup>4</sup> Fruyt argues that the gradual loss of *is*, *ea*, *id* is a factor too, but she observes that since other items replace *is*, *ea*, *id* as a basic anaphoric pronoun, this explanation is unlikely to be sufficient by itself.

<sup>5</sup> See Probert (2014: 151–9; 2015: esp. 444–8).

<sup>6</sup> See Powell (2005: 130).

the latter containing an overt demonstrative pronoun or full noun phrase ‘picking up’ the relative clause. We therefore restrict the term ‘relative-correlative construction’ to sentences with an overt correlative expression; we do not use it for sentences in which there is the possibility of a non-overt correlative.<sup>7</sup> In addition we restrict the term to sentences with a relative clause rather than some other subordinate clause type.<sup>8</sup> Thus although an adverbial subordinator may be picked up by an adverbial demonstrative in a correlative pattern (e.g. *quotiens ... totiens*), such sentences fall outside our definition of the ‘relative-correlative construction’. We also do not use the term for sentences in which the subordinate clause is introduced by *si*, *si quis* (although arguably the latter sometimes functions as a relative pronoun), *sicubi*, *quod* ‘because’, or *ut(i)* ‘as’, sentences in which both subordinator and correlative item convey an amount (*quantus ... tantus* or *quot ... tot*), and those in which the subordinate clause is an indirect question (e.g. *uicini quo pacto niteant, id animum aduertito* ‘How the neighbours prosper – pay attention to that’, Cato, *Agr.* 1. 2).<sup>9</sup> In some instances, however, a typical relative clause is picked up by an adverbial correlate (*qui ager longe a mari aberit, ibi uinum graecum sic facito* ‘(In) the field that will be far from the sea, there make Greek wine as follows’, Cato *Agr.* 105. 1), or conversely a subordinate clause taking the form of an adverbial clause is picked up by a nominal correlate (*ubi ager crassus et laetus est sine arboribus, eum agrum frumentarium esse oportet* ‘Where a field is rich and fertile without trees, that field should be for grain’, Cato *Agr.* 6. 1). We treat sentences of these types as coming under our working definition of ‘relative-correlative sentence’: in the first the relative clause itself has the usual ‘relative’ form, and in the second the nominal correlative item suggests that the preceding subordinate clause is given an interpretation as a noun phrase, like a relative clause in this position.

<sup>7</sup> That is to say, we do not address the analysis of sentences such as the following: *quae opus sint locato, locentur* (Cato *Agr.* 2. 6). Here the main clause either has the relative clause as its subject – ‘(See to it that) what should be contracted out is contracted out’ – or contains a non-overt correlative pronoun ‘picking up’ the relative clause: ‘(See to it that) what should be contracted out, that is contracted out’. Only on the latter analysis is the sentence syntactically a relative-correlative sentence. On this problem cf. Pompei (2011c: 455–6, 459).

<sup>8</sup> For present purposes we rely here on the informal (and ultimately circular) notion that a Latin relative clause is a subordinate clause with a ‘relative pronoun’ as its subordinator (cf. Pompei 2011c: 428; Touratier 2011: 5–6). For discussion of the definition of ‘relative clause’ see e.g. Pompei (2011c: 428–9); Crespo (2011); Touratier (2011); Probert (2015: 55–75).

<sup>9</sup> In sentences such as *qui oleam legerint, omnes iuranto* (Cato, *Agr.* 144. 2) we do not count the word for ‘all’ or ‘every’ as a correlative expression, because this word might well modify the relative clause rather than resuming it. In other words, our example might well have the structure ‘let (those) who gather olives all swear’, rather than ‘(those) who gather olives, let them all swear’.

We also allow that certain sentences, owing to a syntactic ambiguity, may or may not come under our definition of ‘relative-correlative sentence’. Examples include sentences (2) and (3):

- (2) terra quae uitibus apta est eadem quoque utilis est arboribus. ([Columella] *Liber de arboribus* 18.2)  
 ‘Land which is suitable for vines, the same is also usable for trees.’
- (3) uitis quae in arbore conlocatur, prima eius materia ad secundam uel tertiam gemmam praecidatur. (Palladius *Op. Agr.* 3.13.1)  
 ‘A vine that is attached to a tree, its first wood should be pruned to the second or third bud.’

The ambiguity here concerns whether the nouns *terra* and *uitis* belong to the relative clauses or not.<sup>10</sup> If these nouns are external to the relative clauses then we have sentences similar to (5) or (6), to be discussed in the next section. In that case the demonstratives *eadem* and *eius* pick up not just a relative clause, but the noun *terra* or *uitis* together with the relative clause that modifies this noun. (Since *uitis* in (3) is in a different case from the demonstrative *eius*, on this analysis *uitis* would also be either a ‘hanging nominative’ or an instance of *attractio inversa*: see further our next section.) If so the sentences would fall outside our narrow definition of ‘relative-correlative sentence’. Alternatively, however, one or both structures may be of the type quae terra uitibus apta est, eadem quoque utilis est arboribus, or quae uitis in arbore conlocatur, prima eius materia ad secundam uel tertiam gemmam praecidatur (with *terra* and *uitis* as relative-clause-internal nouns, forming a constituent with the relative pronoun), apart from a difference of word order and presumably some concomitant difference in emphasis or information structure (cf. Pompei 2011c: 472).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> For this type of problem (especially in relation to sentences of type (3), in which the relevant noun is not in the same case as the demonstrative pronoun in the matrix clause), see Touratier (1980: 150–6); Pompei (2011c: 470–2); Halla-aho (this volume, section 2). For the idea that some sentences of type (2) were reanalysed during the history of Latin, see Pompei (2011c: 523). Somewhat similarly, Halla-aho (this volume, section 2) suggests that examples in late texts should be taken to involve nouns external to the relative clauses.

<sup>11</sup> For sentences (5), (6), and (7), to be discussed below, this type of analysis is not possible: in (5) because *columellam ferream* is in a different case from the relative pronoun and in (6) because *amicum* is accompanied by the demonstrative *hunc*, which could not appear in a construction of the type *quem amicum speraueram mi esse* (see Lindskog 1896: 51; Touratier 1980: 152–6; Pompei 2011c: 471; Halla-aho, this volume, section 2). (In other words, we do not find clauses of the type \**quem amicum hunc speraueram mi esse* for ‘this friend whom I’d hoped I had’; on occasional apparent exceptions see Touratier 1980: 153–6.) In (7) the relative clause is non-restrictive, and again we do not find counterparts of the type \**quae Thebae ante cataclysmum Ogygi conditae dicuntur* with a non-restrictive meaning (i.e. ‘Thebes, which is said to have been founded before Ogygus’ flood’); see Halla-aho, this volume, section 2.

When giving figures for the incidence of relative-correlative sentences in particular works or text samples, we shall give a separate count for sentences of type (2)–(3), in order to avoid over-reporting our construction by simply including sentences of this type, or under-reporting it by simply excluding these.<sup>12</sup>

### Note one: a family of related constructions?

The title of our chapter acknowledges a debt to Cinque's 'Five notes on correlatives' (Cinque 2009). Cinque argues that, no matter what the language, the relative clauses of relative-correlative sentences do not constitute an independent relative clause construction. Instead, he argues, they consist of a relative clause of some otherwise existing kind in a 'left-dislocated' syntactic position – that is to say, in the type of syntactic position where (4) has the ordinary noun phrase *amicos domini*:

- (4) *amicos domini, eos habeat sibi amicos.* (Cato Agr. 5. 3)

'As for the master's friends', he should treat them as his own friends.'

On Cinque's view, then, relative-correlative sentences such as (1) are identical in structure to (4), except that instead of an ordinary noun phrase they begin with a relative clause functioning as a noun phrase. In this first note we explore the possibility that Cinque's view holds at least for Latin,<sup>13</sup> and some consequences that follow if this is so.

In a minor variant of the construction seen in (4), a left-dislocated noun phrase is restrictively or non-restrictively modified by a relative clause (to which the noun phrase does not itself belong), as in (5)–(7). In (5) and (7) the left-dislocated noun phrase stands in the same case as the demonstrative pronoun that picks it up, whereas in (6) we may speak either of a 'hanging accusative' or of *attractio inversa*.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Under the designation 'ambiguous' we include examples such as Cato's *arboribus ab terra pulli qui nati erunt, eos in terram deprimito, extollito, uti radicem capere possint* ('The sprouts that will have grown from trees at ground level, press them into the ground (and) raise (them) up, so that they can take root', Cato Agr. 133. 1), although the placement of *arboribus ab terra* (i.e. additional material belonging to the relative clause) here suggests, but does not absolutely prove, that *pulli* is best taken as internal to the relative clause. For this point see Touratier (1980: 152); Pompei (2011c: 470).

<sup>13</sup> We learn from Oleg Belyaev that Ossetic may provide a counterexample to Cinque's view as a generalisation across languages, since relative-correlative sentences are very common but the type of relative clause that appears in this context (with a *wh*-pronoun) does not also occur in other syntactic positions.

<sup>14</sup> On the distinction between 'hanging' cases and *attractio inversa*, see Halla-aho, this volume, section 2. Our example (6) is also Halla-aho's example (48); her analysis in terms of *attractio inversa* holds that *amicum hunc* is in the accusative under the influence of the following relative pronoun.



- (5) columellam ferream, quae in miliario stat, eam rectam stare oportet in medio ad perpendicularum (Cato *Agr.* 20. 1)  
 ‘The iron pivot which stands on the pillar, it must stand straight upright in the middle.’
- (6) amicum hunc quem speraueram mi esse, ab eo mihi accusatores subiecti et iudicia instaurata (curse on stone from the tomb of Vesonius Phileros at Pompeii, *Année Epigraphique* 1964, no. 160, lines 3–5; cf. Väänänen 1981: 160)  
 ‘This friend whom I’d hoped I had, by him accusers have been brought forward against me and a lawsuit started’
- (7) Thebae, quae ante cataclysmum Ogygi conditae dicuntur, eae tamen circiter duo milia annorum et centum sunt. (Varro *R.* 3. 1. 3)  
 ‘But Thebes, which is said to have been founded before Ogygus’ flood, it is about two thousand one hundred years old.’

Sentences such as (6) have attracted attention in the context of broader discussions of ‘hanging’ cases and/or *attractio inversa*; these have often been found to be associated with informal language, from at least the classical period onwards.<sup>15</sup> Our main concern here is a different one, in which the similarity between (5)–(7) as left-dislocated structures is more important than the presence versus absence of a ‘hanging’ case or *attractio inversa*. If Cinque’s view of relative-correlative sentences is right, at least for Latin, then like sentence (4), sentences such as (5)–(7) have a very similar structure to that of relative-correlative sentences. Cinque (2009: 5) in fact sees an element of support for the non-independence of correlative relative clauses as coming from the occasional occurrence of sentences such as (5) or (6) in Hindi, as alternatives to Hindi relative-correlative sentences. For Cinque this confirms a prediction of his hypothesis that relative-correlative sentences are simply left-dislocation constructions. Put in terms of Latin, if Cinque is right then a simple noun phrase like *amicos domini* in (4) should indeed be substitutable not only by relative clauses that themselves play the role of noun phrases (free relative clauses) but also by other noun phrases, including ones with restrictive or non-restrictive relative clauses depending on them.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See e.g. Bach (1888: 4, 19, 34–5); Havers (1926: 225–6); Väänänen (1981: 160); cf. Lindskog (1896: 53–6). For a nuanced discussion distinguishing between ‘hanging nominatives’ and accusatives ‘by *attractio inversa*’, see Halla-aho, this volume.

<sup>16</sup> Sentences such as (7), with a non-restrictive relative clause, are also mentioned by Cinque (2009: 15) with an example from Bangla (his example (21)), but in the context of a somewhat different point.

If all this is correct for Latin, one might expect some connection between an author's willingness to use a correlative construction and his willingness to use left-dislocation more generally. In Note 5 we present the results of a study of Roman agricultural writers, suggesting that at least for these writers this prediction is borne out.

But an additional observation is in order at this point. Since a relative clause by itself is not case-marked in Latin – the clause itself is not marked as e.g. nominative or accusative – it is not clear that relative-correlative sentences such as (1) should be more closely allied to other left-dislocated structures without hanging cases (or *attractio inversa*) than to those with them. The curse on stone from Pompeii that yields sentence (6) in fact has a relative-correlative sentence too, suggesting that a relative-correlative sentence is not out of place in a context where we find a left-dislocated structure with a hanging case:

- (8) qui nostrum mentitur, eum nec di penates nec inferi recipiant (curse on stone from the tomb of Vesonius Phileros at Pompeii, *Année Epigraphique* 1964, no. 160, lines 7–8; cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 50)  
 'Whichever of us is lying', may neither the household gods nor the under-world gods receive him.'

This does not mean that relative-correlative sentences counted as colloquial, at any period. But it suggests that when this inscription was written they did not count as exclusively high register. In Note 3 we present some further items of evidence to suggest that in post-classical Latin the relative-correlative construction continued to be usable in informal writing and speech, and not only in formal writing.

### Note two: the chronological distribution

Since Bertelsmann's careful study (1885) or even earlier, it has been traditional to regard the frequency of our construction as a matter of its frequency relative to other relative clause constructions. This approach takes it as more or less obvious that the decline of the relative-correlative construction was linked to the rise of other relative clause constructions.<sup>17</sup> Yet relative-correlative sentences would also decline in frequency compared to other relativisation strategies if relative-correlative sentences were ousted for example by conditional sentences with *si* (cf. Iordache 1994), by

<sup>17</sup> For this idea in recent work see e.g. Lehmann (1979: 14–15); Pompei (2011c: 519, 529, 532); Hendery (2012: 183–4).

sentences with *si quis*, or by sentences with a circumstantial participle. In Note 4 we will suggest that other constructions involving relative clauses are far from being the only competitors of relative-correlative sentences. In order to avoid prejudicing questions about which other constructions play a significant role in the decline of our construction, the frequency of our construction should be evaluated in the first instance in terms of its absolute occurrence per so many words, rather than its occurrence in relation to any other particular construction.

It is notoriously difficult to compile a corpus of Latin texts in which the effects of chronology can be clearly distinguished from those of other factors such as genre. In order to gain an initial impression of the long-term fortunes of our construction we have counted its incidence in two different corpora, with very different advantages and disadvantages. The first comprises the passages in Russell's *Anthology of Latin Prose* (Russell 1990). This is a small sample of texts but they span a considerable chronological and generic range, and since the passages were not selected by us they circumvent the possibility of unconscious bias on our part. The second corpus consists of four texts with similar subject matter, although inevitably also different authors with their own stylistic preferences: the agricultural treatises of Cato (second century BC), Varro (first century BC), Columella (first century AD), and Palladius (fifth century AD, excluding book XIV).

Table 1 shows the results of counting the occurrences of our construction per 25 pages in Russell's anthology, in which passages are ordered more or less chronologically. The 25-page chunks fairly consistently contain *ca* 3,500 words of Latin text each. An ambiguous example of the type shown in (2)–(3) (there is only one in this sample of texts) is included within curly brackets. When giving numbers of occurrences we treat contrasting pairs of relative-correlative sentences, as in (24) below, as one example each, since they hardly constitute independent occurrences of our construction.

As the table shows, Russell's anthology does not reveal a high instance of our construction in early Latin compared to the classical period, but this result cannot be considered significant since the sample of early Latin texts in the anthology is very small. What emerges very strikingly, however, is the drop in our construction after the classical period. The anthologised passages include 31 clear examples of our construction plus one of the ambiguous type shown in (2)–(3), and the distribution of these sentences through the anthology is far from even. The main part of the book (the anthology itself) consists of 241 pages, and 27 of our 31 (or 32) examples occur before the mid-point at page 121.

Table 1. *Relative-correlative sentences in Russell 1990 (horizontal lines mark every 25 pages)*

Page range in Russell 1990	No. of examples	Reference and date or approximate date	Page of Russell with the particular example
1–25	4	Cato <i>Agr.</i> 1.4 (ca.160 BC) <sup>a</sup>	3
		Cicero <i>S. Rosc.</i> 70 (80 BC)	16
		Cicero <i>Ver.</i> 5.98 (70 BC)	18
		Cicero <i>Mur.</i> 61 (63 BC)	21
26–50	7	Cicero <i>Fam.</i> 5.12.3 (55 BC)	36
		Cicero <i>De Orat.</i> 1.236 (55 BC) (contrasting pair)	42
		Cicero <i>De Orat.</i> 1.237–8 (55 BC) (another contrasting pair)	42
		Cicero <i>Rep.</i> 6.28 (54 BC) <sup>b</sup>	48
		Cicero <i>Leg.</i> 1.2 (52 BC) <sup>c</sup>	49
		Servius Sulpicius in Cicero <i>Fam.</i> 4.5.1 (45 BC)	38
		Servius Sulpicius in Cicero <i>Fam.</i> 4.5.5 (45 BC)	40
51–75	6	Caesar <i>Gal.</i> 1.42.1 (mid 1st cent. BC)	61
		Caesar <i>Gal.</i> 1.43.8 (mid 1st cent. BC)	62
		Caesar <i>Gal.</i> 6.13.7 (mid 1st cent. BC)	69
		Cicero <i>ND</i> 2.151 (45 BC)	52
		Cicero <i>Tusc.</i> 1.72 (45–44 BC) (contrasting pair)	54
		Sallust <i>Cat.</i> 10.2 (2nd half of 1st cent. BC)	73
76–100	7	Sallust <i>Jug.</i> 85.11 (2nd half of 1st cent. BC; speech set 107 BC)	77
		Sallust <i>Jug.</i> 85.13 (2nd half of 1st cent. BC; speech set 107 BC)	78
		Sallust <i>Jug.</i> 85.13 (2nd half of 1st cent. BC; speech set 107 BC)	78
		Sallust <i>Jug.</i> 85.25 (2nd half of 1st cent. BC; speech set 107 BC)	78
		Varro <i>R.</i> 2 praef. 4 (ca 36 BC)	83
		Letter of Augustus in Gellius 15.7.3 (late 1st cent. BC)	90
		Livy 5.41.2 (2nd half of 1st cent. BC)	95
101–125	3	Velleius Paterculus 2.124.1 (1st half of 1st cent. AD)	112
		Celsus 1.2 (1st half of 1st cent. AD)	113
		Celsus 1.2 (1st half of 1st cent. AD)	113
126–150	1	Petronius 112 (early 2nd half of 1st cent. AD)	141
151–175	0		

Page range in Russell 1990	No. of examples	Reference and date or approximate date	Page of Russell with the particular example
176–200	2	Pliny, <i>Pan.</i> 15.5 (AD 100) (For text see example (14).) Apuleius, <i>Apol.</i> 63 (ca AD 155) (For text see example (15).) <sup>d</sup>	182 194
201–225	0		
226–241	1 + {1}	Vulgate, Acts 17.23 (4th cent. AD) <sup>e</sup> {Vulgate, Acts 17.24} (4th cent. AD) <sup>f</sup>	235 235

<sup>a</sup> *qui in his agris praedia uendiderint, eos pigeat uendidisse*. Russell's reading *eos* is Gronow's emendation for *quos*. We find this a plausible emendation but we shall not count the sentence in our complete collection of examples from Cato's *De agricultura* further on, as we base this collection on the 1982 Teubner edition of Mazzarino, who prints *quos*.

<sup>b</sup> *quod autem est animal, id motu cietur interiore et suo*. Cicero is here loosely translating Plato's ὃ δὲ ἐνδοθεν αὐτῷ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἐμψυχον 'But what has it (i.e. motion) within itself and from itself is endowed with life' (*Phaedrus* 245e), but neither the syntax nor the thought is a close imitation.

<sup>c</sup> *quam Homericus Ulixes Deli se proceram et teneram palmam uidisse dixit, hodie monstrant eandem*. This example is uncertain because *quam* is Turnebus's conjecture for *quod*, and because *eandem* may be predicative (i.e. 'today they point it out the same one as it was').

<sup>d</sup> Arguably one should recognise a contrasting pair of examples here, but we take *ipse* as a secondary predicate rather than an anaphoric item here (i.e. we take the sense to be 'and he who thinks this a spectre, he is bespelled himself' rather than 'and he who thinks this a spectre, he himself is bespelled').

<sup>e</sup> *quod ergo ignorantes colitis, hoc ego annuntio uobis*. This example translates a similar structure in the Greek: ὁ οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε, τοῦτο ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν.

<sup>f</sup> *Deus, qui fecit mundum et omnia quae in eo sunt, hic caeli et terrae cum sit Dominus, non in manufactis templis inhabitat*. This example translates a left-dislocated structure (with a participial relative clause modifying the left-dislocated noun) in the Greek: ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗτος οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπάρχων κύριος οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ.

Tables 2a and 2b show the number of examples in each of our four agricultural treatises, along with the frequencies per 3,500 words (the figure of 3,500 being chosen for ease of comparison with Table 1).<sup>18</sup> Table 2a includes ambiguous examples of the type shown in (2)–(3), while Table 2b does not.

<sup>18</sup> Statistics and quotations are based on the following editions: Mazzarino (1982) for Cato, Heurgon and Guiraud (1978–97) for Varro, Rodgers (2010) for Columella and Rodgers (1975a) for Palladius. Frequencies per 3,500 words are based on the word counts of the Brepols Library of Latin Texts for the four treatises: Cato's *De agricultura* 16,026 words; Varro's *Res rusticae* 35,692 words; Columella's *Res rustica* 109,177 words; Palladius' *Opus agriculturae* 42,159 words.

Table 2a. *Relative-correlative sentences in the agricultural treatises of Cato, Varro, Columella and Palladius (ambiguous examples of type (2)–(3) included)*

	Cato, <i>Agr.</i> (2nd cent. BC)	Varro, <i>R.</i> (1st cent. BC)	Columella (1st cent. AD)	Palladius (5th cent. AD)	Total
Number of examples	25	38	16	2	81
Examples per 3,500 words	5.5	3.7	0.51	0.17	

Table 2b. *Relative-correlative sentences in the agricultural treatises of Cato, Varro, Columella and Palladius (unambiguous examples only)*

	Cato <i>Agr.</i> (2nd cent. BC)	Varro <i>R.</i> (1st cent. BC)	Columella (1st cent. AD)	Palladius (5th cent. AD)	Total
Number of unambiguous examples	22	36	14	0	72
Unambiguous examples per 3,500 words	4.8	3.5	0.45	0	

As both tables show, our construction is commonest in Cato, less common in Varro but not at all dramatically so, and then falls off sharply after the classical period. This time, then, we do see a drop between early Latin and the classical period (even if for these texts this drop is not as sharp as sometimes assumed), and once again we see a very sharp falling off after the classical period.

Palladius has no unambiguous examples of the construction at all. This fact need not be significant: Palladius’ treatise is considerably shorter than Columella’s, and in Columella too there are long stretches in which we do not find our construction at all (e.g. the whole of books 1–2). What is clearly significant is that both Columella and Palladius use our construction extremely infrequently. Their having this point in common is all the more striking given that Columella employs a highly elegant style while Palladius explicitly aims to write much more straightforwardly and accessibly (see Palladius *Op. Agr.* 1. 1. 1; [Martin 1976](#): xli–xlix). To this end, even when Palladius borrows content and wording from Columella, as he often

does (see the apparatus of parallel passages in [Rodgers 1975a](#)), he almost invariably alters the sentence construction. Why should our construction be so rare in both of these authors, without regard to the stylistic difference between them and in spite of its abundance in earlier examples of the genre? Before returning to these authors we consider some evidence for the stylistic level – or levels – with which the construction is associated when we do find it at a late period.

**Note three: did the construction count as low or high at a late period?**

Although our construction appears to be very infrequent at a late period, it is occasionally combined with non-classical features that suggest its continued availability at lower levels of Latinity.

In example (9) we find *ipsa* as a correlative pronoun, as well as non-standard *manduco* for ‘eat’; *ipse*, *ipsa*, *ipsum* here appears to function as a simple anaphoric pronoun replacing classical *is*, *ea*, *id*, rather than having one of its stronger classical meanings. At most we have the meaning ‘those and no others’ (cf. [Adams 2013](#): 493), but the continuation *quibus autem uel utrumque uel unum horum defuerit*, with adversative *autem*, rather suggests that what precedes has been a straightforward statement of the positive side of the opposition, i.e. the animals that Jews may eat: ‘*a* and *b* they may eat, but *c* and *d* they may not eat’. Although anaphoric uses of *ipse* are found already in classical Latin (see *TLL* s.v. *ipse* 300.43ff.), semantically fairly weak uses are particularly common in late texts (cf. [Adams 2013](#): 489).

- (9) ueluti quod scriptum est eis, ut quae sunt ruminantia et fissa ungula, ipsa manducant; quibus autem uel utrumque uel unum horum defuerit, non manducant (Augustine *Sermo* 149, *PL* 38. 801. 30; fourth/fifth cent. AD)  
 ‘Just as it is written for them that the (animals) which are ruminants and have a cloven hoof, those they may eat; but those lacking both or one of these features they may not eat’

Is Augustine giving his own paraphrase of Leviticus 11.3 or Deuteronomy 14.6 here, or is he quoting from a pre-existing version?<sup>19</sup> It is difficult to

<sup>19</sup> The Brepols Vetus Latina database includes this passage of Augustine among potential Vetus Latina fragments of Lev. 11.3, but it is not verbally close to any of the other Vetus Latina fragments of this verse, and it is the only one with a form of *ipse* as a correlative pronoun. The Greek text here has a left-dislocation construction in which the left-dislocated noun is modified by participles: πάντες κτήνη διχηλοῦν ὀπλήν καὶ ὀνυχιστῆρας ὀνυχίζον δύο χηλῶν καὶ ἀνάγον μηρυκισμὸν ἐν τοῖς κτήνεσιν, ταῦτα φάγεσθε (Septuagint, Lev. 11.3 = Deut. 14.6).

know but, either way, the relative-correlative construction here combines with features of a not very classicising style.

In examples (10) and (11) we have correlative constructions in what purports to be a record of the oral proceedings at the Council of Carthage held in AD 256. In both instances the correlative pronoun is again a form of *ipse*; in (11) one may recognise a classical nuance ('they are themselves the ones who ...') but in (10) it is difficult to see *ipse* as anything other than an equivalent of classical *is*. In addition, both examples have non-standard *quia* introducing indirect speech:

- (10) AHYMMVS AB AVSVAGGA DIXIT: nos unum baptismum accepimus et ipsum exercemus. qui autem dicit quia haereticis licet baptizare, ipse duos baptismos facit. (*Sententiae episcoporum numero LXXXVII de haereticis baptizandis* 50, in [Diercks 2004](#))  
'Ahyrnus from Ausvaga said, "We have received one baptism and we practice that. But (he) who says that heretics are permitted to baptise, he makes two baptisms."
- (11) DEMETRIVS A LEPTIMINVS DIXIT: Vnum baptisma nos custodimus, qui ecclesiae soli rem suam uindicamus. qui autem dicunt quia haeretici uere et legitime baptizant, ipsi sunt qui non duo, sed multa baptismata faciunt. (*Sententiae episcoporum numero LXXXVII de haereticis baptizandis* 36, in [Diercks 2004](#))  
'Demetrius from Leptiminus said, "We guard one baptism, who claim for the one church its own property. But those who say that heretics truly and legitimately baptise, they are the ones who make not (merely) two, but many baptisms."

In examples (12)–(13) we have relative-correlative sentences in a translated text in a simple style.<sup>20</sup> They are not straightforwardly motivated by the Greek (at least as transmitted), as this does not have relative-correlative sentences here:

- (12) et qui non expectant bona futura, uagantur animae illorum. (*Pastor Hermae, versio vulgata, visio 1, 1. 8–9* in [Tornau and Cecconi 2014](#); μετανοήσουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ αὐτῶν, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐλπίδα in [Whittaker 1967](#))  
'And those who do not await good things to come, their souls are unsettled.'
- (13) qui uero de profundo trahuntur et imponuntur in structuram, et conueniunt commissurae eorum cum ceteris lapidibus, qui iam aedificati sunt, hi sunt

<sup>20</sup> The *versio vulgata* was produced around AD 200: see Tornau and Cecconi (2014: 10).



qui iam dormierunt et passi sunt causa nominis domini. (*Pastor Hermae*, versio vulgata, visio 3, 5. 2 in [Tornau and Cecconi 2014](#); οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἐλκόμενοι καὶ ἐπιτιθέμενοι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν καὶ συμφωνοῦντες ταῖς ἀρμογαῖς αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν ἐτέρων λίθων τῶν ἤδη ὠκοδομημένων, τίνες εἰσίν; οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ παθόντες ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου in [Whittaker 1967](#))

‘But those which are dragged up from deep down and placed onto the structure, and their junctures fit with the other stones which have already been assembled, these are they who have already fallen asleep [i.e. died] and have suffered in the name of the Lord.’

It would be wrong, however, to think that relative-correlative constructions were in themselves a sign of informality, since they are also found in high-style contexts. For example, in Russell’s anthology the few examples from *ca* AD 100 or later include two from distinctly high-style passages:<sup>21</sup>

- (14) uerum haec olim; in praesentia quidem, quisquis paulo uetustior miles, hic te commilitone censetur. (Pliny, *Pan.* 15. 5)  
 ‘These things belong to the future. But for now, whatever soldier is a little older, he gets credit from having you as a fellow soldier.’
- (15) hunc qui sceletum audet dicere, profecto ille simulacra deorum nulla uidet aut omnia neglegit; hunc denique qui laruam putat, ipse est laruatus. (Apuleius, *Apol.* 63)  
 ‘He who dares to call this a skeleton, he evidently either sees no images of the gods or neglects them all. And he who thinks this a spectre, he is bespectred himself.’

One might add examples from Christian writers whose Latin was highly classicising. We cite (16)–(18) more or less at random:

- (16) qui enim credit, is ad scientiam uenit. (Marius Victorinus *Ad Ephesios I*, PL 8.1269 C; fourth cent. AD)  
 ‘For he who believes, he arrives at knowledge.’
- (17) nam qui omnia prudenter agit et ita, ut uult, is solus est liber. (St Ambrose, *De Jacob et vita beata* 2.3.12 in [Schenkl 1897](#); fourth cent. AD)  
 ‘For he who does all things wisely and in the way that he wants, he alone is free.’

<sup>21</sup> Compare Russell’s comments on the two passages: ‘This extract ... exemplifies formal epideictic writing in a sophisticated updating of the Ciceronian manner’ ([Russell 1990](#): 181, on the extract from Pliny’s *Panegyricus*); ‘The extravagant style (like much Greek of the period) draws heavily on early literature’ ([Russell 1990](#): 193, on the extract from Apuleius’ *Apology*).

- (18) quibus autem exigitur uiolenter, perseuerare in eis non potest (Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae* 2.2.4 in [Cazier 1998](#); seventh cent. AD)  
 ‘Those from whom it (i.e. faith) is exacted by force, in them it cannot persist.’

Occurrences of the relative-correlative construction in late texts suggest, then, that the construction is compatible with both ends of the stylistic spectrum. Yet at neither end is the construction very common. Note 4 will argue against one line of explanation for this, while Notes 5 and 6 contribute some more positive suggestions.

#### Note four: competitors of the construction in agricultural treatises

In order to see why the relative-correlative construction declines we ought to consider the uses to which the construction is actually put, and which other constructions compete with it in the same uses. In this note we consider the main use of the construction that we find in our agricultural treatises.

The relative clauses of relative-correlative sentences belong to the category of *maximalising* relative clauses described by Grosu and Landman (1998).<sup>22</sup> In the most straightforward cases, such as that of our example (1), they denote a unique entity, everything in a set, or a complete lot of stuff, like definite noun phrases. Often, however, the sentence additionally generalises over situations with individuals or occasions of a certain type, as in our example (10) (*qui autem dicit quia haereticis licet baptizare, ipse duos baptismos facit*). We take the relative clauses in such sentences to be semantically definite noun phrases (like other maximalising relative clauses), but the sentences to be what Krifka *et al.* (1995) call ‘characterising sentences’: ‘Propositions which ... report a regularity which summarizes groups of particular episodes or facts’ (Krifka *et al.* 1995: 2). If so the meaning of example (10) can be unpacked as follows: ‘In general, for every situation of a relevant kind, i.e. one involving someone who says heretics are permitted to baptise, the person who says heretics are permitted to baptise makes two baptisms.’

For our purpose the notion of a ‘characterising sentence’ needs to be extended somewhat to include sentences that are not strictly speaking

<sup>22</sup> See Pompei (2010, 2011a, 2011b: 72–4; 2011c: 462–4, 497, 498). The relative clauses of relative-correlative sentences have this property in common with the other syntactically ‘autonomous’ relative clause types, in the classification of Pinkster (2012).

propositions, but for example commands (as in (19) and many of our other examples) or wishes (as in (8)), but which also generalise over situations of a relevant kind.

In our agricultural treatises, most of the instances of our construction are indeed in characterising sentences, in this extended sense. Forty-two of the examples are commands, with the main clause containing an imperative, a jussive or hortative subjunctive, a gerundive, a form of *oportere*, or an indirect command. For example:

- (19) et quae iam in perticam ibit, eius pampinos teneros alligato leuiter corrigitoque, uti recte spectent. (Cato *Agr.* 33.4)  
 ‘And (any vine) that is now going up the pole, tie up its fine tendrils lightly, and set them right so that they face straight up.’
- (20) quae calcatae uuae erunt, earum scopi cum folliculis subiciendi sub prelum (Varro *R.* 1.54.2)  
 ‘The grapes which will have been trodden, their stalks should be put under the press together with the skins’
- (21) sed quod iudicauerimus eximium genus, id quantae possimus multitudinis efficiamus, quod deinde proximum a primo, tum quod est tertiae uel quartae quoque (Columella 3.20.3)  
 ‘But what we will have judged to be an outstanding variety, we should produce that in as great a quantity as possible, then what (we will have judged) second best, then also what is of the third or fourth quality’
- (22) uites quae lacrimarum nimietate tabescunt et deplorando uim roboris sui auertuntur a fructu, trunco earum lacerato Graeci sinum fieri iubent (Palladius 3.30, ambiguous)<sup>23</sup>  
 ‘Vines which waste away through too many tears and by weeping divert the strength of their wood from fruit, the Greeks say that their trunk should be cut and a notch made’

There are 17 further examples of this type in Cato *Agr.*, fourteen unambiguous and three ambiguous: 6.1 (*ubi ager crassus et laetus est sine arboribus, eum agrum frumentarium esse oportet*), 6.1 (*quam earum in iis locis optimam dicent esse, eam maxime serito*: but cf. the punctuation of Goujard 1975: 16), 6.2 (*qui ager frigidior et macrior erit, ibi oleam licinianam seri oportet*), 6.4 (*qui locus crassus erit aut nebulosior, ibi aminnium maius aut murgentinum, apicium, lucanum serito*), 19.2 (*inter arbores medium quod erit, id ad mediam conlibrato*), 34.2 (*quae loca sicca et non herbosa erunt, aperta ab umbra, ibi triticum serito*), 42.1 (*quod genus aut*

<sup>23</sup> For discussion of the syntax of this example, see Svennung (1935: 178); Rodgers (1975b: 113); Ortoleva (2012).

*ficum aut oleam esse uoles, inde librum scalpro eximito*), 44.1 (*qua locus recte ferax erit, quae arida erunt et si quid uentus interfregerit, ea omnia eximito*), 50.2 (*quae crassissima et aquosissima erunt, ea postremum arato*), 105.1 = entry 114 in the table of contents (*qui ager longe a mari aberit, ibi uinum graecum sic facito*), 136.1 (no verb expressed, but jussive subjunctive understood from context: *qua ex parte politori pars est, eam partem in pistrinum politor*), 148.2 (*quod admensus erit, pro eo dominus rem soluito*), 157.13 (*qui hac purgatione purgatus erit, sic eum curato*), 28.2 (ambiguous: *arbores crassiores digitis quinque quae erunt, eas praecisas serito*), 51.1 (ambiguous: *ab arbore abs terra pulli qui nascentur, eos in terram deprimito*), 133.1 (ambiguous: *arboribus ab terra pulli qui nati erunt, eos in terram deprimito*), 2.1 (marginal, since the adverbial *ubi* is temporal: *ubi cognouit, quo modo fundus cultus siet, opera quaeque facta infectaque sient, postridie eius diei uilicum uocet, roget quid operis siet factum, quid restet*). Twelve further examples in Varro, R., all unambiguous: 1.22.3 (*olueti iugera CCXL qui coleret, eum instruere ita oportere*), 1.24.1 (quoting Cato: *quam earum in iis locis optimam dicant esse, eam maxime serere*), 1.24.2 (quoting Cato: *qui ager frigidior et macrior sit, ibi oleam Licinianam seri oportere*), 1.25.1 (quoting Cato: *qui locus crassior sit et nebulosus, ibi Aminneum maius aut Murgentinum, apicium, Lucanum seri*), 1.40.4 (*quae de arbore transferas, ut ea deplantes potius quam defringas*), 1.47.1 (*in seminario quae surculis consita ..., ea summa integenda*), 2.7.14 (*quod quarto die feceris, in eo decem diebus proximis manendum*), 2.10.2 (*qui pascunt, eos cogere oportet in pastione diem totum esse*), 3.9.4 (*qui spectat ut ornithoboscion perfectum habeat, scilicet genera ei tria paranda*), 3.11.3 (*quae in eo saepto erunt piscinae, in eas aquam large influere oportet*), 3.16.22 (*sed et <in quam> transiturae sint apes, ea apiastro perfricanda*), 3.16.35 (*quae crebrius inter se pugnabunt, aspargi eas oportet aqua mulsa*). Eight further examples in Columella, one perhaps ambiguous: 5.6.12 (*quamcumque arborem seueris, eam biennio proximo putare non oportet*), 5.6.14 (*quae ulmus a positione bene prouenerit, eius summae uirgae falce debent enodari*, emended away by [Rodgers 1975a](#)), 5.10.14 (*in quo scrobe destinaueris nuces serere, in eo terram minutam in modum semipedis ponito*), 11.1.4 (*quisquis autem destinabitur huic negotio, sit oportet idem scientissimus robustissimusque*), 11.1.5 (*qui me absente in meum locum substituitur et uicarius meae diligentiae succedit, is ea quae ego scire debet*), 12.1.5 (pair: *quibus aliquid in agro faciendum erit seruis, eos foras emittere, quibus autem in uilla quid agendum uidebitur, eos intra parietes continere*), 12.35 (possibly ambiguous: *relicum quod erit, id frigidum adde in musti Aminnei urnam*), 12.40.1 (*quantum uini uno die feceris, eius partem decimam, quot metretas efficiat, considerato*). One further example in Palladius *Op. Agr.*, quoted as (3) above and again ambiguous.

In a further 15 examples the main clause takes the form of an assertion but nevertheless has the force of a command or suggestion. For example:

- (23) si aduersus ea quis fecerit, quod ipse oleae delegerit, pro eo nemo soluet neque debebitur. (Cato Agr. 144.1)  
 'If anybody shall have acted contrary to this, whatever he shall have picked by way of olives, for that nobody shall pay or owe him.'
- (24) quae nasci in fundo ac fieri a domesticis poterunt, eorum nequid ematur ... quae e fundo sumi non poterunt, ea si empta erunt potius ad utilitatem quam ob speciem, sumptu fructum non extenuabunt (Varro R. 1.22.1–2) (pair; the second instance in particular belongs here)  
 'What can be produced on the farm and be manufactured by members of the household, none of those things should be bought ... What cannot be got from the farm, those things, if bought for utility more than appearance, will not make your profit dwindle by the expenditure'
- (25) quadrati mensura facillima est; nam cum sit undique pedum totidem, multiplicantur in se duo latera et quae summa ex multiplicatione effecta est, eam dicemus esse quadratorum pedum. (Columella 5.2.1)  
 'The measurement of a square is very easy. For since it measures the same number of feet on each side, two sides are multiplied together and the number which results from the multiplication, it we will say is (the number) of square feet.'

There are five further examples of this type in Cato Agr., all unambiguous: 7.2 (*quas suspendas duracinas aminneas maiores uel ad fabrum ferrarium pro passis ea recte seruantur*), 144.2 (two interlaced examples: *qui eorum non ita iurauerit, quod is legerit omne, pro eo argentum nemo dabit neque debebitur*), 145.3 (*qui eorum non ita iurauerit, quae eius pars erit, omne deducetur neque debebitur*), 148.1 (*quod neque aceat neque muceat, id dabitur*). Six further examples in Varro R., all unambiguous: 1.35.1 (*quae iam egit radicem rosa, ea conciditur radicitus in uirgulas palmares*), 1.41.3 (*in quam inserunt, in ea paulo infra quam insitum est incidunt*), 1.55.1 (*quae manu stricta, melior ea quae digitis nudis quam illa quae cum digitabulis*), 2.10.6 (*qui autem sunt in saltibus ... iis mulieres adiungere ... utile arbitrati multi*), 2.11.7 (*quam habuit pellem intactam, eam intrinsecus eadem re perinungunt et tegunt rursus*), 3.16.23 (*examen ubi uolunt considerare, eum ramum aliamue quam rem oblinunt hoc admixto apiastro*). One further example in Columella, a pair at 12.3.3–4 (quoting Cicero, who in turn is translating Xenophon Oec. 9.9–10, using a similar construction in Greek: *quibus cotidie seruuli utuntur ... haec ipsis qui his uti solent tradidimus ... quibus autem ad dies festos et ad hospitum aduentum utimur et ad quaedam rara negotia, haec promo tradidimus*). No examples in Palladius Op. Agr.

These two types together account for 70 per cent (57 of 81 examples) of the correlative construction in these four texts. The 24 examples that fall into other categories are unevenly distributed: only a very few can be found in Cato and Columella, while Varro has a substantial number.

One example in Cato *Agr.* (unambiguous): 61. 1. Eighteen examples in Varro *R.*, of which two are ambiguous: 1. 2. 12; 1. 2. 27; 1. 2. 4; 1. 4. 4; 1. 7. 1; 1. 7. 2; 1. 7. 4; 1. 9. 7; 1. 48. 3; 2. praef. 4; 2. 1. 15; 2. 2. 13; 3. 2. 15; 3. 3. 10; 3. 9. 11; 3. 14. 1; 1. 31. 2 (ambiguous); 1. 40. 1 (ambiguous). Five examples in Columella, of which one is ambiguous: 3. 18. 4; 3. 21. 4; 5. 6. 28 (pair); 8. 11. 16 (ambiguous); 11. 2. 95. Some of these examples are characterising sentences (at least in our extended sense) but do not give a command or suggestion. (In some cases a suggestion is conveyed indirectly, but the matrix clause does not convey anything to be done.) In other examples we do not have characterising sentences at all but simply assertions about a unique item or everything in a set.

We note in passing that, if we look only at the examples of our construction used for general instructions, the incidence drops considerably more sharply between Cato and Varro than we saw for the construction as a whole.<sup>24</sup> This suggests that the use of our construction does in fact change between Cato and Varro, more significantly than the construction's overall frequency.

If we want to know what constructions compete with relative-correlative sentences, then as far as agricultural treatises are concerned we need to consider sentences of the type into which the bulk of the correlative sentences fall, namely those giving instructions meant to apply every time a certain type of situation arises. But not every such instruction is relevant: 'Fare £1.50' indicates that every time one enters the vehicle concerned one should pay £1.50, but in order to rewrite it as a relative-correlative construction one would have to include information which our hypothetical writer has not thought necessary (e.g. 'Whoever gets on the bus, he is to pay £1.50'). In order to be a genuine competitor for relative-correlative sentences, a sentence needs to have a hypothetical equivalent that is indeed a

<sup>24</sup> If ambiguous examples are included, there are 5.2 of these examples per 3,500 words in Cato and 2.0 in Varro; if unambiguous examples only are counted there are 4.6 examples per 3,500 words in Cato and 2.0 in Varro.

relative-correlative sentence and comes close to including the same information. In effect this means that part of the sentence needs not only to hint at the type of situation envisaged (doing this makes it the ‘restrictor’ in Krifka *et al.*’s terms) but to suggest some item or items that play a role in the action to be carried out or avoided – just as in sentence (19) (*et quae iam in perticam ibit, eius pampinos teneros alligato leuiter*) the relative clause suggests that our situation involves a vine climbing a pole, and this vine is then the possessor of the tendrils that will need to be tied up lightly. Also importantly, the relevant item is best conveyed using some sort of clause-like structure rather than a simple noun phrase. The concept of a ‘vine’ would have required only the noun *uitis*, but the concept ‘vine climbing a pole’ requires something more.

All four of our agricultural treatises contain numerous sentences giving instructions meant to apply every time a certain type of situation arises or will arise, using constructions other than the relative-correlative construction but capable of being cast as relative-correlative sentences. To show something of the range of possibilities in a late agricultural treatise we present here the first 20 such examples in Palladius, along with invented alternatives cast as relative-correlative sentences. Ordinary underlining shows the part of the sentence conveying the circumstances under which the instruction is to be carried out (the ‘restrictor’), and thick underlining shows the part giving the instruction itself.

It should be noted that the original example and invented alternative will not always ‘mean the same thing’ in a narrow sense: the important point is that the same instruction is conveyed, and the same circumstances under which it is to be carried out, and more or less the same information is provided. Decisions about what to include are inevitably subjective to some degree. We have tried to err on the side of including borderline examples, in order not to bias the sample towards sentences that already look somewhat like relative-correlative sentences.

In this sample we find four examples in which the restrictor consists of what English speakers often think of as an antecedent plus ‘normal’ relative clause (i.e. an externally headed relative clause along with its preceding head noun). In all four examples the whole unit consisting of antecedent and relative clause precedes the part of the matrix clause giving the instruction itself.

Example	Hypothetical alternative
<p>(26) <u>naturae est quod in primis spectare oportet, ut eis locis quae colere destinabis aer sit salutaris et clemens, aqua salubris et facilis, uel ibi nascens uel adducta uel imbre collecta, terra uero fecunda et situ commoda.</u> (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.2.1)</p> <p>‘What you should consider first of all is a question of nature: that in those places which you intend to cultivate the air should be wholesome and mild, the water clean and easy to find – whether it springs up right there or is brought in or gathered through rain – and the soil fertile and well situated.’</p>	<p>naturae est quod in primis spectare oportet, ut quae loca colere destinabis, <u>eis locis aer sit salutaris et clemens, aqua salubris et facilis, uel ibi nascens uel adducta uel imbre collecta, terra uero fecunda et situ commoda.</u></p>
<p>(27) <u>uitis quae ad iugum colitur per aetates ad hoc perducenda est, ut locis molestioribus quattuor pedibus a terra, placidioribus uero septem summitas eius insurgat.</u> (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.6.10)</p> <p>‘A vine which is trained on a trellis should be brought, over the course of its time, to the point where its top will rise four feet from the ground in unfavourable places, and seven feet in milder ones.’</p>	<p>quae uitis ad iugum colitur, <u>ea per aetates ad hoc perducenda est, ut locis molestioribus quattuor pedibus a terra, placidioribus uero septem summitas eius insurgat.</u></p>
<p>(28) <u>hortus qui caelo clementi subiacet et fontano umore percurritur prope est ut liber sit et nullam serendi disciplinam requirat.</u> (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.6.10)</p> <p>‘A garden which benefits from a mild climate and is traversed by spring water is close to being self-sufficient and to needing no efforts in sowing.’</p>	<p>qui hortus caelo clementi subiacet et fontano umore percurritur, <u>is prope liber est et nullam fere serendi disciplinam requirit.</u></p>
<p>(29) <u>omnia quae seruntur crescente luna et diebus tepidis sunt serenda</u> (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.6.12)</p> <p>‘All things which are sown should be sown when the moon is waxing and the days are mild ...’</p>	<p>quae seruntur, <u>ea omnia crescente luna et diebus tepidis sunt serenda</u></p>

In another four examples the restrictor is a conditional protasis.<sup>25</sup> In three of these the conditional protasis precedes the clause giving the instruction, while in the fourth it follows.

<sup>25</sup> In all our agricultural treatises (although not in the small sample from Palladius presented here), examples with *si quis* are also found in this use, but less commonly than conditionals with simple *si*.



Example	Hypothetical alternative
(30) <u>haec atque similia si apud incolas pro maiori parte constare uideris, nec de aere aliquid nec de fontibus suspiceris.</u> (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.4.2) 'If you have seen these and similar characteristics mostly in place among the inhabitants, you should not suspect anything about the air or the water sources.'	<u>qui haec atque similia apud incolas pro maiori parte constare uiderit, is nec de aere aliquid nec de fontibus suspicetur.</u>
(31) <u>si tibi ager est siluis inutilibus tectus, ita eum diuide, ut loca pingua puras reddas nouales, loca sterilia siluis tecta esse patiaris</u> (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.6.13) 'If you have a field covered in useless woodland, divide it up in such a way that you turn the fertile parts into pure ploughable land, and let the barren parts be covered in woodland.'	<u>qui ager est siluis inutilibus tectus, ita eum diuide, ut loca pingua puras reddas nouales, loca sterilia siluis tecta esse patiaris</u>
(32) <u>si necessitas coget de salsa terra sperari aliquid, post autumnum plantanda est uel conserenda</u> (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.6.16) 'If necessity forces anything to be hoped for from a saline soil, it should be planted or sown after autumn.'	<u>quem necessitas coget de salsa terra sperari aliquid, ei post autumnum plantanda est uel conserenda.</u>
(33) <u>aliquid etiam terrae dulcis uel harenae fluuiialis subiciendum est, si illi uirgulta committimus.</u> (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.6.16) 'One must also add some sweet soil or river sand, if we entrust cuttings to it.'	<u>qui illi uirgulta committit, is aliquid etiam terrae dulcis uel harenae fluuiialis subiciat.</u>

In three examples the restrictor is a noun phrase (or substantivised adjective phrase) with some clause-like structure, involving a subjective or objective genitive. In all three this noun phrase precedes the instruction itself. (In (34) the sentence-initial negative can be taken as negating the whole sentence.)

Example	Hypothetical alternative
(34) <u>neque enim formator agricolae debet artibus et eloquentiae rhetoris aemulari</u> (Palladius, <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.1.1) <sup>a</sup> 'For the educator of a farmer should not compete with the artistry and eloquence of an orator'	<u>qui format agricolam, is non debet artibus et eloquentiae rhetoris aemulari</u>
(35) <u>situs uero terrarum neque planus, ut stagnet, neque praeruptus, ut defluat</u> (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.5.5) 'The situation of the fields (should be) neither flat, so that they get waterlogged, nor steep, so that water runs down'	<u>ubi uero terrae sitae erunt, ei loci neque plani sint, ut stagnent, neque praerupti, ut defluat</u>

(continued)

Example	Hypothetical alternative
(36) <u>omnis incisura sarmenti auertatur a gemma</u> , ne eam stilla quae fluere consuevit extinguat. (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.6.9) 'Every incision into the twig should be angled away from the bud, lest the trickle which usually flows destroy it.'	quod in sarmentum incidēs, <u>id</u> <u>auertatur a gemma</u> , ne eam stilla quae fluere consuevit extinguat.

<sup>a</sup> On the text and syntax of *eloquentiae rhetoris*, see Rodgers (1975b: 75).

In another three examples the restrictor is simply a relative clause (with no modified noun or antecedent, and no correlative expression or at least no overt one: in our terms a free relative clause). In all three examples this relative clause precedes the instruction itself.

Example	Hypothetical alternative
(37) <u>quae protulerit nec scabra sint nec retorrida nec</u> <u>suci naturalis egentia</u> . (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.5.2) '(The things) which it has brought forth should not be rough nor shrivelled nor lacking in natu- ral moisture.'	<u>quae protulerit, ea nec scabra sint</u> <u>nec retorrida nec suci naturalis</u> <u>egentia</u> .
(38) <u>quae florent constat non esse tangenda</u> . (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.6.3) 'It is agreed that one must not touch (plants) which are in flower.'	<u>quae florent, ea constat non esse</u> <u>tangenda</u> .
(39) <u>in uite uel arbore quae facienda sunt perage ante</u> <u>apertionem floris et gemmae</u> . (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.6.4) 'Complete the (things) which need to be done on a vine or tree before the opening of flowers and buds.'	<u>in uite uel arbore quae facienda</u> <u>sunt, ea perage ante apertionem</u> <u>floris et gemmae</u> .

In another three examples the restrictor is a prepositional phrase with some clause-like structure involving a gerund, gerundive, or deverbative noun. In two of these the restrictor precedes the instruction while in the third it follows.

Example	Hypothetical alternative
(40) <u>in omni opere inserendi, putandi ac recidendi</u> <u>duris et acutis utere ferramentis</u> . (Palladius <i>Op.</i> <i>Agr.</i> 1.6.4) 'In every grafting, pruning, or cutting job, use hard and sharp tools.'	<u>qui inserit, putat ac recidit, is duris</u> <u>et acutis semper utatur ferramentis</u> .

Example	Hypothetical alternative
(41) <u>in uitibus putandis tria consideranda sunt</u> (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.6.4) 'In pruning vines three things need to be considered'	<u>qui uites putabit, ei tria consideranda sunt</u>
(42) <u>modum tene aestimatis facultatibus tuis in adsumptione culturae</u> (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.6.12) 'Stay within reason, having calculated your capacity, in taking on cultivation'	<u>qui culturam adsumet, is modum teneat aestimatis facultatibus suis</u>

In two examples the restrictor is a substantivised participial or gerundive phrase. In one of these the restrictor straightforwardly precedes the instruction, while in the other the restrictor is preceded by a *sic* that belongs to the instruction.

Example	Hypothetical alternative
(43) <u>in uineis aratro praetermissa fossor emendet.</u> (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.6.4) 'In the case of vines, let the digger supply what the plough has omitted.'	<u>in uineis quae praetermisit aratrum, ea fossor emendet.</u>
(44) <u>sed sic urenda distingues, ut ad incensum agrum post quinquennium reuertaris</u> (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.6.13) 'But you will set aside the parts to be burned in such a way that you return after five years to the burnt field'	<u>sed quae urenda sunt, ea sic distingues, ut ad incensum agrum post quinquennium reuertaris</u>

In one example the restrictor is a connecting relative clause, whose content needs to be filled in from a preceding independent sentence. The independent sentence and connecting relative of course precede the instruction.

Example	Hypothetical alternative
(45) <u>illud uero deterrimum genus est quod erit siccum simul et spissum et macrum uel frigidum. qui ager pestiferi more fugiendus est.</u> (Palladius <i>Op. Agr.</i> 1.5.6) 'That kind (of field) is really the worst which will be dry and dense at the same time, and lean or cold. Which field is to be avoided like one infested with the plague.'	<u>qui ager erit siccus simul et spissus et macer uel frigidus, is pestiferi more fugiendus est.</u>

Readers will find relative-correlative sentences more likely as alternatives for some of these examples than others. Many (though by no means all) of our genuine relative-correlative sentences from agricultural treatises have the relative pronoun in a different case from the correlative item, while our invented examples most often have these items in the same case or in morphologically identical nominative and accusative neuter forms (cf. Pompei 2011c: 456). Discussing the conditions that motivate the choice of a relative-correlative construction in authors that actually use unambiguous relative-correlative constructions lies beyond the scope of this chapter. What is clear, however, is that Palladius' non-use of (unambiguous) relative-correlative constructions cannot be evaluated only in terms of competition with 'normal' (i.e. externally headed) relative clauses. Furthermore, Palladius' use of 'normal' relative clauses is relevant only where these fulfil functions for which, in some agricultural treatises, relative-correlative sentences are also found.

In places where an agricultural writer might in principle have used a relative-correlative construction, Palladius had a wide range of possible options. However, most examples of these competitor constructions share something with the correlative sentences beyond the characteristics that make them competitors: the vast majority of these examples have the 'restrictor' before the instruction itself. Samples from our three earlier agricultural treatises cannot be laid out here, but the impression we gain from those treatises is very similar. The earlier the period, the less the placement of the 'restrictor' before the instruction is likely to surprise, if the prominence of relative-correlative sentences in early Latin is thought to be symptomatic of more general facts about early Latin syntax. Yet we learn from Palladius that, although by Palladius' day considerable changes had taken place in the ordering of Latin sentence constituents, general instructions continued to have the restrictor before the main clause.

Sentences like Cato's *gallinas teneras, quae primum parient, concludat* ('one should shut up tender hens as soon as they lay', Cato Agr. 89.1), with antecedent followed by relative clause followed by verb, have often been taken as an innovation, albeit an early one, compared to relative-correlative sentences.<sup>26</sup> Fruyt (2005: 38) argues that with the rise of SVO order such structures were naturally replaced over time by the type *concludat gallinas teneras, quae primum parient*. But when Palladius issues a general instruction using a restrictor of the form *gallinas teneras, quae primum parient*, then like Cato he normally puts this material before the instruction itself.

<sup>26</sup> See already Bertelsmann (1885: 55–6); cf. Fruyt (2005: 38).

When he uses a structure of the type *ueniente uere fundit materiam qua uitis reparetur antiqua* ‘when spring comes it produces wood by which the old vine can be repaired’ (Palladius *Op. Agr.* 12.3.1), he is generally making a different kind of point (here we do not have an instruction on what to do if there is wood by which an old vine can be repaired). Much more work is needed to identify constructions that genuinely compete with one another at different periods and in different authors, but our preliminary study of agricultural writers suggests that changes in the overall ordering of sentence constituents are not relevant to the decline of the correlative construction.

### Note five: the relative-correlative construction and left-dislocation

In Note 1 we pointed out that if the relative-correlative construction is a fairly ordinary left-dislocation construction, only with a relative clause functioning as a noun phrase in the left-dislocated position (as [per Cinque 2009](#)), one might expect some connection between an author’s willingness to use a correlative construction and his willingness to use left-dislocation more generally.

In fact if we look at sentences of type (4), with an ordinary noun phrase in the ‘left-dislocated’ position picked up by a demonstrative item later on, or the variant seen in (5)–(7) (again an ordinary noun phrase in the ‘left-dislocated’ position, but modified by a relative clause), we see that these are similarly most common in Cato, less common but still present in Varro, very rare in Columella, and non-existent in Palladius (unless of course the ambiguous (3) and (22) above are examples).

20 examples in Cato’s *De agricultura* (4.4 per 3,500 words): *Agr.* 5.3 (*amicos domini, eos habeat sibi amicos*), 5.8 (*item f[lo]enum cordum, sicilimenta de prato, ea arida condito*), 6.1 (*rapa, raphanos, milium, panicum, id maxime seri oportet*), 8.1 (*africanas et herculaneas, sacontinas, hibernas, tellanas atras pediculo longo: eas in loco crassiore aut stercorato serito*), 8.2 (*sub urbe hortum omne genus, coronamenta omne genus, bulbos magaricos, murtum coniugulum et album et nigrum, loream delphicam et cypream et siluaticam, nuces caluas, abellanas, praenestinas, graecas: haec facito uti serantur*), 9.1 (*salicta locis aquosis, umectis, umbrosis, propter amnes, ibi seri oportet*), 20.1 (*columellam ferream, quae in miliario stat, eam rectam stare oportet*), 31.2 (*ulmeam, pineam, nuceam, hanc atque aliam materiem omnem cum effodias, luna decrescente eximito*), 34.2 (*ager rubricosus et terra pulla, materina, rudecta, harenosa, item quae aquosa non erit, ibi lupinum bonum fiet*), 37.1 (*hordeum, f[lo]enum graecum, eruum, haec omnia segetem exsugunt*), 39.1–2

(*cerae p. I, resinae p. I, sulphuris p. ÷. haec omnia in calicem nouum indito*), 46.1 (*locum quam optimum et apertissimum et stercoresissimum poteris et quam simillimum genus terrae eae, ubi semina positurus eris, et uti ne nimis longe semina ex seminario ferantur, eum locum bipalio uertito*), 51.1 (*ficum, oleam, malum punicum, cotoneum aliaque mala omnia, laurum, myrtum, nuces praenestinas, platanum, haec omnia a capite propagari eximique serique eodem modo oportet*), 58.1 (*postea oleas tempestiuas (unde minimum olei fieri poterit), eas condito*), 64.2 (*olea, quae diu fuerit in terra aut in tabulato, inde olei minus fiet et deterius*), 73.1 (*eam pellem et far et salem et serpullum, haec omnia una conterito cum uino*), 128.1 (*terram quam maxime cretosam uel rubricosam, eo amurcam infundito*), 133.1 (*ficum, oleam, malum punicum, mala strutea, cotonea aliaque mala omnia, laurum cypriam, delphicam, prunum, myrtum coniuolum et myrtum album et nigrum, nuces abellanas, praenestinas, platanum, haec omnia genera a capitibus propagari eximique ad hunc modum oportebit*), 142.1 (*ea omnia, quae in fundo fieri oportet quaeque emi pararique oportet, quo modoque cibaria, uestimenta familiae dari oportet, eadem uti curet faciatque moneo dominoque dicto audiens sit*), 157.3 (*cancer ater, is olet*). (We do not count *oleas orcites, posias*; *eae optime conduntur* at *Agr.* 7.4, because *oleas orcites, posias* is likely to be the object of *serito aut inserito*, understood from the preceding sentence: see [Svennung 1935: 188–9](#)).

Four examples in Varro's *Res Rusticae* (0.39 per 3,500 words): 1.40.1 (*primum semen, quod est principium genendi, id duplex*), 1.40.1 (*illud quare apparet ad agricolas, id uidendum diligenter*), 1.59.1 (*de pomis conditiua, mala struthaea, cotonea, scantiana, scaudiana, orbiculata et quae antea mustea uocabant, nunc melimela appellant, haec omnia in loco arido et frigido supra paleas posita seruari recte putant*), 3.1.3 (*Thebae, quae ante cataclysmon Ogygi conditae dicuntur, eae tamen circiter duo milia annorum et centum sunt*).

One example in Columella (0.032 per 3,500 words): 11.1.29 (*quare uulgate illud de arborum positione rusticis usurpatum 'serere ne dubites', id uilicus ad agri totum cultum referri iudicet*). (At 12.44.8 there is an apparently similar structure, but *id* is probably part of the predicate rather than the subject of *est*: *tempus autem quo includi debent, id fere est quo adhuc siccitatibus et sereno caelo grossa uariaque sunt acina*.)

This result makes it possible that the decline of the construction in our agricultural writers is linked to a decline in their willingness to use left-dislocation more generally. The reason for such a decline would not be explained (one may speculate e.g. that too much left-dislocation counted stylistically as heavy-handed after the early Latin period), but we might note a point of contact with a suggestion of Havers ([1926: 226](#)): that the

‘emphatic’ *nominativus pendens* (in our terms a species of left-dislocation) appears to be surprisingly scarce in late texts, even those where we might expect colloquial features found in early Latin texts to resurface, and even though there are some late examples (and early Romance ones) to show that the construction remained available. Svennung (1935: 178–80) countered with just over a page of examples from late technical texts, and concluded that the construction flourished ‘während der ganzen Latinität in der Volks- und Umgangssprache’. But it is difficult to see from Svennung’s collection of examples whether Havers was wrong to suggest that examples are few and far between in surviving late texts, even if examples can be found and even if these show that the construction was in principle available for informal language. More work is needed (cf. Halla-aho, this volume, section 8), but our study of agricultural treatises concurs with Havers’s suggestion. The case for a connection between our construction and at least one other species of left-dislocation is strengthened if the chronological distributions are indeed surprising in similar ways.

If the decline in the relative-correlative construction is indeed linked to a decline in the use of left-dislocated noun phrases more generally, it becomes difficult to see our question as having anything to do with how subordinate clauses are linked to their main clauses at different stages in the history of the language. In the simplest examples of left-dislocated noun phrases, such as we see in (4) (*amicos domini, eos habeat sibi amicos*), the item in the left-dislocated position is quite clearly not a clause. Examples of the type in (5) (*columellam ferream, quae in miliario stat, eam rectam stare oportet in medio ad perpendicularum*) have a clause within the left-dislocated item, but only because a noun phrase can include a relative clause as a modifier. In a relative-correlative sentence the left-dislocated item would be a free relative clause (one without an antecedent, or with the antecedent ‘incorporated’): it has the internal structure of a clause but plays the role of a noun phrase in relation to other elements of the sentence. It can go in the left-dislocated position by virtue of being a noun phrase, not by virtue of its clausal structure.

Be this as it may, the occurrence of sentences of type (5) among our examples of ‘ordinary’ left-dislocation provides some support for Cinque’s (2009) view as far as Latin is concerned: the relative clauses of relative-correlative sentences are simply free relative clauses in a left-dislocated position, and authors who use them occasionally put a noun plus ‘ordinary’ relative clause in the same position.

**Note six: relative-correlative sentences in  
sententiae – is the decline illusory?**

We finish with a further point, for which we return to Russell's anthology. Table 1 shows that in this anthology there are seven relative-correlative constructions on pages 26–50, six on pages 51–75, and seven on pages 76–100 (all of these examples being unambiguous); between them these pages provide texts spanning the mid to late first century BC, or the height of the 'classical period'. If we compare these figures with the frequencies per 3,500 words in Table 2a or Table 2b, a surprising point emerges. The incidence of the construction in miscellaneous texts spanning the mid-to late first century BC appears to be higher than the incidence in Cato's *De agricultura*, even when ambiguous examples are included for Cato (5.5 instances per 3,500 words; recall that 25 pages of Russell's anthology contain approximately 3,500 words). The incidence of our construction in the same section of Russell is also considerably higher than that in Plautus or Terence, for which figures can be extracted from Bertelsmann (1885): in Plautus there are 4.0 instances per 3,500 words, and in Terence 3.3.<sup>27</sup> The findings based on Russell's anthology are intuitively wrong, and fly in the face of all the scholarship to the effect that, legal texts aside, the relative-correlative construction is only really plentiful in early Latin.

The majority of instances of our construction in Russell's anthology are sententious generalisations (as in example (16)) or sententiously equate one item or group with another (as in example (1)), and many of them come from Cicero. To get a better sense of the real frequency of our construction in Cicero we have counted the number of instances in his Catilinarian orations, and extracted from Bertelsmann (1885) a figure for the instances in Cicero's letters to Atticus (including ambiguous examples): there are seven instances in the Catilinarians<sup>28</sup> and 63 in the letters to

<sup>27</sup> Absolute numbers of examples are derived from Bertelsmann by adding together his figures for relative clauses of the following types, in his classification (for which see his pp. 10–11): (i) Relativsatz voran, Pronomen adjektivisch, 1) *qui homo peccauit, [is] homo punitur* (2 examples in Plautus, 1 in Terence); (ii) Relativsatz voran, Pronomen adjektivisch, 2) *qui homo peccauit, is punitur* (22 in Plautus, 7 in Terence); (iii) Relativsatz voran, Pronomen adjektivisch, 4) *qui peccauit, [is] homo punitur* (27 in Plautus, 3 in Terence); (iv) Relativsatz voran, Pronomen substantivisch, 1) *qui peccauit, is punitur* (114 in Plautus, 33 in Terence); (v) Relativsatz eingeschoben, ältere Form, 1) *homo, qui peccauit, is punitur* (i.e. ambiguous examples: 23 in Plautus, 3 in Terence). The figures we give for category (v) have been adjusted, so that we do not include examples from Bertelsmann if there is no plausible analysis in which the initial noun belongs to the relative clause. The incidence per 3,500 words is based on the word counts in the Brepols Library of Latin Texts: 165,126 words for Plautus' complete plays, and 49,903 words for those of Terence.

<sup>28</sup> At *Catil.* I.9, 17; II.29; III.4, 15; IV.10, 22.



Atticus,<sup>29</sup> amounting to 1.9 instances per 3,500 words in the Catilinarians and 1.8 in the letters.<sup>30</sup> These figures are much less surprising than those based on Russell's anthology: we learn that the construction is not difficult to find in Cicero but he used it less often than Cato, Plautus or Terence (as well as, to a lesser extent, less often than Varro in the *Res Rusticae*). But why the discrepancy with the picture we gain from Russell's anthology?

The obvious conclusion is that Russell systematically over-represents our construction for some classical authors, including Cicero. We suggest that this occurs because for these authors, unlike the agricultural writers, the main use of our construction is to make sententious generalisations and to draw sententious equations. When reserved for such weighty statements the construction apparently did not count as heavy-handed. But by selecting the most famous and most eloquent passages of Latin prose literature Russell systematically over-represents sententiae, and therefore the relative-correlative construction.

In this light, we ought to reflect that all the Latin literature we have is the result of an anthologising process, and perhaps to an ever greater degree the further back we go in time. Does the surviving body of Latin literature constitute a sort of vast Russell Anthology, subject to the same biases in selection as the Russell Anthology itself? If so, does this effect contribute to the appearance of a chronological decline in a construction used (among other things) for sententiae?

<sup>29</sup> The figure from Bertelsmann is derived by the same procedure as described in n. 27. The figures for the five categories mentioned in that footnote are as follows: (i) 0 examples; (ii) 12 examples; (iii) 6 examples; (iv) 42 examples; (v) 3 examples.

<sup>30</sup> The figures per 3,500 words are based on the word counts given by the Brepols Library of Latin Texts: 12,722 words for the Catilinarian orations, and 122,548 words for *Ad Atticum*.

*Epilogue: some patterns of change**James Adams***1. Introduction: continuity again**

All languages probably have continuities that last over a very long time. That is obvious in the lexicon of a language. For example, many of the words that provide the lemmata in the etymological dictionary *FEW* were already in use in early Latin and are still in use in Romance forms today (*et* is a case in point). Nor is there anything implausible about a lexical item surviving over many centuries largely unseen. *Caballus*, for example, from its first appearance in Lucilius (163) in the early Republic, lived on into the Romance languages, but its appearances in Latin literature are few and far between. It was always in the shadow of the literary word *equus*, by which it is hugely outnumbered in texts. The same is true of *ausculto*, alongside the widespread *audio*. Various factors might keep a word out of sight. Its referent might not be the sort of thing or activity that is written about, or the term might have had a reputation as undignified. The one detailed discussion of a specific text in the volume, Clackson's of the Pompeian tavern scenes, brings out how little we know about the language of everyday life. There was inevitably a lot of Latin of a type unseen by us today, and the difficulties of interpretation posed by a text such as this make it obvious that the concept of the 'submerged' is meaningful; that of 'continuity of the submerged' is far less easy to grasp, particularly when that continuity is supposed to span many centuries.

It is however easy to be carried away by the romantic notion that a usage might have survived out of sight (from the perspective of the historian) for centuries, then have emerged again by chance supposedly to reveal that the spoken language had been unchanged in this respect for the whole time. In traditional dialect studies there has been a keenness to locate pockets where 'archaic' features have survived (unseen by mainstream speakers) against developments that have taken place in most areas (thus e.g. the so-called 'German language islands'). It has sometimes even

been argued that what might seem an innovation well on in the history of a language had in fact been in place for centuries, completely out of sight. An extreme form of this view is the theory that a Romance-type vowel system was already established in Latin in the early Republic, alongside the waning classical system based on oppositions of vowel length (see [Adams 2013: 37](#) for bibliography). Classicists have long been on the lookout for such continuities, but there are some obvious traps that can easily be fallen into. For example, similar usages at opposite ends of the chronological spectrum might differ subtly and be unconnected, or the apparent later manifestation might be a conscious revival of a feature that had long since disappeared from everyday use, or much the same construction might have different determinants at different periods.

## **2. Some different patterns**

The chapters in this volume discuss different patterns of continuity and change over about 800 years of the history of the language. The sheer diversity of the patterns identified in what is a small number of chapters puts into perspective the attempts referred to above to find hidden continuities between early Latin and late Latin/Romance. Here are some patterns:

- (a) New usages emerging mainly in late Latin ([Chahoud Chapter 10](#)).
- (b) Revivalism, such that a remembered literary construction or term is suddenly revived later on ([Pezzini Chapter 2](#)).
- (c) Usages that decline steadily, though possibly enjoying a late vogue in different settings ([Probert and Dickey Chapter 17](#)).
- (d) Usages that are present in Plautus and also Romance, but are not submerged in the intervening period, sometimes increasing steadily ([Danckaert Chapter 6](#), [Burton Chapter 7](#), [Halla-aho Chapter 16](#)).
- (e) Usages that had a colloquial profile for centuries, though not in use in early Latin itself, and then rose in status ([Maltby Chapter 15](#)).
- (f) Usages that had a very restricted use for centuries but at a late period extended their range ([Mari Chapter 3](#), [Bauer Chapter 14](#), [Maltby Chapter 15](#)).
- (g) Usages that entered Latin from Greek via Bible translations, and either remained restricted to biblical/Christian Latin ([Galdi Chapter 11](#)) or spread from there in the language in general ([Adams and de Melo Chapter 5](#), [Chahoud Chapter 10](#)).
- (h) Romance usages that it is very hard to exemplify unambiguously in extant Latin ([Haverling Chapter 8](#)).

These are patterns that could be paralleled endlessly from the literature on the history of Latin, alongside which any submerged continuities are bound to be a drop in the ocean. Six of our chapters discuss explicit claims that have been made for such continuities (Pezzini [Chapter 2](#), Adams and de Melo [Chapter 5](#), Panayotakis [Chapter 9](#), Chahoud [Chapter 10](#), Adams and Vincent [Chapter 12](#), Vincent [Chapter 13](#)).

### 3. Some details

#### 3.1. *Continuities, real or alleged*

I start with the chapters about the possible continuities referred to in the last paragraph. Pezzini considers to what extent early comic vocabulary in Plautus and Terence might have survived into Romance, unseen throughout the classical period because spoken and non-literary. There are about 7,100 different Latin words in the two writers, and the distribution of every member of this corpus is plotted throughout the classical and late periods, into the medieval period and then beyond into Romance. The vast majority of these words fail to fit the bill for one reason or another. Comic terms that seem to resurface after a long gap often turn out to be literary revivals; the chapter provides an account of late antique revivalism (3.1). Many other terms have such banal derivational morphology that their apparent re-emergence centuries after comedy probably represents recoinage. Having eliminated such terms and others, Pezzini examines the credentials of his remaining candidates, and reaches negative conclusions about the quantity of comic (one might say, spoken, colloquial) terms that went underground in classical Latin and re-emerged much later. He finds just 37 possible words, or 0.5 per cent of the total, and of these 'only a tiny fraction ... (six words) is not attested at all in CL'. One of his terms is *auscultare*, on which see above. The advantage of surveying the whole body of words is that the insignificance of submerged continuities comes to the fore.

Two claims that have been made in the literature about hidden continuities between early and late Latin concern the infinitive of purpose (Adams and Vincent) and *ad* for the dative of the indirect object (Adams and de Melo). In both cases it is argued here that the continuities do not stand up to scrutiny. There is good evidence that the infinitive of purpose fell out of use, as distinct from lingering on beneath the surface in 'Vulgar Latin'. It turns up later as a revival in Greek-influenced, mainly biblical Latin, this later use having no direct connection with the earlier. It seems

eventually to have gained a wider currency (with survivals in Romance), possibly as a result of the spread of what was a (biblical) Grecism to ordinary language.

The Plautine uses of *ad* that have sometimes been seen as anticipatory of things to come much later are not exactly the same as Romance uses. *Ad* is motivated early on, either because it implies some sort of motion, or because with verbs of speaking it implies special types of speech act. Later a new influence comes into play. As in the case of the infinitive of purpose, so the use of *ad* in the Christian period was subject to biblical influence, deriving from Greek and ultimately Hebrew. The use in question was with verbs of saying rather than with the full range of verbs taking an indirect object. It was only gradually in very late Latin that *ad* was extended to other verbs, in anticipation of its Romance functions. In both of these case studies different stages in the use of the construction can be discerned, as distinct from long-term uniformity.

These two cases raise a matter of methodology. The huge corpus of Christian and biblical texts from later antiquity displaying Greek-based uses of the infinitive and of *ad* are inadequate as evidence for what was happening in the ordinary spoken language of the time, and any statistical accounts of language change in later Latin ought always to take into account the nature of the texts. A text that is Christian and quotes and imitates biblical language has an artificiality akin to translationese. In any given case the question must be asked whether there is any sign that the biblically inspired usage ever extended its sphere into mundane speech (see further below in [section 4](#)).

The causative construction comprising *facio* with the infinitive, here investigated by Vincent, is another in which a connection has been found between early (republican) and late Latin. *Facio* + infinitive occurs in republican Latin, but its uses there are unlike those in late Latin and Romance. One early use is in application to a writer portraying someone as doing such and such. In another group of examples, notably in Lucretius, the subject is a natural force triggering an event. This use is close to one of ποιέω in Greek philosophical writers, and it may be derived from Greek. In the late period the construction is not restricted in these ways, and it is also structurally different. As Vincent puts it, *facio* + infinitive ‘in Latin is clearly biclausal while the Romance construction is monoclausal’, and the ‘subject of the embedded infinitive in the Romance construction is marked by the “to” preposition’. The ‘do’-verb in effect becomes united with the infinitive, one possible sign of which being ‘an increased tendency to find *facere* and the infinitive adjacent to each other’.

He rejects Norberg's attempt to find in Plautus (in the occasional use of *iubeo* with an active infinitive and no expressed subject accusative) the seeds of the late Romance construction (in which the infinitive is active). One of his conclusions is particularly pertinent: 'From a methodological point of view it is never enough simply to juxtapose apparently similar examples and claim a diachronic continuity': the properties of each must be analysed.

Panayotakis has a discussion of a passage of the *Hist. Apoll.*, at one chronological extreme, and of one of Plautus, at the other extreme. The first (3.2) is *Hist. Apoll.* A 31 *pater eius Apollonius ex quo hinc profectus est, habet annos XIII*. This example was early explained as equivalent to Fr. *il y a quatorze ans*, 'fourteen years ago'. Panayotakis reports various other interpretations but then states that nevertheless he interprets *habet annos* as an impersonal construction, i.e. as a Romance anticipation. In Plautus 'we find a striking parallel construction for *habet* + noun of time in the accusative case + temporal clause; it comprises *est* + noun of time in the accusative case + temporal (*quom/cum*) clause' as in *Aul.* 3-4 *hanc domum / iam multos annos est quom possideo et colo*, where the expression *iam multos annos est quom* was considered by early commentators as an ancestor of Fr. *il y a*. But the connection between this Plautine example and that in the *Hist. Apoll.* is superficial. It has been argued that *est quom* can be removed without changing the meaning, and is merely an emphatic periphrasis reinforcing the accusative of time. By contrast in the other passage *habet* could not be deleted. Here is a case where an apparent similarity between an early and late usage, in both cases supposedly anticipatory of Romance, is no such thing. As Panayotakis puts it: 'Plautine and late Latin usage present parallel rather than continuous linguistic phenomena, and the former usage does not explain satisfactorily the origin and development of the latter.'

Chahoud does find a type of continuity in the use of deliberative questions. She concludes that

[t]he 'deliberative indicative' is a feature of spoken Latin that just occasionally emerged in the early and classical periods, where register allowed or recommended it, and resurfaced and spread in the late period. The evidence indicates that the idiom belonged to an ongoing tendency of the spoken language, which gained ground in late Latin through a parallel and partly independent process (the influence of biblical Greek), and survives to this day in Romance.

The evidence for this usage in the classical period is described as 'scanty': in the period 200 BC to AD 200 there are only about 27 occurrences, but in late antiquity the figure is ten times higher.

In short, most of the hidden continuities discussed in the present volume turn out to be unconvincing.

### 3.2. *Patterns listed above*

In this section I go through the alternative patterns of change emerging from the volume, using the categories listed above in [section 2](#).

#### (a) *New usages emerging mainly in late Latin*

Chahoud documents a gradual increase over centuries of deliberative questions with *facio* (type *quid facimus*), at the expense of *ago*. This use of *facio* is not early; it does however survive in Romance. Prepositional comparative constructions (of the type *melior ab/de*) appear only very late (Bauer). She argues that the ablative of comparison can be seen as generating the prepositional constructions of Romance languages (by a straightforward replacement of plain case by preposition), and thus that there is in an abstract sense a ‘continuity’ between the early period and later, but in no sense is there an unseen continuity between a specific construction in early Latin and an identical one later. Maltby’s account of the comparative construction comprising *plus* + positive adjective would also put it in this category (a). It is very rare in early Latin and thereafter for centuries, only becoming frequent at the time of Sidonius Apollinaris. It does not have the appearance of an early spoken feature that remained widely current in speech; late innovation seems more likely.

#### (b) *Revivalism*

On this concept see the discussion in [section 2.1](#) of Pezzini’s account of comic vocabulary.

#### (c) *Usages that decline steadily, though possibly enjoying a late vogue in different settings*

Probert and Dickey analyse the relative-correlative construction in a single genre (agricultural writing), of which the representatives have a chronological spread from Cato through Varro and Columella to Palladius. There is a steady decline in the incidence of the construction over time, such that it is absent completely from Palladius. It is also pointed out that there is a connection between the distribution of this construction in these writers and that of so-called ‘left-dislocation’, which also falls out of use in Palladius. These two changes may be related to the increasing rightward orientation of the Latin sentence over time. For example, prepositional

expressions in many late texts are regularly placed after the verb, whereas earlier they tend to be before the verb. It is the same with the placement of the genitive in relation to its determining noun.

The pattern of decline in the agricultural writers seen above of the relative-correlative and left-dislocation might have been particular to the genre. So it is that Probert and Dickey leave out of consideration legal texts, because the relative-correlative was a feature of that genre. In Christian texts the construction also seems quite frequent. In the Bible it turns up in sententious generalisations, as for example in Jesus' Sermon on the Mount, where there is a Greek model. This pattern then spread via the Bible into Christian Latin in general.

(d) *Usages that are present in Plautus and also Romance, but are not submerged in the intervening period, sometimes increasing steadily*

Burton and Danckaert discuss passive periphrases formed with *fu-* forms of the copula rather than *es-* (e.g. *factus fuit* versus *factus est*). The *fu-* forms are found in early Latin and also Romance but are not submerged in the intervening period. Danckaert provides some striking statistics which show a pattern at variance with any notion of submerged continuity. Most notably, the construction past participle + *fuero* (future perfect) steadily grows in frequency over a very long period, a pattern indicative of a gradual linguistic evolution.

The incidence of the *fu-* forms varies according to both tense and mood. Burton produces evidence from four late texts of about the fourth to the sixth century showing that the *factus fuit* construction was heavily outnumbered in this period by *factus est* (particularly striking are the figures for the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, where *factus est* outnumbers *factus fuit* by 209 to 2), but that the pluperfect equivalent (*factus fuerat*) outnumbers the old *es-* equivalent. Even more striking is the fact that the *fu-* perfect subjunctive forms outnumber the *es-* subjunctive forms by 47 to 10 in this same text. The perfect tense is not a unity. It is the indicative that is an anomaly. The perfect subjunctive, pluperfect indicative and subjunctive and future perfect all show an increase over time in the use of *fu-* forms, whereas *es-* remains constant in the perfect indicative. The *factus est* periphrasis was by far the most used form, and that might have something to do with its tenacity.

Halla-aho also studies left-dislocations, that is apparently unconstrued elements standing at the left periphery of a clause or sentence, notably the *nominativus pendens* and *attractio inversa*. She points out that these have been seen as occurring in early Latin, then disappearing, to reappear



much later. This distribution is established as false for the *nominativus pendens*. This is a placement of the nominative that has some clear functions, and different types of writers went on exploiting its potential. That is so in different types of formal literature, and also in direct speeches in the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (see examples 22–4). It looks like a construction at home over a long period in both formal registers and speech. *Attractio inversa* is more difficult to classify, because examples are few, or at least few examples have been found.

(e) *Usages that had a colloquial profile for centuries, though not in use in early Latin itself, and then rose in status*

Malby's account of analytic superlatives is notable for its treatment of *ualde*. Although there is some evidence that Plautus had a taste for analytic intensifiers, which might be seen as the background of things to come, *ualde* has a history of its own that does not fit the pattern that inspired this book. It is extremely rare in Plautus (just one certain example). In Cicero its distribution is in keeping with a colloquial character, with a far higher incidence in letters. In Petronius it is mainly in speeches by freedmen. In the *Peregrinatio* it is common, and the only intensifier used with adjectives. In the commentators Porphyrio and Servius it is the all-purpose intensifier. This pattern is suggestive of a colloquialism of the classical period (virtually unattested in the early period) that continued as such and then gradually rose in status.

(f) *Usages that had a very restricted use for centuries but at a late period extended their range*

Mari shows that supposed non-reflexive uses of *suus* for e.g. *eius* are difficult to interpret and for a long period are few and fall into a limited number of categories. As he puts it: the 'low figures correspond to a very limited array of contexts in which irregular *suus* is used' (from Plautus to Gregory of Tours, as displayed in his table). The first sign he sees of a new development is in a passage of Tertullian and another of Palladius, and there is also some widening in Gregory of Tours. Plautus does not stand out as a particularly frequent user of 'irregular *suus*', and there is also no 'linear increase in the irregular usage of *suus*' over this long period, though there is a slight extension of earlier usages to new contexts. It is only very late (in the Merovingian period) that we find a profusion of cases of *suus* of singular possessors in contexts in which *eius* might have been the norm earlier. One text that is remarkable in this respect, though Mari does not go into detail, is the *Vita sanctae Euphrosynae*. The pattern here then is one

of little change for centuries, and then a flowering of this use of *suus* in the early medieval period. This is the sort of pattern that has traditionally caused scholars to think that change must have been going on beneath the surface. Maltby's discussion of analytic comparatives and superlatives turns up various patterns, one of which is relevant in this section, namely comparatives formed with *magis* + positive. Superficially, analytic comparatives with *magis* are particularly common in early Latin, but appearances are deceptive. Almost all examples are with adjectives (or participles) of types identified by the *TLL* as not readily given a synthetic comparative form. *Magis* remains quite common throughout literary Latin as a formant of comparatives where the form of the adjective presented phonological problems inhibiting the use of synthetic forms. There are only very occasional, mainly late Latin, examples (e.g. in a few grammarians) of *magis* with adjectives that had an established comparative form. Romance usage represents a new development on two fronts: *magis* widened its functions in certain regions, but just as importantly the synthetic comparative disappeared.

(g) *Usages that entered Latin from Greek via Bible translations, and either remained restricted to biblical/Christian Latin or spread from there in the language in general*

A finding of Galdi concerns a use of *incipio* + inf. in the late period where the verb loses its inceptive meaning and may replace a simple future. This development has been seen as a feature of late Latin in general, but Galdi argues that it is confined to (Christian) translation literature, where its use represents a loan-shift based on μέλλω. He is specific that it is not a real innovation, because it 'does not become general in the language but survives at a pure literary level in the Christian tradition'. The influence of biblical Latin also comes up in the chapters by Adams and de Melo, Adams and Vincent, and Chahoud.

(h) *Romance usages that it is very hard to exemplify unambiguously in extant Latin*

Haverling finds no evidence that the analytic perfect formed with *habeo* + past participle replaced the synthetic perfect before (at least) the sixth century, and 'no particular connection between early and late Latin'. The 'development seems to be a steady, gradual and rather slow one'. Some subtle changes over time are mentioned, along with some uses that seem anticipatory of Romance. It is noted for example that in late Latin a 'growing number of verbs occur with *habeo*, a fact which indicates that a

gradual change was going on'. We miss in the very late period Latin texts that display a flowering of the Romance-type construction. For example, the *Vita sanctae Euphrosynae*, which in other respects has Romance characteristics, is lacking in analytic perfects. Here is another pattern that has prompted an assumption that change must have been happening unseen. In addition, Haverling does not accept that Latin was influenced by Greek, but concludes rather, with Horrocks and others, that it was Latin that influenced Greek.

#### 4. Some final methodological issues

I offer three points in conclusion. First, apparent similarities between usages of the early period and of late Latin are often deceptive. Usages should be analysed in context, ideally in comparison with substitute constructions, and differences may then emerge between the early and the late. It has been shown in a number of chapters that certain constructions appearing in late Latin cannot be linked directly to similar constructions in early Latin.

Second, one of the chapters (that by Danckaert) makes use of modern methods of data collection to produce statistics showing the frequency over a long period of various passive formations. The more evidence the better if diachronic patterns of language change are to be identified.

Third, I return to a point made earlier (3.1) about a serious impediment to the study of linguistic change in the period loosely referred to as 'late Latin'. Extant late Latin cannot be assumed to be an adequate reflection of the language as it was used from about the third to the sixth century. That is because so much late Latin is Christian. It is unconvincing to assert that Christian writers were addressing the ordinary people and therefore made a habit of using ordinary Latin. The one text, the Latin Bible (in its various versions), that was certainly intended for the ordinary people is replete with translationese, and its language has a consequent artificiality. Many other Christian texts are theoretical and argumentative, and intended for other theorists (an exception is generally made of the Sermons of Augustine, but were these published as delivered?). Such texts are full of terms and constructions taken from Bible versions, and, worse (from the point of view of the historical linguist), may have huge quantities of biblical citation. A glance at Hartel's edition of Lucifer of Cagliari, for example (*CSEL* 14), will show that the work has extensive biblical quotations on almost every page. A consequence is that unrefined statistics are bound to include direct quotation and borrowed phraseology,

which theological writers fall into whenever they discuss or have in mind a biblical passage. It is correctly remarked by Probert and Dickey in their conclusion that the whole of Latin literature is nothing but an anthology, its content determined by scribes with no interest in linguistic history. The anthology 'Christian Latin', which dominates the pre-medieval period, makes it implausible to think that we can get at ordinary linguistic developments in that period, except by devising more subtle methods of assessing Christian Latin and its wider influence (unless of course writing tablets keep turning up).

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